G. Norwood
February 1899

SELECT ORATIONS

OF

CICERO.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONES SELECTÆ.

EX RECENSIONE

JO. AUG. ERNESTI.

WITH AN

ENGLISH COMMENTARY;

AND

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND LEGAL INDEXES.

BY

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PREFACE.

The present edition of Cicero contains the four orations against Catiline, together with those for Archias, Marcellus, the Manilian Law, and Murena.

In forming his text, the Editor has taken Ernesti's for his basis, but without any slavish adherence to the opinions and decisions of that distinguished commentator. Where-ever a reading presented itself, calculated in the Editor's opinion to throw more light on the meaning of Cicero than the received lection, he has not hesitated to adopt it; and he flatters himself that the result of his labours, in this department, will prove acceptable to all who are qualified to pass an opinion upon his efforts.

The commentary, it will be perceived, is far from being a scanty one. If there be any author that stands in need of full and copious illustration, it undoubtedly is Cicero in the orations which have come down to us. The train of thought must be continually laid open to the young scholar, to enable him to appreciate, in their full force and beauty, these brilliant memorials of other days; and the allusions, in which the orator is so fond of indulging, must be carefully and fully explained. Unless this be done, the speeches of Cicero become a dead letter, and time is only wasted in their perusal.

The Editor is induced to make these remarks, from the conviction, that the system of commenting, which he has pursued throughout the present work, will, as in the case of his previous efforts, be condemned by some on the ground of its affording too much aid to the learner; yet, if there be any one cause which has tended more powerfully than the rest to bring classical studies into disrepute, it is the insufficiency of the means of such information, usually within the student's reach; a want arising, in some instances, from the incompetency of many who profess to be classical instructors; and in schools, generally speaking, from the limited time which can be spared to the details of critical and other illustration. Surely it is high time that some change should be effected, and that if the learner cannot obtain from oral instruction the requisite information, he may procure it at least from the notes of his text-book. We may be very sure of one thing,—that that style of classical instruction which consists in merely translating the language of an ancient author, without any attempts whatever at illustration or analysis, will never produce any fruits either of sound learning or intellectual improvement.

The present reprint is given uniformly with the previous edition of 1837, and the greatest attention paid to render it equally correct. The publisher cannot, however, venture to hope that the edition is immaculate; and will therefore feel thankful to those friends of Classical Literature who will take the trouble to point out any inaccuracies, that they may be corrected in a future impression.

March, 1839.

LIFE & WRITINGS

OF

CICERO.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CICERO.

DR. BARTON. — HENRY MILNER.

H. Good morning, my dear Doctor; I have waited upon you, at this early hour, to display a purchase which I recently made, and to ask your opinion respecting it. I have here the entire works of Cicero, in one stout octavo, by a German scholar of the name of Nobbe.

Dr. B. I have seen the edition, Henry, and am disposed to think very favourably of it, both as regards the text itself, and the typographical execution of the volume. I examined it at Parker's, yesterday, in company with Ashton, of Brasen-Nose. — But do tell me, how stands your acquaintance with the life and writings of "the man of Arpinum?"

H. I am not as much at home there, Doctor, as I ought to be. With the general outlines of his character and labours, I am as well acquainted, probably, as most young men of my age are; but still there are many points about which I should like to consult you, when you are perfectly at leisure for the task. Indeed, Doctor, to be candid, I wish you would favour me with a conversation about Cicero, similar to the one in which Sallust was our theme.

Dr. B. With all my heart, Henry; for I happen to be quite at leisure just now, as the delegates of the press will not meet to-day, owing to the indisposition of the Camden Professor of History, Dr. Cardwell.

H. I regret the cause, my dear Doctor, and yet cannot but deem myself extremely fortunate in finding you thus disengaged. With your permission, I will occupy this comfortable, old-fashioned arm-chair, and will place my Cicero on the table between us as a sort of connecting tie.

Dr. B. There is no need, my dear boy, of any such tie in the present case, as a far more powerful one already exists. Besides, I know not how it is, but whoever occupies that plain old seat where you are now reclining, seems endeared to me by what Gaisford would

call the "*genius sedilis;*" for it was there that my old friend Copleston, of Oriel, used to sit, and discourse of "high philosophy," before he was transferred to that more elevated sphere of action, which he honours by his talents, and adorns by his numerous virtues. God grant, my dear Henry, that your own career may be as distinguished and successful a one!

H. If patient industry, and a conscientious discharge of duty, can gain for me an honourable name, I trust I shall never disappoint your expectations, my own and my father's friend, although I can never hope to attain to that lofty superiority, which has been reached by the eminent individual whose name you have just mentioned. — Let us proceed, now, my dear Doctor, to Cicero.

Dr. B. Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in the 103d year before the Christian era, at Arpinum, a Latin city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship, and the privilege, consequently, of voting at the comitia. The birth-year of Cicero was also that of Pompey, who was a few months his junior*: while Arpinum, the orator's natal place, was likewise famous for having produced the celebrated Marius, the well-known opponent of Sylla, and the deliverer at the same time and scourge of his country.

H. Was it not Pompey who made some allusion to this circumstance, Doctor, of Arpinum's having produced both a Cicero and a Marius.

Dr. B. It was. He took occasion once to remark, in a public speech, that Rome was under the strongest obligations to this municipium, because two citizens had come forth from it, who had each in his turn preserved Italy from ruin.† And Valerius Maximus makes a similar remark.

H. I remember his words: "*Conspicuæ felicitatis Arpinum unicum, sive literarum gloriosissimum contemtorem, sive abundantissimum fontem intueri velis.*"‡

Dr. B. Yes, that used to be a favourite quotation with Russell, of Magdalen. The *contemtor literarum* is Marius, the *fons abundantissimus,* Cicero.—Our orator was of a family, which, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the republic, was yet very ancient and honourable§; of principal distinction and nobility in that part of

* Cicero was born on the third of January (Ep. ad Att. 7. 5.), and Pompey on the last of September following. *Pigh.* Ann. Plin. 37. 2.

† *Cic.* de Leg. 2. 3.

‡ *Val. Max.* 2. 2. 4.

§ "Hæc est mea, et hujus fratris mei germana patria: hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus: hic sacra, hic genus, hic majorum multa vestigia." *Cic.* de Leg. 2. 2. 3.

Italy in which it resided, and of equestrian rank from its first admission to the freedom of Rome. It appears, that the father of Cicero, having his ambition probably excited by the successful career of his fellow townsman Marius, was the first who thought of obtaining some degree of lustre for his family, by bestowing a careful education on his two sons Marcus and Quintus, and one which might enable them to enjoy the highest offices in the gift of the Roman people.

H. But how could they procure this education at Arpinum?

Dr. B. They obtained it at Rome, in the dwelling of Caius Aculeo, their maternal uncle, and an eminent lawyer of the day; and their cousins, the young Aculeos, were educated with them, according to a method approved of by Crassus, the celebrated orator, and by the very instructors whom he himself had employed.* The language and literature of Greece formed, of course, a prominent part of their early studies, and in this they were carefully instructed by the poet Archias, who came to reside at Rome when Cicero was only five years of age, and to whose fostering care the latter beautifully alludes in the memorable oration in which he defends the poet's citizenship.

H. Do you not think, Doctor, that he rates somewhat too highly the merits of this Archias? Dodgson, of Christ-Church, one of Dean Ireland's scholars, insists that the poet was only an individual of second-rate abilities.

Dr. B. Why, I am inclined to think so myself. But vanity, you know, was the great failing in Cicero's character; and Archias, most probably, in the true spirit of his country and his age, had ministered so abundantly to the personal feelings of the Roman orator, as to entitle him in the eyes of the latter to a more than ordinary return of the language of praise. Be this, however, as it may, we cannot but admire the kind feeling so strongly displayed in his spirited eulogium upon the character and abilities of his early preceptor. — But let us proceed. Cicero is said to have attracted, at an early period, the attention of the two greatest orators of their day, Licinius Crassus and Marcus Antonius, who did not disdain to interest themselves in behalf of a youth so conspicuous for zeal and the early development of talent. He had already given a proof of this ability by his poem of Pontius Glaucus, which he is said to have composed while still almost a boy, and which existed as late as the time of Plutarch.†

* "Cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus, quæ Crasso placerent, et ab iis doctoribus, quibus ille uteretur, erudiremur." De Orat. 2. 1.

† *Plut.* Vit. Cic. 2.

H. But, Doctor, you surely would not consider Cicero's poetry a very safe standard by which to estimate his intellectual excellence.

Dr. B. I am well aware, my young friend, of the difference of opinion which exists in relation to the poetry of Cicero, and that it is very much the fashion with modern scholars to deny him any merit in this species of writing. He has been often ridiculed on account of an unlucky line, that occurred in a poem which he composed on the subject of his consulship; and I have no doubt you can quote it for me.

H. "*O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.*"

Dr. B. Right. You remember probably the sarcasm of Juvenal *, that, if he had uttered every thing in this way, he would have been safe from the swords of Antony's followers; and also Quintilian's language, who censures the line as an example of defective versification †; still, I cannot, I confess, see the justice of condemning a writer for a single line of poetry; and it appears to me, that, if our modern bards were tried by this ordeal, a large number, who have obtained very comfortable quarters on Parnassus, would be compelled to descend to the plain. Voltaire, in the preface to his Catilina, places Cicero by the side of the best poets of his time, and thinks he may even dispute the palm with Lucretius himself. ‡

H. Allow me to ask, Doctor Barton, whether you would consider Voltaire as a very strong authority in the present case?

Dr. B. I know what you mean by your question, Henry. The work § which my friend Dr. Wynter, of St. John's College, recommended you to read, has given you a very low opinion of Voltaire's general accuracy; and I confess, that, in matters of real scholarship, his authority is of no weight whatever. As a poet, however, he may be allowed to give us his opinion respecting a brother poet, and may be considered a much safer guide in matters of taste than where learning and research are demanded.

H. Perhaps, Doctor, some light may be thrown upon this subject by the estimation in which Cicero's poetry was held among his contemporaries.

Dr. B. Strange as it may appear to you, Cicero's contemporaries

* Sat. 10. 123. seq. † Inst. Or. 9. 4. 41.

‡ "Ce que peu de personnes savent, c'est que Cicéron était encore un des premiers poètes d'un siècle où la belle poésie commençait à naitre. Il balançait la réputation de Lucrèce. Y a-t-il rien de plus beau que ces vers qui nous sont restés de son poéme sur Marius, et qui font tant regretter la perte de cet ouvrage?"

§ Lettres de quelques Juifs, à M. de Voltaire.

all thought that his poem entitled Marius, an extract from which appears in the treatise on Divination *, and on which, by the by, Voltaire's opinion is founded, was a production that had the fairest chance of descending to posterity. — Indeed, the alliance between oratory and the poetic art is so strict, that it is difficult to excel in one, without having at the same time some disposition for the other. Both demand, in fact, the very same qualities; an ardent imagination, a fertile invention, and grandeur and elevation of style. Thus, for example, the genius of Demosthenes was essentially tragic, and he appears as much of a poet as an orator, in some of those strains of continued eloquence, which no human effort has yet surpassed; and which have covered his name with one undying blaze of glory. — We must bear in mind, too, that, in Cicero's days, the ancient rusticity of the Latin muse was only beginning to assume a more polished exterior, and to familiarise itself insensibly with harmony of numbers and the other embellishments of art. The perfection, however, to which poetry was carried after the death of Cicero, having absolutely excluded all mediocrity, it need not surprise us that he retained so little reputation in a species of writing which he found in so uncultivated and almost barbarous a state. Our judgments of things are formed in this world solely by comparison. Cicero passes with many for a bad poet, because he does not enjoy the same rank as Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Ovid; and this manner of judging him seems to have originated at the court of Augustus, where, to throw ridicule on the character of a patriot like Cicero, was sure to be received with favour by him who sat upon the throne.

H. I find a good deal of truth in your remarks, my dear Doctor, and will give the subject, one day, my attentive consideration; meanwhile, allow me to ask what portions we have remaining of Cicero's poetry.

Dr. B. But few. There are fragments of his translation, into Latin hexameters, of the Phænomena of Aratus; the extract already mentioned from his poem entitled Marius, and another from that on the subject of his consulship, together with a few scattered lines from other performances.† — But I am afraid I have indulged too much in the garrulity of age on this particular topic; let us return to the more immediate history of the Roman orator. It was the custom, in those days, for young persons of good families, after they had assumed the manly gown, to attach themselves to some distinguished member of

* *Cic.* de Div. 1. 47.

† *Cic.* Op. ed. *Ernesti*, vol. vii. p. 1041. seqq. (Lond. 1819.)

the senate, whom they accompanied to all places of public resort, the forum in particular, and from whose example they learned to occupy themselves with the affairs of the republic or those of private individuals. The senator, to whom Cicero had been recommended, was the celebrated lawyer, Quintus Mutius Scævola *, surnamed the Augur, by way of distinction from one of his relatives who was Pontifex Maximus. How much he profited by the society and the wisdom of this excellent man, is acknowledged by him in grateful terms, in the beginning of the dialogue on the subject of friendship.

H. Did the study of jurisprudence form at this time his sole employment?

Dr. B. It did not. The great object which he had in view rendered it absolutely necessary for him to obtain a perfect acquaintance with the various writers that adorned the literature of Greece; and this course of reading formed, during the whole of his life, his favourite relaxation after the labours of the senate and the bar, and his chief consolation amid the political convulsions of the republic. Among the Greeks, who, at this period, gave instruction at Rome in their national literature, besides his old preceptor Archias, was Phædrus the Epicurean, and he was in particular the first Greek philosopher whose lectures were attended by the youthful Cicero.

H. I have heard it said also, Doctor, that Cicero in early life performed military service. Is the statement a correct one?

Dr. B. It is. Two careers, at this period, presented themselves to those of the Roman youth who were possessed neither of fortune nor family influence; the path of arms, and that of eloquence. Oratorical talents were sure of finding at Rome a thousand opportunities of displaying themselves, either in the defence of friends, or in the accusation of powerful offenders; and they conducted their possessor to honours and public favour as promptly and as effectually as the renown of military exploits. Such, however, was the peculiar constitution of the republic, that the ablest general was compelled to cultivate, in some degree, the art of public speaking; and, on the other hand, the most eloquent orator could not remain a stranger to the art of war. Every young man, destined for the movements of the bar, had to commence by making some campaigns abroad; and Cicero made his in the war of the allies, under Cneius Pompeius Strabo, father of the well-known Pompey, and under Sylla, the celebrated competitor of Marius. At the conclusion of this period, the republic was endangered without by the contest with Mithridates, and within by

* Brut. c. 89.

civil strife. Five years of trouble thus ensued, during which Cicero, whose youth entitled him to the privilege of remaining neutral between the two factions, devoted all his time to rhetoric and philosophy.

H. Under what instructors, Doctor?

Dr. B. He had now for his preceptors many learned Greeks, whom the war with Mithridates had compelled to abandon their country. The chief of these was Philo *, of Larissa, who had been at the head of the Academy at Athens, and who was now a very successful teacher of philosophy in the Roman capital. The ardour with which Cicero embraced the Academic tenets is easily explained by the utility which he was likely to derive from them in the discussions of the forum. Philo however was not his only master. The Stoic Diodotus † taught him how to wield the arms of dialectic science; and under this rhetorician, who lived and died beneath his roof, Cicero daily exercised himself in extemporaneous declamation. These exercises were in the Greek language, Diodotus probably being not well acquainted with the Latin; but still they were, no doubt, of the greatest advantage to Cicero, in enabling him to enrich his native idiom with the treasures of the Hellenic tongue.

H. I thank you, Doctor Barton, for thus dwelling upon the earlier studies of Cicero. The narrative may serve to animate the youthful aspirants of our own day. How forcibly are we struck by the contrast, when we compare the preparatory toil of a Demosthenes and a Cicero with that of the orators of our own times. Theirs was the heroic age of eloquence, an age destined never to return. The ancient candidate for the prize of oratory devoted his whole faculties to a mastery over the instruments of persuasion. He neglected none of the means of success, however slight or insignificant in appearance. He explored every avenue of the mind, and took possession of all the inlets of delight through the medium of the senses. If he figured as a statesman, the study of eloquence included the whole mental discipline. If he appeared as an advocate, and won the cause, it was to the arts of persuasion he owed the victory.

Dr. B. True, Henry; but then how different is the training of the modern, whether he appear in the senate or the forum. His path is crowded and encumbered with the materials of almost unlimited extent and variety, which the labours of centuries have accumulated, and which he is required to shape to the ends of judicious speech. He is thrown on a scene of business, and into affairs of complexity,

* *Cic.* de Or. 3. 28.—Brut. 89.—Ep. ad Fam. 13. 1.—Tusc. Disp. 2, 3.

† Brut. 90.—Ep. ad Fam. 13. 16.—Ep. ad Att. 2. 20.—Acad. 4. 36.

from the moment of his entrance on a public career. He has to combine and arrange a vast number of details, inconsistent with all unity of application. He cannot pursue eloquence as a separate branch of intellectual discipline, and of preparation for the conflicts of life. The ancients, having in their political assemblies no balancing of interests, no complicated adjustments, no compromises of policy, no schemes of concession, gave themselves up to a single point of discussion. They were never diverted from a certain unity of intellectual view by the distractions and divisions which pervade our mixed assemblies. Theirs was a singleness of purpose effected by simplicity of means. What weapons of signal power and proof did not these circumstances lend to the eloquence of antiquity!

H. I perceive the force of your remarks, my dear Doctor, and that the labours and efforts of modern oratory ought to have been rated more highly by me. — But let us proceed with Cicero.

Dr. B. The first oration which Cicero pronounced, at least of those extant, was delivered in the presence of four judges appointed by the prætor, and with the celebrated Hortensius for his opponent. It was in the case of Quintius, and the orator was at that time but 26 years of age. The first public or criminal trial on which he spoke, was that of Roscius of Ameria, the succeeding year, when he appeared on the defence, and displayed great courage in attacking, during his speech, a certain Chrysogonus, a favourite slave, to whom Sylla, then in the height of his power, had given freedom, and whom he had permitted to buy the property of the father of Roscius as a forfeiture.

H. This was certainly bold conduct in so young an advocate.

Dr. B. It was indeed. From dread of the power of Sylla, the accused had difficulty in prevailing on any patron to undertake his cause, but Cicero eagerly embraced this opportunity to give a public testimonial of his detestation of oppression and tyranny. The oration, however, was too much in the florid Asiatic manner, which the example of Hortensius had rendered fashionable in the forum. The spirit displayed by Cicero in conducting this defence met with general applause, and was remembered by himself in his old age with a feeling of such delight, that he recommends to his son, as the surest path to true honour, to defend those who are unjustly oppressed, as he himself had done in many causes, but particularly in that of Roscius of Ameria, whom he had protected against Sylla in the height of his authority.*

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 279.

H. And did no evil consequences result to the orator from this courageous defence?

Dr. B. None whatever. It must be confessed, indeed, that Cicero quitted Rome soon after this, partly it is said on account of his health, which had suffered by his close application to study, and partly for improvement. Perhaps he deemed it but common prudence to withdraw for a season from the immediate presence of the all-powerful Sylla. He travelled into Greece and Asia Minor, where he spent two years in the assiduous study of philosophy, under the ablest instructors in either country, and where he also acquired, under Grecian masters, the art of commanding his voice, and giving it greater compass and variety than it had hitherto attained.* — The first cause which he pleaded after his return to Rome, was that of Roscius, the celebrated tragedian, which involved a mere matter of civil right, and was of no peculiar interest or importance. All the orations which he delivered during the five following years are lost, of which number were those for Marcus Tullius and Lucius Varenus, which Priscian mentions as being extant in his time.

H. I perceive, too, that even the speech for Roscius, the actor, is not complete, since the ill-omened words, "*Desiderantur non pauca*," are appended to it.

Dr. B. They are indeed words of evil import, but we shall have presently to speak of losses far more serious and deplorable. Let us go on meanwhile with the biography of our orator. — Cicero had attained the quæstorship at the age of thirty, — an office forming the first step in the ascent to consular honours. His election was most honourable to him, as he was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of the tribes, and stood first on the list of competitors.† The provinces of the quæstors being always distributed by lot, the island of Sicily fell to the share of Cicero ‡, where he displayed so much prudence and sagacity, so much activity in the discharge of his official duties, and, what was most rare in those times, so much integrity and disinterestedness, as to excite the admiration of all the Sicilians.

H. Was it not during his government in this island that he discovered the tomb of the mathematician Archimedes?

Dr. B. It was, Henry. Before he left Sicily, at the close of his quæstorship, he made the tour of the island, to see whatever it con-

* Brutus, 91. — *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 279.

† "Me cum quæstorem in primis — cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat." Or. in Pis. 1.—Compare Brut. 92.

‡ "Me quæstorem Siciliensis excepit annus." Brut. 92.

tained that was worthy the attention of a liberal and cultivated mind. On reaching Syracuse, his first request was, to be shown the tomb of Archimedes; but neither magistrates nor people could indicate its position, and Cicero himself was the first to discover it, by the sphere and cylinder engraved on the marble, and by a half defaced inscription.*—You sigh, Henry.

H. I am thinking, Doctor, of the proud boast of him, who engaged to move the universe, if a foothold were afforded him; and of the neglected tomb where that same individual, after little more than a century, was slumbering forgotten in his narrow resting-place.

Dr. B. True, but his name has never died, and it was this very immortality that led the Roman quæstor to his neglected grave.—At the age of thirty-seven, Cicero obtained the office of ædile. Before entering on the functions of this magistracy, a glorious opportunity was afforded for the display of his eloquence in the prosecution against Verres, the prætor of Sicily, accused by the inhabitants of that island of many flagrant acts of injustice, rapine, and cruelty, while he exercised among them the functions of the prætorship. Applications for redress, however, in cases of this kind, rarely brought any relief to the oppressed nations bowed down beneath the tyranny of Rome. The decision in such cases depended upon judges generally implicated themselves in similar enormities, and better calculated therefore to afford impunity to the guilty, than relief to the aggrieved. This undue influence received additional weight in the case of Verres from the high rank and connections of the culprit. Unappalled, however, by these difficulties, Cicero entered boldly on the management of the prosecution. He had been solicited to undertake the case by a petition from all the towns of Sicily, except Syracuse and Messina, both of which had been occasionally allowed by the plunderer to share the spoils of the province. The issue was completely successful; and after the opening speech of Cicero, and the depositions of the witnesses, Verres, driven to despair, submitted, without awaiting his sentence, to a voluntary exile.

H. But what is this oration against Cæcilius, which, I find here, on opening my Cicero, has been placed at the head of the orations against Verres? and why is it called "*Divinatio?*"

Dr. B. There was one Cæcilius, a mere creature of Verres, who had been his quæstor in Sicily, and who pretended to have received certain personal injuries from him, and to have a very intimate know-

* Tusc. Quæst. 5. 3.

ledge of all his crimes. He claimed, on these grounds, to be appointed accuser, in preference to Cicero, intending of course to manage the prosecution in such a way that Verres might easily escape.

H. An ingenious contrivance, certainly.

Dr. B. Yes; but it emanated from Hortensius, who was counsel for the accused. The rival claims, therefore, of Cæcilius and Cicero had first to be decided, and this mode of deciding was technically termed "*Divinatio*;" because, as there were no facts in the case, the judges, without the aid of witnesses, divined as it were what was proper to be done.*

H. But, Doctor, did you mean to be understood as saying, that only one of the orations against Verres was ever pronounced?

Dr. B. I did. Of the six speeches against this individual, only one was actually delivered. The remaining five, which he intended to pronounce after the proof was completed, were subsequently published in the same shape, as if Verres had actually stood his trial and made a regular defence. Of these, the most interesting is that "*De signis*," where an account is given of the statues and paintings and works of art which Verres plundered; while the finest is undoubtedly that "*De suppliciis*," which is full of striking passages and the most vehement pathos.†

H. These orations, however, Doctor, must sound very oddly in some parts to a modern ear.

Dr. B. They do indeed, Henry, I can assure you. Thus, in the beginning of the second oration, Cicero speaks of a report having been spread, that Verres was to abandon his defence, but that there he sat braving his accusers and judges with his characteristic impudence. The effect of this is very amusing, when we recollect that Verres had absconded before one word of all this could be pronounced.‡

H. Still, Doctor, it is very comfortable, for us ordinary mortals, to know that so much of the brilliant eloquence of Cicero was carefully elaborated and wrought out in private, before the occasion arrived for its being flashed forth upon a dazzled auditory. The more I am allowed to look behind the curtain, and to survey from a nearer point of view the workshops of great minds, the more I am inclined to think that "Sublimity," or, as we ought more correctly to render it, "Elevation of style," is in reality a very mechanical kind of operation.

Dr. B. Yes; my old friend Parr thought that *Sublimis* came from

* *Ascon.* in Or. contra Cæcil.

† *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 283. seqq.

‡ *Id.* ibid.

*super limum**, but I rather think *sub lima* the more rational etymology, and that the finest passages in the literature of every nation are precisely those which have been most carefully subjected to the private application of the file.—But to return. At the expiration of the two years which were required by law to intervene between the ædileship and the office of prætor, Cicero was elected to this latter station.† It was while invested with this magistracy, that he advocated with all his eloquence, against the views of the senate, to whom he was sincerely attached, and against the true interests of the republic, his cherished idol, the famous bill of the tribune Manilius, which granted to Pompey, for enabling him to terminate the Mithridatic war, a power that seemed incompatible with public freedom.

H. I have never liked the character of Pompey, and it would delight me, Doctor, if your sentiments respecting him were to prove in accordance with my own. Do tell me what you think of the man.

Dr. B. Sallust paints his character in a very few words: "*Oris probi, animo inverecundo*," meaning to imply, that his probity was more upon his tongue than in his heart. Pompey, in fact, respected virtue sufficiently, not to offer it any open outrage or insult, but he never loved it enough to sacrifice to it in secret. Hence arose that profound dissimulation, in which he always enveloped himself, and that system, so well supported by him, of never wishing apparently to become possessed of any object, except by his own merit, while in reality he was grasping at and bearing off every thing by dint of private intrigue. If he was inferior, however, to Cæsar in military talents, he was always superior to him in the comparative purity of his morals, and in the moderation of his sentiments. Cæsar wished to be the master of the world, Pompey only the first citizen of the republic. He was constant in his friendships, a moderate enemy, and peaceable citizen, as long as he had no rival to fear. Intrepid in conflict, he was always generous after victory: and hence he gave to Mithridates a splendid funeral, and burnt all the correspondence between Sertorius and the chief men of Rome.—To return to the point from which your question called me off.—Cicero, at the period alluded to, was midway in his career of public honours; the consulship was before him, and the hope of attaining to this darling prize of his ambition, through the influence of Pompey, must have exercised some degree of control over the movements of the orator. At all events, the Romans of that day gave him little credit for sincerity in his extravagant eulogiums upon that favourite commander.

* *Barker*, Parriana, vol. ii. p. 475. seqq.

† Or. pro Leg. Manil. 1.

H. To what foreign province, Doctor, was Cicero sent on the expiration of his prætorship?

Dr. B. He would not accept of any government *, but remained at Rome, where he strove more and more in every way to conciliate the favour of the people. He was now preparing to sue for the consulship, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulse. There were two years necessarily to intervene between the prætorship and consulship; the first of which was usually spent in forming a general interest, and soliciting as it were in a private manner; the second in suing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The efforts of Cicero were crowned with success, and he was chosen consul with almost the same honours as in his antecedent elections to magistracy. His principal opponent was Catiline.

H. And his colleague in office, Antonius. Was it not so?

Dr. B. Yes; the same Antonius, who was in secret league with the party of Catiline, and had to be bought off by Cicero with the opulent province of Macedonia.†

H. I will not occupy your time, Doctor, by any questions relative to the conspiracy of Catiline; of that daring movement I have obtained an accurate idea from the pages of Sallust. I will merely request of you to give me a brief sketch of the subsequent life of Cicero, and then pass to an examination of his writings.

Dr. B. I think this will be our more advisable course, Henry, as time would fail us were we to endeavour to do full justice to both; and, besides, allusion will occasionally be made to the history of his later years in our remarks on his literary efforts. — The extraordinary but well-merited honours conferred upon Cicero for crushing this formidable conspiracy, could not fail to excite against him the opposition of the envious, as well as the jealousy of the more ambitious portion of his fellow citizens. They took care not to reproach him at first with any act of injustice in his public career, but merely expressed themselves fatigued, and indeed completely worn out, by his continual eulogiums upon his own patriotic efforts. In the forum, at the meetings of the senate, before the tribunals of justice, nay, even in the private circles which he frequented, the names of Catiline and Lentulus were constantly on his lips. He introduced his own praises into his writings. Almost every treatise of his, composed after this event, contains some allusion to his public services. Even his speeches lost in this way, through the excessive vanity of the man, a large portion of

* Or. pro Muren. 20. † *Sallust*, B. C. 26.

that pleasing persuasive influence by which they once were characterised. It was like a kind of fatality.

H. When did he first experience the evil effects of this line of conduct? Not surely during his consulship?

Dr. B. When he was about to retire from it. On such occasions, it was usual for the magistrate, who was laying down his office, to make a speech to the assembled people, detailing the various public services which he had rendered during its continuance, and showing that his discharge of the duties of his magistracy had been a faithful and conscientious one. The tribune Metellus interrupted Cicero, when on the point of making such an harangue, and commanded him to be silent. The only alternative left the orator, was to swear in a loud voice that he had saved the city from conflagration, and his fellow citizens from the sword. In this oath the populace joined with one accord, and Cicero was conducted home by them in triumph, amid the mortification of his enemies and the joy of his friends.*

H. A noble triumph, Doctor, and well worthy of the man whom Catulus had styled, in a full senate, the father of his country.

Dr. B. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, who, three years after, formed the coalition known in history as the first triumvirate, secretly favoured the designs of Cicero's enemies, whose numbers the latter had increased by his unyielding and rigid discharge of duty, and to whom was now to be added the profligate Clodius, that bold and bad man, whose tribuneship was fraught with ruin to the peace and welfare of the deliverer of his country. Ever since the period of his acquittal from the charge of sacrilege, the malignant star of Clodius was in the ascendant, and that of Cicero began to wane. During the progress of the accusation a deadly animosity had grown up between them, and Clodius was not a man to neglect any favourable opportunity of revenge.†

H. Was not this man a descendant of the haughty race of the Claudii, who had ever shown so little regard for the liberties of the people?

Dr. B. He was; but profligacy and ruin had compelled him to take refuge among the very class on whose rights his patrician forefathers had so repeatedly trampled; and the corrupt and impoverished noble, the head of the Claudian family, voluntarily degraded himself from his rank, and obtained adoption into a plebeian house.

H. But what were his objects?

Dr. B. They were two; to humble the aristocracy and take ven-

* Or. in Pis. 3.—Ep. ad Fam. 5. 2.

† Quarterly Review, No. 112. p. 354.

geance upon Cicero.* Being elected to the tribuneship, this pestilent demagogue obtained the passing of a law, making it criminal in any one to have put to death a Roman citizen without a trial before the people, and inflicting the penalty of exile. The blow was aimed at Cicero, who, however, in ordering the punishment of Catiline's accomplices, had only obeyed the mandate of the senate, and the illustrious Roman was compelled to bend to the storm and go into voluntary banishment. Immediately after his departure a law was passed, which exiled him to the distance of five hundred miles from Rome, and declared all his property to be confiscated. His villas, accordingly, were pillaged and burnt, his dwelling at Rome was demolished, and a temple to Freedom was erected on its site.

H. But where was the aid which he expected, and ought to have received, from Pompey?

Dr. B. As long as that profound dissembler believed that there was danger lest Cicero might throw himself into Cæsar's hands, he gave him the strongest assurances, confirmed by oaths and the most solemn protestations, that there was no danger, and that he would rather lose his own life, than suffer any harm to approach the person of the orator. But growing cool and reserved, as the plot against Cicero drew towards a crisis, and pretending to believe that the latter had formed designs against his safety, he withdrew to his villa, and abandoned him to his fate.†

H. Why did not Cicero demand a personal interview, and upbraid him with his monstrous duplicity?

Dr. B. He did obtain such an interview; but as for upbraiding the wily hypocrite, he wanted firmness for that. He threw himself at the feet of Pompey, and supplicated for aid. But the answer he received was perfectly in character: Pompey felt himself compelled to act in nothing against the wishes of Cæsar.‡

H. And where were his other friends?

Dr. B. All zealous for his welfare; but, as might naturally be expected, divided in opinion as to the course which he ought to pursue. Lucullus advised him to remain, and defend himself by force. Cato and Hortensius urged him to yield to the storm; and this advice coinciding with the opinion of Atticus, and being supported by the fears and entreaties of his own family §, made him resolve to leave the field

* Quarterly Review, No. 112. p. 354. † Or. pro Dom. 11.

‡ Ep. ad Att. 10. 4. Plutarch says, that Pompey slipped out of a back door, and would not see him; but it is certain from Cicero's account that he was admitted to an interview.

§ *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 31.

to his enemies and go into voluntary exile. Withdrawing in the night season, escorted by a numerous train of friends, who, after a day's journey or two, left him with every demonstration of regret, he turned his course towards Sicily, intending to make it his place of refuge, and sure of finding in the bosoms of its inhabitants that grateful affection which had been denied him at home. But when he was come within sight of the island, the Roman prætor sent him word that he must not set foot within it; and what made the shock still more cruel was this, that the magistrate in question had been an old and familiar friend, was under important obligations to Cicero, and belonged to the same party in the state.*

H. But why did the prætor take this step?

Dr. B. Through fear of Clodius, whose enmity he had already experienced, and the weight of whose power he now dreaded to encounter.† — Retiring to Greece, Cicero now took refuge in Thessalonica, where the hand of friendship was extended to him by Plancius, then quæstor of Macedonia, and where the prætor Apuleius, though he dared not venture to grant him openly his protection, yet connived at the acts of his quæstor, and took a lively interest in his behalf.‡ Two months had hardly elapsed before his friend the tribune Ninnius § made a motion in the senate for his recall. Pompey also, roused by the insults of Clodius, whose power was now on the decline, and anxious to retrieve his own credit and ingratiate himself with the senate and people, began to exert himself in his behalf. After a long and stormy interval, after every effort had been made by Clodius and his factious adherents, the cause of justice triumphed, and Cicero was recalled from exile by the unanimous suffrages of the centuries, and to the great joy of a vast majority of his countrymen. ||

H. I have heard it said, Doctor Barton, that Cicero's conduct, while in exile, was not such as one would consider either manly or spirited.

Dr. B. It was worse. It was actually pusillanimous. He deplored his fall in the most desponding and lamentable terms. He complained of false friends, of an ungrateful country, of the utter ruin of all his worldly prospects. His friends were forced to admonish him sometimes to rouse his courage, and remember his former character. Nay, to such an extent was his feeling carried, that Atticus even wrote him word, of a report having reached the Roman capital, that his affliction

* *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 32.
† Or. pro Planc. 40.
‡ Or. pro Planc. 41.—Post Red. in Sen. 14.
§ Or. pro Sext. 31.
|| Pro Dom. 33. — Post Red. in Sen. 11.

had disordered his senses.* The truth is, the excessive vanity of the man had received so rude and severe a shock, as almost to unsettle his intellect; and he who had fondly hoped, that his name and services would remain ever fresh and undying in the memory of his countrymen, could hardly believe that he was now an exile and fugitive from the very country he had saved.

H. But his return, Doctor, do tell me of that.

Dr. B. Ah! that was indeed a glorious era in his existence. The account of it is given by Cicero himself. The whole Appian Way, from Brundisium to Rome, appeared but one continued street, lined on both sides with crowds of men, women, and children. Nor was there a præfecture, town, or colony, which did not send deputations to congratulate him on his return. What Cicero himself says was, as Plutarch remarks, even less than the truth, that all Italy brought him back upon its shoulders. "That one day," observes the orator, "was worth an immortality; when, on my approach towards the city, the senate came out to receive me, followed by the whole number of citizens, as if Rome itself had left its foundations and marched forward to embrace its preserver." †

H. For what length of time had Cicero remained in exile, Doctor Barton?

Dr. B. He was recalled sixteen months after his departure from Rome; but he did not actually re-enter the city until seventeen had elapsed. The law for his recall from exile was passed on the 4th of August, and the day of his return was the 4th of September.

H. And where was Clodius, Doctor, during the period that elapsed after Cicero's restoration?

Dr. B. Doing every thing in his power to raise fresh tumults against him, and daily committing new outrages, until an end was put to his evil career by the swords of Milo's followers. — Cicero, after his return from exile, devoted himself for several years to the affairs of his numerous clients; and it was during this period that the celebrated trial of Milo took place, for the killing of Clodius, when the orator, intimidated by the display of a military force, and the outcries of the factious, made but a weak and ineffectual defence.

H. Cicero was no very great admirer, I believe, of warlike movements.

Dr. B. Why, when an occasion offered, and he was compelled to act, he conducted himself in a manner far from discreditable. I will

* Ep. ad Fam. 14. 4. Ep. ad Att. 3. 13.
† Or. in Pis. 22. Post Red. in Sen. 15. Pro Sext. 63.

cite you an instance. Pompey, in order to check more effectually the practice of bribery, had procured the passing of a law, by which all future consuls and prætors were disqualified from holding any province, till five years after the expiration of their magistracies; and, that there might be a supply of governors during this interval of five years, the senators of consular and prætorian rank, who had never held any foreign command, were to divide the vacant provinces among themselves by lot. Cicero, in consequence of this, obtained the government of Cilicia*, a province which included also Pisidia, Pamphylia, and three districts of Asia, together with the island of Cyprus. At the head of two legions, he defeated the Parthians, who had advanced as far as Antioch; and then turning his arms against the inhabitants of the mountains, an untamed race of banditti, who had never acknowledged the Roman sway, he took two of their towns, Erana and Pindenissus, the latter their capital, and which cost him a six weeks' siege, and in testimony of his success was saluted by his soldiers with the title of *Imperator*.† He would have obtained a triumph also, had not the troubled state of affairs at home prevented one from being conferred.

H. The troubles to which you allude were those no doubt which attended the commencement of the civil contest. — How did he act during their continuance?

Dr. B. In the first outbreaking of this memorable war, Cæsar and Pompey were both anxious to gain over a man whose good opinion was so important as Cicero's. The orator regarded the cause of Pompey as that of the republic; he disapproved of every thing which had been done for the increase of Cæsar's power; but yet he plainly foresaw, that a collision between these two commanders would end in the ruin of the republican party. Hence the indecision which marked his conduct, and necessarily embroiled him with both. During the space of five months he was debating within himself whether he should follow Pompey and the senate into Epirus, or remain in Italy. At last he decided for the first of these courses, and joined Pompey at Dyrrhachium. ‡ Scarcely, however, had he taken this step, when he began to repent of it. § He did not present himself at the battle of Pharsalia, a sickness, real or pretended, having confined him at Dyrrhachium, where Cato was encamped with fifteen cohorts. When the issue of the conflict was known, Cato offered to Cicero, as a personage of

* Ep. ad Att. 5. 15. Ibid. 5. 17.

† Ep. ad Fam. 15. 1. Ibid. 15. 4.

‡ Ep. ad Fam. 6. 6. Or. pro Marcell. 5.

§ Ep. ad Fam. 7. 3. *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 38.

consular rank, the command of the forces. He declined, and recommended an accommodation, a step which had nearly cost him his life at the hands of the son of Pompey. * Returning upon this abruptly to Italy, he found in that country a safe conduct sent unto him by Cæsar, who was then in Egypt, and couched in the most honourable terms. †

H. Ah, it was this that Grant, of New College, showed me yesterday, at the Bodleian, in a volume of Fabricius, beginning with the words, "*M. Tullium Ciceronem, ob egregias ejus virtutes,*" &c. ‡ — The career of the orator is now drawing to a close, Doctor, and I will only beg of you to give me a rapid sketch of his history, that we may pass on to his works.

Dr. B. Well then, it shall be a rapid one, as you request. — Cicero, who had waited at Brundisium, for the return of Cæsar, from the beginning of the year to the month of October, was very kindly received by that commander when he reached the shores of Italy. Returning upon this to Rome, he took no part whatever in public affairs, and only broke through the long silence which he had preserved, when rendering thanks to Cæsar for the recall of Marcellus, and defending Ligarius and king Deiotarus. — The assassination of Cæsar took place on the 15th of March, A.U.C. 710. Although Brutus was on terms of the greatest intimacy with Cicero, he had nevertheless concealed from him the plan of the conspiracy; and yet the moment the dictator fell, raising on high his blood-stained dagger, he congratulated the Roman orator on the restoration of the republic. But the latter soon perceiving, that, instead of a mild and clement master, his country ran the risk of passing under the sway of the ambitious and profligate Antony, availed himself of the privilege of a free legation, and embarked for Greece. The representations of his friends, however, respecting the favourable state of affairs at Rome, induced him to return to Italy, and he re-entered the capital on the last day of August. § From this moment to the day of his death, he set himself in opposition to the designs of Marc Antony, against whom he pronounced or published from the 2d of September, 710, to the 22d April, 712, fourteen harangues, known by the name of Philippics. In order to balance the authority of Antony, Cicero favoured with all his influence the young Octavianus, who appeared attached to him, and frequently applied to him for advice. The indifference, however, if not actual

* *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 39.
† Ep. ad Fam. 14. 23.
‡ *G. Fabric.* Antiq. Mon. Insig.
§ Ep. ad Att. 16. 7.

contempt, which the senate displayed towards this youthful and aspiring leader, drove him eventually into a union with Antony and Lepidus. Thus the second triumvirate was formed, and one of its conditions was the head of Cicero.

H. And how did Octavianus act?

Dr. B. Historians * inform us that he did not give up Cicero to the swords of Antony's hirelings without the greatest reluctance, and only after a struggle of two days to preserve him. But all this affection for the orator was probably unreal, and only assumed for the purpose of excusing in some degree his subsequent abandonment of the aged patriot. Cicero was at his Tusculan villa when the news of the proscription reached him, secret intelligence having been sent him by some of his friends. At first he resolved to sail for Greece, where Brutus was assembling around him the surviving followers of the party of the republic. Contrary winds, however, prevented the execution of this design, and he landed again on the Italian coast, and spent the night near Circeii, in great anxiety and irresolution. On the following day, the importunity of his domestics prevailed upon him to sail for Caieta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa. Here he slept soundly for several hours, when his attendants, having heard of the arrival of a party of soldiers, who were in quest of him, conveyed their aged master towards the shore, through a private part of the woods; but before they could succeed in reaching the ship, the soldiers, headed by a tribune whom Cicero had once defended in a capital cause, overtook the fugitives and executed the bloody mandate of Antony. †

H. And was no effort made to save him on the part of his followers?

Dr. B. The attendants, as soon as the soldiers appeared, prepared themselves for action, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own; but Cicero commanded them to set down the litter in which they were conveying him, and to make no resistance. ‡ When the ruffians approached, surveying them with a look which almost drove them from their bloody purpose, he bade them execute the errand on which they were sent, and extended his neck from the litter to receive the blow. His head and hands were severed from his body, conveyed to Rome, and fixed upon the rostra, the head between the two hands, by the orders of Antony!

H. His age, my dear Doctor?

* *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 46. *Vell. Paterc.* 2. 66. *Sueton.* Aug. 27.

† *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 48.

‡ *Liv.* Fragm. ap. *Senec.* Suas. 1.

Dr. B. Within one month of sixty-four. He was killed on the 7th of December, ten days after the establishment of the triumvirate.* — Shall I now proceed to delineate his character, or will you first have a brief analysis of his literary efforts?

H. The latter, undoubtedly, will be the preferable course, for I shall then be better able to appreciate your delineation of the man.

Dr. B. I think so myself. Now, open your Cicero, and name to me in succession the several productions of the Roman, as you will find them arranged there. I will give you a brief account of each. But, remember, only a brief one; the rest is to be supplied from your own private reading.

H. I accept your terms, my dear Doctor, and will do my best to fulfil my part of the agreement. — Now, here we have first in order a treatise on Rhetoric, in four books, addressed to Herennius.

Dr. B. Which treatise Cicero never wrote. If you ask me the name of the true author, I can only reply, that the matter is involved in utter uncertainty. You will see, by the heading, that some of the learned have ascribed it to Cornificius. This was the opinion of Aldus Manutius, Sigonius, and Muretus, who made the writer to have been Q. Cornificius the elder, Cæsar's quæstor during the civil war. Gerard Vossius, on the other hand, contends for the younger Cornificius. Scaliger attributes the work to Gallio, a rhetorician in the time of Nero. Schütz is in favour of M. Antonius Gnipho, who was born in Gaul, A. U. C. 640, studied at Alexandria, and taught rhetoric in the house of the father of Julius Cæsar. But there are difficulties attending all these opinions, especially the last, and the point must be still left open to conjecture. It appears, however, that this work was one of the first treatises on rhetoric ever published in the Latin language, since its author cites no previous Latin writer, and asserts that he has been the first to give Latin names to the figures of rhetoric. The first and second books are extremely dry; the third, more engaging; and the fourth, which turns upon the three kinds of style suitable for discourses, is decidedly the best of the whole. †

H. Next comes a treatise "*De Inventione Rhetorica.*"

Dr. B. On that part of rhetoric which relates to invention. This is the work alluded to by Cicero, in the commencement of his treatise "*De Oratore,*" as having been published by him in his youth. It is

* *Vell. Paterc.* 2. 64. *Pigh.* Ann. ad A.U.C. 710.

† An account of the whole controversy may be seen in *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 366. seqq.; and in *Baehr*, Gesch. Rom. Lit. p. 502. seq.

generally believed to have been written by him when twenty-four years of age, and to have originally contained four books, of which but two remain. Schütz, however, maintains that he never wrote, or at least never published, more than the two books, which we possess. In composing this work, Cicero, as far as an opinion may be ventured, would appear to have had before him notes taken from the prelections of some instructor, whom the anonymous author of the treatise addressed to Herennius had also attended. For a number of passages, in the two books "*De Inventione*," coincide in a very marked manner with others in the work to Herennius; unless, indeed, the author of the latter was the preceptor of Cicero.*

H. To the work on invention succeed the three dialogues "*De Oratore*," inscribed to his brother Quintus.

Dr. B. These were written, A. U. C. 698, when Cicero, disgusted with the political dissensions of the capital, had retired during part of the summer to the seclusion of the country. The speakers in these dialogues are the orators Antonius and Crassus, (the latter of whom was attended by the young Sulpicius and Cotta, at that time the two most promising speakers at Rome,) the eminent lawyer Scævola, and Catulus, and Julius Cæsar, (grand uncle to the dictator,) the last two distinguished also for their eloquence, and who joined the party in the interval between the first and second dialogues. The principal part in the conversation, however, is borne by Crassus and Antonius; the former advocating, what was in fact Cicero's own opinion, that an almost universal knowledge is essentially requisite to perfection in oratory; the latter, who was a mere practical leader, maintaining that the various accomplishments insisted upon by Crassus were totally distinct from the proper office and duties of a public speaker. According to him, eloquence is not an art, because it depends not on knowledge. Imitation of good models, practice, and minute attention to each particular case, are laid down by him as the true foundations of forensic eloquence: the great objects of an orator being, in the first place, to recommend himself to his clients, and then to prepossess the judges in his favour. Crassus, in reply, enters on the embellishments of rhetoric: pronunciation, elocution, harmony of periods, metaphors, sentiments, action, and, in short, whatever can impart a finished grace and dignity to a public discourse.†

H. Excuse my interrupting you, Doctor, but how could Cicero, if he were not present at these conversations, obtain such accurate information of the various topics that were discussed?

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 366. — *Schoell*, Hist. Lit. Rom. vol. ii. p. 117.

† *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 353 seqq.

Dr. B. He is supposed to have heard them from Cotta; and this fiction is the more convenient, since it enables him to shelter his own opinions under those of two such eminent masters of oratory as Crassus and Antonius.—Cicero entertained a very high opinion of this work, and his friends considered it one of his best. It is peculiarly valuable to us at the present day, as containing every thing of importance in the Greek works on rhetoric, while the copiousness, and ease, and graceful polish of the style are above all commendation.*—What have we next?

H. A dialogue entitled "*Brutus, sive de claris Oratoribus.*"

Dr. B. Cicero supposes, that, after his return from Asia, M. Brutus, the same who subsequently conspired against Cæsar, pays him a visit, accompanied by Atticus, and that these two request him to resume a conversation which he had previously held with Atticus alone, and in which they had been discoursing of the most eminent orators. Cicero complies, and, after a few slight but masterly sketches of the most celebrated speakers of Greece, enters upon a full detail of the Roman orators from the earliest periods to his own time. This work is of great value, as regards the history of Roman eloquence, but it is not as interesting as its title would lead you to expect. It contains too many names, and too little is said of each, so that it resembles in some degree a dry sort of catalogue.†

H. To the "*Brutus*" succeeds the "*Orator.*"

Dr. B. In this production, which is addressed to Brutus, and was written at his request, Cicero treats of the qualifications that constitute a perfect orator. It is intended to complete the subjects examined in the dialogues "*De Oratore.*" Cicero's perfect orator, you will bear in mind, existed nowhere but in his own imagination. — Come, turn over. What do you find next in order?

H. A treatise entitled "*Topica,*" and addressed to C. Trebatius.

Dr. B. It gives an account of the various topics, or common-places, which are the foundations of rhetorical argument. The work is, in fact, an extract from that of Aristotle on the same subject, accompanied by a commentary from the pen of Cicero, the whole being amalgamated into one treatise. It was prepared for the use of Trebatius, the eminent lawyer; and hence Cicero takes his examples chiefly from the Roman civil law, as more intelligible to Trebatius than illustrations drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle. ‡

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 353. seqq.

† *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 359.—*Schoell*, Lit. Rom. vol. ii. p. 120.

‡ *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 364.

H. We have then a dialogue, "*De Partitione Oratoria.*"

Dr. B. This is a production of rather inferior value. It is a dialogue between Cicero and his son, concerning the principles and doctrine of eloquence. It appears to have been written A. U. C. 707, while Cæsar was prosecuting the war in Africa. The work which you will find closing the series of Cicero's rhetorical works, is that entitled "*De optimo genere Oratorum,*" and was originally intended as a preface to a translation which Cicero had made from the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines respecting the crown.

H. May I ask, Doctor, what was Cicero's object in making this translation?

Dr. B. To correct a false impression at that time very prevalent among his countrymen, that Attic eloquence was limited to a plain and slender mode of expression, distinguished by purity of style and delicacy of taste, but void of all ornament and redundance. He undertook, therefore, a free translation of the two master pieces of Athenian eloquence; the one being an example of vehement and energetic, the other of pathetic and ornamental oratory.—Now for a rapid survey of the speeches of Cicero. We have already touched upon those for Quintius, Roscius of Ameria, and Roscius the actor, and likewise upon the oration against Cæcilius, and the six against Verres. What do you find after these? *

H. The speech delivered in defence of Fonteius.

Dr. B. This was pronounced while Cicero was ædile. It is the defence of an unpopular governor, accused of oppression by the province entrusted to his care. Much however is lost; which is the more to be regretted, as it would have formed an interesting contrast to the speeches against Verres.

H. Then comes the oration for Aulus Cæcina.

Dr. B. A mere question of civil right, turning on an edict of a Roman prætor.

H. The oration for the Manilian law follows; but as I have just finished the perusal of this, I will not trouble you for an analysis. The speech for Cluentius succeeds.

Dr. B. And a powerful snd splendid production it is, and one of the most correct and forcible of all the judicial orations of Cicero. Cluentius had been accused by an unnatural mother of having poisoned his stepfather.

H. Three orations against the Agrarian law of Rullus are next in order.

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 365.

Dr. B. The history of the affair is briefly this: Rullus, a tribune of the commons, brought in a law, that the public domains in the provinces should be sold, and that the spoils acquired by Roman commanders in foreign wars should be taken from them, in order that, by these two means, a sum of money might be raised for the purchase of lands in Italy, particularly Campania, which lands were to be divided among the people. Cicero delivered his first oration against this project, (the beginning, however, of which is wanting,) the very day when he entered on the duties of the consulship. His opposition was effectual, and the law was rejected. The tribunes, however, having subsequently instilled some suspicions into the minds of the people, with regard to Cicero's motives in opposing this project, he found it necessary to deliver the second and third orations on the same topic.*

H. The oration for Rabirius succeeds.

Dr. B. He was accused of having been concerned in the death of Saturninus, a seditious tribune, who had been slain by a party in the interest of the senate. Thirty-six years had intervened, and the accuser was Labienus, afterwards well known as Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul. Rabirius, notwithstanding the efforts of Cicero, would in all probability have been condemned, had not his friend, the prætor Metellus, taken down the standard from the Janiculum, which dissolved the comitia and broke off the trial. The troubles connected with the affair of Catiline occupied soon after the public attention, and the charge against Rabirius was never revived.

H. Yes, here are the speeches against Catiline, which formed part of my Harrow reading; and the oration for Murena, another old acquaintance of mine, comes slowly after. I will not trouble you about these, Doctor Barton, but will thank you to give me some information about the next, the speech in behalf of Flaccus.

Dr. B. This is the same Flaccus of whom you read in Sallust. He was prætor at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, and aided in the arrest of the Allobroges. Cicero here defends him against a charge of extortion and peculation, brought by various states of Asia Minor, which he had governed as proprætor.

H. An oration for Publius Sylla.

Dr. B. He was related to the dictator, and was accused of having been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. Cicero succeeded in procuring his acquittal. The cause was tried the year after his consulship.

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 295.

H. Another old favourite of mine, the oration for Archias, which is followed by one entitled "*Ad Quirites post reditum.*"

Dr. B. If you turn over a little farther, you will find three others, entitled respectively, "*Post reditum, in senatu,*" "*Pro domo sua ad Pontifices,*" and "*De Haruspicum responsis.*" I am sorry to say, that these four orations are now generally regarded as spurious, and as having been composed by the rhetoricians of a later age as exercises in declamation. Cicero did, indeed, deliver four speeches, almost immediately after his return from exile, on subjects similar to these. The first was addressed to the senate; the second to the people; the third to the College of Pontiffs, to obtain restitution of the ground on which his house had stood, and which had been made the site of a temple; and the fourth in answer to a declaration of Clodius, that certain alarming prodigies which had lately appeared were occasioned by the desecration of this same piece of ground, which the Pontiffs had discharged from religious uses. But the four speeches that have come down to us afford abundant internal evidence of their never having proceeded from Cicero. *

H. Dismissing these, we have next in order the oration for Plancius.

Dr. B. This is the Plancius of whom I made mention as having been quæstor of Macedonia when Cicero came thither as an exile. He is here defended by the orator, in return for the kindness shown on that occasion, against a charge of bribery in suing for the office of ædile.

H. Then comes the oration for Sextius.

Dr. B. Here again Cicero requites the services of a friend. Sextius, while tribune, had exerted himself to procure Cicero's recall, and the latter now defends him in an elaborate harangue against a charge of exciting a tumult in the capital.

H. An oration against Vatinius.

Dr. B. This Vatinius was produced on the opposite side in the trial of Sextius, as a witness against him. This gave Cicero an opportunity of interrogating him; and the whole speech is one continued invective, uttered in a series of questions, without waiting for a reply. Hence it is sometimes called, not *oratio,* but *interrogatio.*

H. An oration for Cœlius.

Dr. B. Cœlius, a gay and rather dissolute young man, was accused by Clodia, the well-known sister of Clodius, of an attempt to poison her, and of having borrowed money from her to procure the assassination of Dio, the Alexandrian ambassador. This oration, which is

* *Dunlop,* Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 333. — *Schoell,* Lit. Rom. vol. ii. p. 104.

highly commended by Middleton * for its occasionally playful manner, was also a particular favourite with the celebrated Fox. †

H. It is succeeded by a speech "*De provinciis consularibus.*"

Dr. B. This oration is indeed a remarkable one. It procured for Cæsar a continuance of his government in Gaul, and this last may be regarded as one of the immediate causes of the ruin of the republic. Cicero advocated the continuance of this command without in the least degree penetrating the designs of the ambitious Cæsar, whose only object was to have Gaul as the training place of his legions until he could turn their arms against his country.

H. The oration for Balbus.

Dr. B. Pompey, by a special law, had granted the freedom of Rome to Balbus, a native of Cadiz, who had performed some important services for him in the war against Sertorius. The validity of Pompey's act was now questioned, but was successfully defended by Cicero.

H. An oration against L. Calpurnius Piso.

Dr. B. Piso had been recalled from his government of Macedonia, in consequence of Cicero's oration on the consular provinces. Taking an early opportunity, he complained before the senate of the treatment he had received, and indulged in an attack on the orator, ridiculing in particular his poetic effusions. Cicero's reply is remarkable for its coarse and bitter invective.

H. What, in the presence of the senate?

Dr. B. Yes, he indulges, before that grave body, in language and allusions that suit only the meridian of a tavern; and this too against a man of family and distinction.—But why do you shake your head?

H. Ah! here is the famous speech against Milo, which was never delivered. What a pity that no one took down the oration which Cicero actually uttered, that we might have compared its feebleness with the beautiful harangue which has come down to our times.

Dr. B. It was taken down in writing, and still existed in the days of Asconius, but must have been, as you remark, far inferior to the one which we now have, since the latter was accounted, both by Cicero himself and by his contemporaries, as the finest effort of his genius. ‡

H. The oration which I find next in order is entitled "*Pro Rabirio Postumo.*"

Dr. B. He was prosecuted for repayment of a sum which he was

* Life of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 69.—*Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 310.

† Correspondence of Wakefield and Fox, p. 85.

‡ *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 313.

supposed to have received, in conjunction with the proconsul Gabinius, from King Ptolemy, for having placed him on the throne of Egypt contrary to the injunctions of the senate. But why that look of pleasure?

H. This oration, which succeeds, I have read of in Plutarch. It is the one for Ligarius, accused of having borne arms against Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, and of having renewed the war in Africa.

Dr. B. Yes, the dictator himself presided at this trial, much prejudiced against Ligarius. But the eloquence of the advocate extorted a pardon. It was during this oration that Cæsar's countenance is said to have changed, and the papers which he held to have dropped from his hand.*

H. We have but two remaining before we reach the Philippics, the speech for Deiotarus, and that in behalf of Marcellus. With the latter I am too well acquainted to trouble you for any explanation. Of the subject of the former I am ignorant.

Dr. B. Why, this was a defence of Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, charged with an attempt to poison Cæsar, during the stay which the latter made at his court. The case was heard in the private apartments of Cæsar, and the issue was successful for the accused.

H. I will not trouble you, my dear Doctor, to explain for me the subject of each of the Philippics. I have read that they were aimed against Antony, that they were so entitled in imitation of the splendid effusions of Demosthenes, and that, like the latter, they derive their chief beauty from the noble expression of just indignation which is so splendidly diffused over all. Allow me to ask, however, which one, in your opinion, is entitled to the palm?

Dr. B. Undoubtedly the fourteenth, which was delivered after the intelligence had been received of the total defeat of Antony, before the walls of Modena, by the army under Octavianus and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. This success was thought to have decided the fate of Antony and the republic, and Cicero gives loose to his patriotic feelings in a flow of the noblest eloquence. This too was the last oration that Cicero delivered, for the union of Octavianus and Antony was cemented by his blood.†

H. And have we now gone through all the orations, Doctor Barton, of the man of Arpinum?

Dr. B. All that have come down to us, Henry. Many, however, have entirely perished, and of these the one most deserving of regret is that for Cornelius. He had been accused of practices against the

* *Plut.* Vit. Cic. c. 39. † *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 327.

state during his tribuneship. The speech was divided into two great parts, and was continued during four successive days, before an immense concourse of auditors, who are said to have testified their admiration by reiterated applause. The orator himself frequently refers to it as among the most finished of his compositions, and the old critics cite it as an example of genuine eloquence.* — Of many of the lost speeches of Cicero, we have however, fragments remaining, and the number of these remnants has been recently increased by the researches of Maio, of which we will converse on some other opportunity. Meanwhile, before we part, hand me that number of the Westminster Review which lies at your elbow. It contains a sketch of Cicero's character, which I will read to you.

H. Before we part, Doctor? — Why I have not got through with more than one half of my volume.

Dr. B. And that is the very reason why we ought now to stop, lest any farther account of the writings of Cicero only confuse and bewilder.† Digest what I have thus far stated, and, when we meet again, the other productions of Cicero will serve us for a theme. — Besides you will want to attend to-day the visitation of the Bodleian Library, and to hear the Latin speech in the school of Natural Philosophy.

H. Who appoints the speaker, Doctor?

Dr. B. The Dean of Christ-Church. — I will now read from the Westminster ‡: "Cicero was the first of the second order of great minds. An extraordinary variety of talent, rather than any pre-eminence of original genius, is his characteristic. It is attested by a wonderful extent and diversity of information, acquired amid the daily occupations of a very laborious life, and almost enabling him to accomplish the great object of his ambition, which was in his single person to maintain the cause of Roman against the whole of Grecian literature. His written contributions to the information and delight of mankind are almost as extensive as Aristotle's. Every page is the efflorescence of a capacious mind, which embraced the whole circle of arts and sciences, which surveyed life with the comprehension of a philosopher and the shrewdness of a man of the world. But Cicero's mind was not of primitive formation. He was the inventor of no great style, he was the bold and original investigator of no one depart-

* *Dunlop*, Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 331.

† An account of the ethical and philosophical writings of Cicero will be given in a future publication.

‡ No. 33. p. 147. seqq.

ment, nor is there any one in which supremacy could be claimed for him. He resembled the athlete in Longinus, who was inferior to his competitors respectively in their peculiar provinces, but was, on the whole, and with regard to the universality of his accomplishments, superior to any. As a politician his defects are most striking, for his turn lay best for speculation; and nothing so clearly and decisively detects lurking flaws in a man's judgment as the conduct of public affairs, during 'the joints and flexures' of troubled times, when the operation of new principles is convulsing society, or the decay of old ones is resolving all into their original elements. For such a change he possessed neither the requisite moral or physical courage, the solidity of principle and purpose, nor the promptitude of judgment which is necessary to its execution. — The natural weakness of Cicero's mind, the want of great and solid principles of conduct, as well as his timidity, was not only ruinous to the state, but embittered the whole of his life. In the conflict of public affairs, the real outlines of a man's character are inevitably discovered; design or accident betrays his weak and strong points. The hustling of a mob immediately proves both his mind and body. Cicero was perfectly known to every man in Rome. Some, when they had any object to gain, practised on his vanity, some on his timidity. From the day of his banishment his spirit was broken, and never recovered its elasticity until, in his old age, he was called on to oppose the profligate Antony. Then something better even than his former self 'flashed forth a stream of heroic rays.' The cause, the occasion, and the person, roused all his faculties. He spoke for liberty — the magnitude of the individual danger in which he stood cut off all irresolution; the eyes of the world were on him; the example of Brutus, glorious at least in its principle, was before him; and accordingly, with a courage, a dignity, and an eloquence to which there is no parallel in his other efforts, he stood over his fallen country, and defended her from her deadliest foe.

H. Do you agree, Doctor, with all that is here advanced?

Dr. B. Very nearly, Henry. We must always, in estimating the character of Cicero, take care not to be dazzled by the literary splendour that is thrown around his name.

CICERONIS ORATIONES.

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIO
IN L. CATILINAM
PRIMA,
HABITA IN SENATU.

I. [2]Quousque tandem [3]abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quamdiu etiam furor [4] iste tuus nos [5]eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? [6] Nihilne te nocturnum præsidium [7] Palatii, nihil [8] urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil [9] concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic [10] munitissimus habendi senatum locus, nihil [11] horum ora vultusque moverunt? [12] Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam horum omnium conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid [13] proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrûm ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, O mores! Senatus hæc intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? [14] immo vero etiam in senatum venit. Fit [15] publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad cædem uuumquemque nostrûm. Nos autem, [16] viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis, jampridem oportebat; [17] in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris. [18] An vero vir amplissimus, [19] P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Tib. Gracchum, [20] mediocriter labefactantem statum reipublicæ, privatus interfecit: [21] Catilinam, orbem terrarum cæde

atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? [22] Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quod [23] C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit [24] ista quondam in hac republica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. [25] Habemus [26] senatusconsultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: [27] non deest reipublicæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, [28] nos consules desumus.

II. Decrevit [1] quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul [2] videret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter [3] quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, [4] clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus: occisus est cum liberis [5] M. Fulvius, consularis. Simili senatusconsulto, [6] C. Mario et L. Valerio, consulibus, permissa est respublica: num unum diem postea [7] L. Saturnini tribuni plebis, et C. Servilii prætoris mortem reipublicæ pœna remorata est? At [8] nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatusconsultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam [9] gladium in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatusconsulto [10] confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. [11] Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis reipublicæ periculis me non [12] dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipse inertiæ [13] nequitiæque condemno. Castra sunt in Italia, contra rempublicam, [14] in Etruriæ faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: [15] eorum autem imperatorem castrorum, ducemque hostium, intra mœnia, atque adeo in senatu videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem reipublicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero; credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, [16] certa de causa

nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, cum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, [17] tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: et vives ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis præsidiis [18] obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus nefarios, nec [1] privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis tuæ potest? [2] si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam [3] istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere cædis, atque incendiorum: teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me [4] ante diem duodecimum kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu, certo die fore in armis, qui dies futurus esset [5] ante diem sextum kalendas Novembris, C. Manlium, audaciæ satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum, [6] id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem [7] te optimatum contulisse [8] in ante diem quintum kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi [9] principes civitatis Roma, non tam sui conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum [10] reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiari potes, te illo ipso die meis præsidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse, cum tu, discessu ceterorum, [11] nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas? Quid? cum tute [12] Præneste kalendis ipsis Novembris occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres: sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu, [13] præsidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod

ego [14] non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planeque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce tandem mecum [1] noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem reipublicæ. Dico te priori nocte venisse [2] inter falcarios, (non agam obscure,) in M. Læcæ domum: convenisse eodem [3] complures ejusdem amentiæ scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuere. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rempublicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt, nostro in numero, patres conscripti, [4] in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de meo, nostrûmque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de republica sententiam rogo: et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illa nocte, Catilina: [5] distribuisti partes Italiæ: statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret: delegisti [6] quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: [7] descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia: [8] confirmasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: dixisti paullulum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt [9] duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese [10] illa ipsa nocte, paullo ante lucem, me meo in lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur. Hæc ego omnia, vix dum etiam cœtu vestro dimisso, [11] comperi: domum meam majoribus præsidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane ad me salutatum miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent; quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram.

V. [1] Quæ cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo cœpisti; egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere: nimium diu te imperatorem [2] illa tua Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: [3] si minus, quam plurimos: purga urbem: magno me metu liberabis,

dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit: nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: [4]non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus, [5]atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, [6]habenda est gratia, quod hanc tam tætram, tam horribilem,[7] tamque infestam reipublicæ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius [8]in uno homine summa salus periclitanda reipublicæ. Quamdiu mihi, [9]consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi: cum [10]proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in [11]campo, et competitores interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magna calamitate reipublicæ [12]esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rempublicam universam petis. Templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare, [13]quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii disciplinæque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo: faciam id, quod est [14]ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius: nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in republica [15]reliqua conjuratorum manus: sin tu (quod te jamdudum hortor) exieris, [16]exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa reipublicæ sentina. Quid est, Catilina? Num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam [17]tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul hostem jubet; interrogas me, [18]num in exsilium? Non jubeo: sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? In qua nemo est, [1]extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. [2]Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non inusta vitæ tuæ est? [3]Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non hæret infamiæ? [4]Quæ libido ab oculis, [5]quod

facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, [6]quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem [7]facem prætulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum [8]vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego prætermitto, et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate [9]tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse, aut non vindicata esse videatur. Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi [10]proximis idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad [11]domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam reipublicæ, atque ad omnium nostrûm vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi [12]hujus vitæ lux, Catilina, aut hujus cœli spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias, horum esse neminem, qui nesciat, te [13]pridie kalendas Januarias, [14]Lepido et Tullo consulibus, [15]stetisse in comitio cum telo? Manum, consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa, paravisse? Sceleri ac furori tuo [16]non mentem aliquam, aut timorem tuum, sed [17]fortunam reipublicæ obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto: [18]neque enim sunt aut obscura, aut non multa post commissa. Quoties tu me designatum, quoties consulem interficere conatus es? [19]Quot ego tuas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari non posse viderentur, parva quadam declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi? [20]Nihil agis, nihil assequeris, nihil moliris, quod mihi latere valeat [21]in tempore: neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. [22]Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus? Quoties vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est? [23]Tamen ea carere diutius non potes: [24]quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero, quæ est ista tua vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut [1]odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur.

Venisti [2]paullo ante in senatum: quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, ex tot tuis amicis ac necessariis, [3]salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, [4]vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo [5]ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? Quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum [6]nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? [7]Servi mehercle mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et, si me meis civibus [8]injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me aspectu civium, quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallem: tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque [9]vulneras, eorum aspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses; ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est [10]omnium nostrûm parens, odit ac metuit, [11]et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de [12]parricidio suo cogitare. [13]Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium sequere, neque vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodammodo [14]tacita loquitur:—Nullum aliquot jam annis facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni [15]multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque [16]sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu non solum ad negligendas leges ac [17]quæstiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter te unum; [18]quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri; nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, [19]quod a tuo scelere abhorreat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe:

[20]si verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.

VIII. Hæc si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, [1]nonne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit? [2]Quid, quod tu te ipse [3]in custodiam dedisti? Quid, quod, vitandæ suspicionis causa, apud [4]M'. Lepidum te [5]habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es: atque ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti: cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem [6]parietibus tuto esse tecum, [7]qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur; ad [8]Q. Metellum prætorem venisti: a quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, [9]virum optimum, M. Marcellum demigrasti: quem tu [10]videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodia judicaverit? Quæ cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hic [11]morari æquo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare? [12]Refer, inquis, ad senatum, (id enim postulas,) et, si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit, te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam id, [13]quod abhorret a meis moribus: et tamen [14]faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rempublicam metu: in exsilium, si [15]hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. [16]Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? [17]patiuntur, tacent. [18]Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, [19]P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, [20]M. Marcello dixissem; [21]jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset; [22]de te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, [23]quorum

tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima;[24] sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, [25]qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem [26]usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. [1]Quamquam quid loquor? [2]te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales [3]duint! Tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minus in præsens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. [4]Sed est mihi tanti; dummodo ista [5]privata sit calamitas, et a reipublicæ periculis sejungatur. [6]Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, [7]ut temporibus reipublicæ concedas, non est postulandum: neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut [8]pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore umquam revocarit. Quamobrem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam; [9]recta perge in exsilium: vix feram [10]sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix [11]molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium ieris jussu consulis, sustinebo: sin autem [12]servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere [13]cum importuna sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Manlium: concita perditos cives: secerne te a bonis: infer patriæ bellum: exsulta [14]impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. [15]Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, [16]qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati? [17]Cui sciam pactam et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem? A quo etiam [18]aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi, ac tuis omnibus, perniciosam esse confido et funestam futuram, [19]cui domi

tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? [20] Tu ut illa diutius carere possis, quam venerari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? A cujus altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jampridem tua ista cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi [1] hæc res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem: ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit: numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem, [2] nisi nefarium, concupisti: nactus es ex perditis, atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis, conflatam improborum manum. [3] Hic tu qua lætitia perfruere? quibus gaudiis exsultabis? quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam, neque videbis? [4] Ad hujus vitæ studium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui: jacere humi, non modo [5] ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare, non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam [6] bonis occisorum. [7] Habes ubi ostentes illam præclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium: quibus te brevi tempore [8] confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu repuli, ut [9] *exul* potius tentare, quam *consul* vexare rempublicam posses: atque ut id, quod esset a te scelerate susceptum, *latrocinium* potius quam *bellum* nominaretur.

XI. [1] Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer: [2] percipite, quæso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis respublica sic loquatur: [3] M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti: quem ducem belli futurum vides: quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem con-

jurationis, [4]evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patieris, ut abs te [5]non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio [6]mactari imperabis? Quid tandem impedit te? [7]Mosne majorum? At persæpe etiam privati in hac republica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. [8]An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio [9]rogatæ sunt? At numquam in hac urbe ii, qui a republica defecerunt, civium jura [10]tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? [11]Præclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum, [12]tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiæ metus, num est vehementius [13]severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia, quam inertiæ ac nequitiæ pertimescenda? An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt: [14]tum te non existimas invidiæ incendio conflagraturum?

XII. [1]His ego sanctissimis reipublicæ vocibus, et eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus, pauca respondebo. Ego, [2]si hoc optimum factu judicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari; [3]unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam [4]honestarunt; certe mihi verendum non erat, ne quid, hoc [5]parricida civium interfecto, invidiæ mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quodsi ea mihi maxime impenderet: tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminent, non videant; aut ea, quæ vident, dissimulent: [6]qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt. Quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non

solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, [7] si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et [8] regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam; neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto, intelligo hanc reipublicæ pestem [9] paullisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi [10] se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit; exstinguetur, atque delebitur non modo [11] hæc tam adulta reipublicæ pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. Etenim [1] jamdiu, patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur: sed, nescio [2] quo pacto, omnium scelerum, ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi [3] ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur; videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus [4] in venis atque in visceribus reipublicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum [5] æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur; deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur: sic hic morbus, [6] qui est in republica, relevatus istius pœna, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare, patres conscripti, secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod sæpe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, [7] circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, [8] obsidere cum gladiis curiam, [9] malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare. Sit denique inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque civis, [10] quid de republica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinæ profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata, [11] op-

pressa, vindicata esse videatis. Hisce ominibus, Catilina,
[12]cum summa reipublicæ salute, et cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem, quibus hæc urbs,
[13]auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus; quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus: hunc, et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac mœnibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis; et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ,
[14]scelerum fœdere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos, æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

Finished April 15th 18
Reviewed Apr 25th 18

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM SECUNDA, AD QUIRITES.

Begun April 16th 18

I. [2]TANDEM aliquando, [3]Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, [4]scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque [5]minitantem, ex urbe [6]vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem [7]verbis prosecuti sumus. [8]Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam pernicies [9]a monstro illo atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum, hujus belli domestici ducem, sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra [10]sica illa versabitur: [11]non in campo, [12]non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. [13]Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediente, [14]bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem, magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. [15]Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum de manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto tandem illum mœrore afflictum esse et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se [16]perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto sæpe ad hanc urbem: quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget:

quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecerit.

II. At si quis est talis, [1] quales esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interemtum esse L. Catilinam, [2] et gravissimo supplicio affectum, jampridem oportebat: idque a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et respublica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, [3] qui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? quam multos, [4] qui propter stultitiam non putarent? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent? [5] Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem; jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiæ meæ, verum etiam vitæ periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, [6] ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem: rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, [7] quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod illud etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! [8] Tongilium mihi eduxit, [9] quem amare in prætexta cœperat: [10] Publicium et Munacium, quorum æs alienum contractum in popina nullum reipublicæ motum afferre poterat: [11] reliquit quos viros? quanto alieno ære, quam valentes, quam nobiles?

III. Itaque ego illum exercitum, [1] præ Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magnopere contemno; [2] collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui [3] vadimonia deserere, quam illum exercitum, maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si [4] aciem exercitus nostri,

verum etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. [5] Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam [6] in senatum venire: [7] qui nitent unguentis, [8] qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum [9] suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. [10] Video, cui Apulia sit attributa, qui habeat Etruriam, qui agrum Picenum, qui Gallicum, qui sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia [11] superioris noctis consilia ad me delata esse sentiunt: patefeci in senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? [12] Næ illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rempublicam videretis. [1] Nisi vero si quis est, qui [2] Catilinæ similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur [3] desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere: demonstrabo iter: Aureliâ viâ profectus est: si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rempublicam, [4] si quidem hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina [5] exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata respublica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia [6] veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, [7] quis testamentorum subjector, [8] quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, [9] quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? [10] Quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? [11] Jam

vero quæ tanta in ullo umquam homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando, pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito, non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo, non modo Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiæ, oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus adsciverit.

V. Atque, ut ejus diversa studia [1] in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est [2] in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur: [3] nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, [4] stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus, [5] frigore, et fame, et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur; [6] cum industriæ subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis, in libidine audaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si sui fuerint comites secuti; si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges; [7] O nos beatos, O rempublicam fortunatam, O præclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum [8] libidines, non humanæ ac tolerandæ audaciæ: nihil cogitant, nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonia sua profuderunt: [9] fortunas suas abligurierunt: res eos jampridem, [10] fides deficere nuper cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea [11] comissationes solum quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, [12] ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? Qui [13] mihi [14] accubantes in conviviis, vino languidi, [15] confecti cibo, [16] sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, [17] eructant sermonibus suis cædem bonorum, atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere [18] fatum aliquod: et pœnas jamdiu improbitati, nequitiæ, sceleri, libidini debitas, aut instare jam plane, aut certe appropinquare.

Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam [19] sanare non potest, sustulerit; [20] non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa sæcula propagarit reipublicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus: nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa [21] unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiæ sunt: intus inclusum periculum est: intus est hostis: cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello, Quirites, profiteor ducem: suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. [22] Quæ sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo: quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant, aut quiescant: aut, si et in urbe, et in eadem mente permanent; ea, quæ merentur, exspectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant, [1] a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. [2] Homo videlicet timidus et permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit, [3] ivit. Hesterno die, cum domi meæ pæne interfectus essem, senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris vocavi: rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. [4] Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? [5] quis denique ita aspexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego [6] vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quæsivi a Catilina, an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset, necne. Cum ille, [7] homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisset: patefeci cetera. [8] Quid ea nocte egisset, quid [9] in proximam constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. [10] Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur; quæsivi, quid dubitaret eo proficisci, quo jampridem pararat: cum arma, [11] cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui

ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam. [12]In exsilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam! Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, [13]qui in agro Fesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit: et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant: et ille, ejectus in exsilium, se [14]Massiliam, non in hæc castra conferet.

VII. O CONDITIONEM miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ reipublicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis [1]circumclusus ac debilitatus, subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium bellum faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli, iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit: non ille a me [2]spoliatus armis audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed [3]indemnatus, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis, esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum; me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. [4]Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, [5]atque in armis volitare audiatis: sed triduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit [6]invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius, quam quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, [7]cum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur, quam verentur. Nemo est istorum [8]tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium, quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule [9]hoc, quod agit, numquam ante cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici

mallet, quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod [10]vivis nobis Roma profectus est; optemus potius, ut eat in exsilium, quam queramur.

VIII. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur: et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem; et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus [1]interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, [2]non tam ulcisci studeo, quam sanare, et ipsos placare reipublicæ; neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, [3]ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: [4]deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui [5]magno in ære alieno, majores etiam possessiones habent: quarum amore adducti, dissolvi nullo modo possunt. [6]Horum hominum species est honestissima (sunt enim locupletes); [7]voluntas vero, et causa impudentissima. [8]Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis: et dubites de possessione [9]detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? bellum? quid? ergo, in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones [10]sacrosanctas futuras putas? [11]an tabulas novas? errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant. [12]Meo beneficio tabulæ novæ proferentur, verum auctionariæ. Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. [13]Quod si maturius facere voluissent, [14]neque (id quod stultissimum est) certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum; [15]et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, [16]magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rempublicam, quam arma laturi.

IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui, quamquam premuntur ære alieno, [1]dominationem tamen exspectant: rerum

potiri volunt: honores, quos quieta republica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. [2] Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod ceteris omnibus, [3] ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: [4] primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere reipublicæ: deinde [5] magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum: deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi, contra [6] tantam vim sceleris, præsentes auxilium esse laturos. Quodsi jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti; num illi in cinere urbis, et sanguine civium, [7] quæ mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupierunt, consules se, ac dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti fuerint, fugitivo alicui, aut gladiatori [8] concedi necesse sit? Tertium genus [9] est ætate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, [10] quas Sulla constituit: [11] quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumtuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi, dum ædificant, [12] tamquam beati; [13] dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur; in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si [14] salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, [15] homines tenues atque egentes, in eandem illam [16] spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque, Quirites, in eodem genere prædatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere, ac [17] proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. [18] Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed [19] ne pecudes quidem mihi passuræ esse videantur.

X. [1] Quartum genus est sane varium, et mistum, et turbulentum: [2] qui jampridem premuntur; qui numquam

emergent: qui partim inertia, [3]partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumtibus, [4]in vetere ære alieno vacillant: qui [5]vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe, et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quam [6]infitiatores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines, [7]primum, [8]si stare non possunt, corruant: sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, [9]si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint: aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilina [10]non revoco. Nam neque divelli ab eo possunt: et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos capere carcer non possit. [11]Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita: [12]quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero [13]de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes, aut [14]bene barbatos videtis: [15]manicatis et talaribus tunicis; [16]velis amictos, non togis: quorum omnis industria vitæ, et vigilandi labor in [17]antelucanis cœnis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur: hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati, non solum cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare, et spargere venena didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in republica [18]seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verumtamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? Quo pacto illi [19]Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? Nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod [20]nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI. O BELLUM [1]magnopere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ copias vestra præsidia, vestrosque exercitus; et primum

gladiatori illi [2]confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde, contra [3]illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiæ ac robur educite. [4]Jam vero urbes coloniarum, ac municipia, respondebunt Catilinæ cumulis silvestribus. Neque vero ceteras copias, [5]ornamenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus omnibus, [6]quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, [7]vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus: si, his rebus omissis, ipsas causas, quæ inter se confligunt, [8]contendere velimus; ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc [9]petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc scelus: hinc [10]constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo: hinc [11]continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes, certant cum iniquitate, cum luxuria, cum ignavia, cum temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus: postremo [12]copiæ cum egestate, [13]bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio, nonne, etiamsi [14]hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his præclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. Quæ cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, [1]quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut [2]urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine ullo tumultu, satis esset præsidii, consultum ac provisum est. Coloni omnes [3]municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti [4]de hac nocturna excursione Catilinæ, facile urbes suas finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum et certissimam fore putavit, [5]quamquam meliore animo sunt, quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. [6]Q. Metellus, quem ego prospiciens hoc in agrum Gallicanum Picenumque præmisi, [7]aut

opprimet hominem, aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. [8]Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis. [9]Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, [10]atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem, omniumque vestrûm, in urbe a Catilina relicti sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, [11]monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui [12]solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. [13]Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem; mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portæ custos: nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt. [14]Qui vero in urbe se commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero: sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios [15]magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. Atque hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maximæ minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum, post hominum memoriam crudelissimum ac maximum, [1]me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed sivis manifestæ audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate [2]deduxerit: illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut ne quis bonus intereat, paucorumque pœna vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia, neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis, et non dubiis deorum immortalium [3]significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul,

ut quondam solebant, [4] ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic [5] præsentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt: [6] quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

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[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM TERTIA, AD QUIRITES.

I. Rempublicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrûm, [2]bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque [3]hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, [4]hodierno die, deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculisque meis, ex flamma atque ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus fati ereptam, et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. [5]Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque [6]illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur; quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta conditio: et quod [7]sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur: profecto, quoniam [8]illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales [9]benevolentia famaque sustulimus; esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit [10]is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, [11]templis, delubris, tectis ac mœnibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus: iidemque gladios in rempublicam destrictos retudimus, mucronesque eorum ab jugulis vestris dejecimus. [12]Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta, et [13]quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui

ignoratis, [14]ex actis scire possitis. Principio, [15]ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romæ reliquisset; semper vigilavi, et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

II. NAM tum, [1] cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cum [2]illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit,) sed tum, cum illum [3]exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. [4]At ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romæ remansisse: in eo omnes dies noctesque consumsi, ut, [5]quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, [6]rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestræ provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque [7]ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum, [8]belli Transalpini, et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa, [9]a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos eosque in Galliam ad suos cives, [10]eodemque itinere, [11]cum literis mandatisque, ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum Vulturcium, atque huic datas esse ad Catilinam literas; facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper [12]optabam a diis immortalibus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die [13]L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos reipublicæ viros, ad me vocavi: rem omnem exposui: quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, [14]qui omnia de republica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione, ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt, et, [15]cum advesperasceret, occulte ad [16]pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque, ibi, in proximis villis, ita [17]bipartito fue-

runt, ut Tiberis inter eos, et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi, sine cujusquam suspicione, multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego [18] ex præfectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera in republica assidue utor, præsidio cum gladiis miseram. Interim [19] tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum jam pontem Mulvium [20] magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unaque Vulturcius, fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii, et a nostris: res erat prætoribus nota solis: ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum, [1] interventu Pomtini atque Flacci, pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæcumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis, prætoribus traduntur: [2] ipsi, comprehensi, ad me, [3] cum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum [4] improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem [5] Lentulus venit, [6] credo quod literis dandis, [7] præter consuetudinem, proxima nocte vigilarat. Cum vero summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, audita re, frequentes ad me mane convenerant, literas a me prius aperiri, quam ad senatum [8] deferri, placeret; ne, [9] si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur; negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, [10] quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent; tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis reipublicæ periculis mihi esse nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, [11] coëgi. Atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium, prætorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex ædibus Cethegi, [12] si quid telorum esset, efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis: [1] fidem ei publicam, jussu senatus, dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ

sciret, sine timore indicaret. Tum ille, cum vix se ex magno timore [2]recreasset, dixit: a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam [3]mandata et literas, ut servorum præsidio [4]uteretur, et ad urbem quamprimum cum exercitu accederet: [5]id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem omnibus ex partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, [6]præsto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli, [7]jusjurandum sibi et literas a P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt: atque ita sibi ab his, et a [8]L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quamprimum mitterent: [9]pedestres sibi copias non defuturas: Lentulum autem [10]sibi confirmasse, ex fatis Sibyllinis aruspicumque responsis, se esse [11]tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: [12]Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse; eundemque dixisse, [13]fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus [14]post virginum absolutionem, [15]post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis, cædem [16]Saturnalibus fieri, atque urbem incendi placeret; Cethego nimium id longum [17]videri.

V. Ac, [1]ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego [2]signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, [3]quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, esse facturum: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paullo ante aliquid [4]tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque se semper [5]bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, [6]recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente con-

ticuit. Introductus Statilius, [7]cognovit signum et manum suam. Recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo; et quæsivi, [8]cognosceretne signum? annuit. Est vero, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui, [9]clarissimi viri, qui amavit [10]unice patriam et cives suos; quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit. [11]Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ: si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem [12]negavit: post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsivit a Gallis, [13]quid sibi esset cum iis: quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Vulturcio: qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum, quotiesque venissent, quæsissentque ab eo, [14]nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus: tum ille subito, [15]scelere demens, quanta vis conscientiæ esset, ostendit. Nam, cum id posset infitiari, repente præter opinionem omnium confessus est. [16]Ita eum non modo ingenium illud, et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam, [17]propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Vulturcius vero subito proferri litteras atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi [18]vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum suum et manum cognovit. [19]Erant autem scriptæ sine nomine, sed ita: "Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Cura, ut vir sis, et [20]quem in locum sis progressus cogita, et vide quid jam tibi sit necesse. Cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, [21]etiam infimorum." Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quæ Galli [22]insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, [23]cum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio; tum multo illa certiora, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. [24]Sic enim obstupu-

erant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indiciis [1] expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, [2] de summa republica quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt [3] a principibus [4] acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam nondum est [5] perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum [6] mihi gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea, respublica periculis sit maximis liberata: deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomtinus prætores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur: atque etiam [7] viro forti, collegæ meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, [8] a suis et reipublicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, [9] cum se prætura abdicasset, tum [10] in custodiam traderetur: itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes præsentes erant, in custodiam traderentur: atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi [11] procurationem incendendæ urbis depoposcerat: in M. Cæparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam, erat indicatum: in P. Furium, qui est [12] ex his colonis, quos Fesulas L. Sulla deduxit: in Q. Manlium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat [13] in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus: in P. Umbrenum, [14] libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium [15] perductos esse constabat. [16] Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione, tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium, [17] novem hominum perditissimorum pœna republica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam [18] supplicatio diis immortalibus, pro singulari eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites quod mihi primum post hanc urbem con-

ditam [19]togato contigit: et his decreta verbis est, "Quod urbem incendiis, cæde cives, Italiam bello liberassem." Quæ supplicatio si cum ceteris conferatur, Quirites, [20]hoc intersit, quod ceteræ bene gesta, hæc una, conservata republica, constituta est. [21]Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, [22]factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam [23]patefactus indiciis et confessionibus suis, judicio senatus, non modo prætoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat; tamen magistratu se abdicavit: [24]ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces [1]captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes spes atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. [2]Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli [3]somnum, [4]nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. [5]Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat, [6]omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat: [7]erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum: consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat. [8]Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat. [9]Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: [10]frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem, [11]tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam [12]in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem, (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites,) non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. [13]Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante

exitii et fati diem reipublicæ denuntiasset, [14]neque commisisset, ut signum, ut litteræ suæ, testes denique manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quæ nunc, illo absente, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam hæc tanta in republica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quodsi Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset: quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis [15]occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, dum ille in urbe hostis fuisset, tantis periculis rempublicam, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, liberassemus.

VIII. Quamquam hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium [1]nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum [2]conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse: tum vero [3]ita præsentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos pæne oculis videre possemus. [4]Nam, ut illa omittam, [5]visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque cœli, [6]ut fulminum jactus, [7]ut terræ motus, ut cetera, quæ tam multa, nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, [8]canere dii immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque prætermittendum, neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, [9]Cotta et Torquato consulibus, [10]complures in Capitolio res [11]de cœlo esse percussas, cum et [12]simulacra deorum immortalium [13]depulsa sunt, et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et [14]legum æra liquefacta. Tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus: [15]quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore, cum aruspices [16]ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales

omni ratione placati, [17] suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum responsis tunc et [18] ludi decem per dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quæ [19] ad placandum deos pertineret, prætermissa est: iidemque jusserunt, simulacrum Jovis facere [20] majus, et in excelso collocare, et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum, et forum, curiamque conspiceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii [21] illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud ita collocandum consules illi [22] locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque a [23] superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

IX. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, [1] tam aversus a vero, tam præceps, tam mente captus, qui neget, hæc omnia, quæ videmus, præcipueque hanc urbem, deorum immortalium nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, cædes, incendia, interitumque reipublicæ comparari, [2] et ea a perditis civibus; quæ tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. [3] Illud vero nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die [4] mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et [5] eorum indices, in ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? Quo collocato, atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia et senatus, et vos, quæ erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum [6] templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. [7] Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam, et non sim ferendus. [8] Ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille hanc urbem, ille nos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego

immortalibus ducibus [9]hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia perveni. [10]Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio sic a Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus suscepta, tanta res tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque literæ numquam essent profecto, nisi a diis immortalibus huic tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? [11]ut homines Galli, ex civitate male pacata, quæ gens una restat, quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur, [12]spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestramque salutem [13]suis opibus anteponerent; id non divinitus factum esse putatis? [14]præsertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superarent?

X. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam [1]ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, [2]celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores numquam. Erepti enim ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione, [3]togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, neque solum eas, quas audistis, sed et has, quas vosmetipsi meministis et vidistis. [4]L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit; ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, [5]custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. [6]Cn. Octavius, consul, armis ex urbe collegam suum expulit: [7]omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario; tum vero, [8]clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla: nec dici quidem opus est, [9]quanta deminutione civium, et quanta calamitate reipublicæ. Dissensit [10]M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo; attulit non tam ipsius interitus reipublicæ luctum, quam ceterorum. [11]Atque illæ dis-

sensiones, Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rempublicam [12]pertinerent: (non [13]illi nullam esse rempublicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes: neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt;) atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium reipublicæ [14]quæsivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecione civium dijudicatæ sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum [15]nulla umquam barbaria [16]cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cassio, Cethego [17]constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur; ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini: et cum hostes vestri [18]tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma [19]obire non potuisset: et urbem, et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. Quibus [1]pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo, præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia [2]ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. [3]Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique hujusmodi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, [4]nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: [5]eandemque diem intelligo, et ad salutem urbis, quam spero æternam fore, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagandam: unoque tempore in hac republica [6]duos cives exstitisse, [7]quorum alter fines vestri imperii, non terræ, sed cœli regionibus terminaret; alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. Sed, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non [1]est eadem fortuna atque conditio, quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt; quod mihi cum his vivendum sit, quos

vici ac subegi; [2]isti hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, [3]si ceteris sua facta prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. [4]Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam [5]ab istis noceri potest. Magnum enim est [6]in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est: magna est in republica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis est conscientiæ, quam qui negligent, cum me violare volent, [7]se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis [8]is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum [9]converterit; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, [10]qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam [11]ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim cum neque in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis, [12]quidquam videam altius, quo quidem mihi libeat adscendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut [13]ea, quæ gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem: ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda republica suscepta, lædat invidos, [14]mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in republica tractabo, [15]ut meminerim semper quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu, gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini [16]illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrûm, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen æque ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM QUARTA, HABITA IN SENATU.

I. Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrûm [2]ora atque oculos esse conversos: video vos non solum de vestro ac reipublicæ verum etiam, [3]si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis, et grata in dolore, [4]vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! quæso, [5]deponite, atque, obliti salutis meæ, de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi quidem si [6]hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem; feram non solum fortiter, sed etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano [7]dignitas salusque pariatur. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui [8]non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur; [9]non campus, [10]consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, [11]summum auxilium omnium gentium; [12]non domus, commune perfugium; [13]non lectus, ad quietem datus; non denique [14]hæc sedes honoris, umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego [15]multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore, [16]in vestro timore, sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex cæde [17]miserrima; conjuges, liberosque vestros, virginesque Ves-

tales [18]ex acerbissima vexatione; templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrûm ex fœdissima flamma; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem: [19]quæcumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, [20]inductus a vatibus, [21]fatale ad perniciem reipublicæ fore putavit; cur ego non læter meum consulatum ad salutem reipublicæ prope fatalem exstitisse?

II. QUARE, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, [1]prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras; populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere, ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, [2]omnes deos, qui huic urbi præsident, [3]pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relaturos gratiam esse: deinde, [4]si quid obtigerit, æquo animo paratoque moriar. [5]Neque enim turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, [6]neque immatura consulari, nec misera [7]sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum [8]ille ferreus, qui [9]fratris carissimi atque amantissimi præsentis mœrore non movear, horumque omnium lacrymis, a quibus me [10]circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum sæpe revocat [11]exanimata uxor, [12]abjecta metu filia, et [13]parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur [14]amplecti respublica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei: neque ille, qui, exspectans hujus exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo, [15]gener. [16]Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, ut salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiamsi vis aliqua me oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una cum republica pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, [17]incumbite ad reipublicæ salutem: circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis. [18]Non Tib. Gracchus, qui iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit: non C. Gracchus, qui agrarios concitare conatus est: non L. Saturninus, qui C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod, atque in vestræ severitatis judicium adducitur. [19]Tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romæ restiterunt: tenentur literæ,

signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio: [20]sollicitantur Allobroges: servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem reipublicæ nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt, [1]rei confessi sunt: vos multis jam indiciis judicastis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis [2]singularibus verbis; et [3]mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum patefactam esse conjurationem decrevistis: [4]deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret prætura, coëgistis: tum quod eum, et ceteros, [5]de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis: maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos [6]togato habitus ante me est nemini: postremo hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturcio dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis [7]damnati esse videantur. [8]Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis, et de pœna, quid censeatis. [9]Illa prædicam, quæ sunt consulis. Ego magnum in republica [10]versari furorem, et nova quædam misceri et concitari mala jampridem videbam: sed hanc tantam tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus, numquam putavi. Nunc, quidquid est, [11]quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant atque sententiæ, [12]statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis: [13]huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: [14]manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et, [15]obscure serpens, multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi [16]sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. Video duas adhuc [1]esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos, [2]qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos: alteram [3]C. Cæsaris, [4]qui mortis pœnam

removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et [5]pro sua dignitate, et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. [6]Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita, et [7]hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere: atque hoc genus pœnæ sæpe in improbos cives in hac republica esse usurpatum recordatur. [8]Alter intelligit, mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam: sed aut [9]necessitatem naturæ, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Itaque eam [10]sapientes numquam inviti, fortes etiam sæpe libenter [11]oppetiverunt. [12]Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem pœnam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. [13]Municipiis dispertiri jubet. [14]Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. [15]Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare. [16]Adjungit gravem pœnam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: [17]horribiles custodias circumdat, et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis eorum pœnam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum, aut per populum levare possit. [18]Eripit etiam spem, quæ sola hominem in miseriis consolari solet. [19]Bona præterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus: [20]quam si eripuisset, multos, uno dolore, animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum pœnas ademisset. [21]Itaque, ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt: quod [22]videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, patres conscripti, ego [1]mea, video, quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam [2]hanc is in republica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, [3]hoc auctore et cognitore

hujusce sententiæ, mihi [4]populares impetus pertimescendi. Sin [5]illam alteram; [6]nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. [7]Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas reipublicæ vincat. [8]Habemus enim a C. Cæsare, sicut [9]ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam, tamquam obsidem perpetuæ in rempublicam voluntatis. [10]Intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem concionatorum, et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem. Video de [11]istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse [12]non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et [13]nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos [14]dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit, et [15]indices hesterno die maximis præmiis affecit. [16]Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, [17]quæsitori gratulationem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. [18]At vero C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam: qui autem reipublicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique [19]ipsum latorem legis Semproniæ, jussu populi, pœnas reipublicæ dependisse. [20]Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis, tam acerbe, tamque crudeliter cogitarit, appellari posse popularem. Itaque [21]homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisque mandare; [22]et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare, et [23]in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. [24]Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis, etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. [1]Quamobrem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem, populo carum atque jucundum: sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis, [2]atque obtinebo, eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quæ potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda

crudelitas? [3]Ego enim de meo sensu judico. [4]Nam ita mihi salva republica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. [5]Videor enim mihi hanc urbem videre, lucem orbis terrarum, atque [6]arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo [7]sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium: [8]versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi, et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. Cum vero [9]mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, [10]purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrumfamilias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac [11]vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi [12]vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque [13]præbebo. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium [14]de servis non quam acerbissimum sumserit; utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? [15]Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac cruciatu [16]nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt: qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrûm domos, et [17]hoc universum reipublicæ domicilium delere conati sunt: [18]qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent: si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis crudelitatis [19]in patriæ civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuipiam [20]L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus reipublicæ, [21]crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cum [22]sororis suæ, feminæ electissimæ, [23]virum, præsentem et audientem, vita privandum esse dixit; [24]cum avum jussu consulis

interfectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. [25] Quorum quod simile factum? Quod [26] initum delendæ reipublicæ consilium? [27] Largitionis voluntas tum in republica versata est, et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore [28] hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, [29] ne quid de summa republica minueretur: [30] hic ad evertenda fundamenta reipublicæ Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. [31] Veremini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, [32] aliquid severius statuisse videamini; cum multo magis sit verendum, ne [33] remissione pœnæ crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

VII. Sed ea, [1] quæ exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. [2] Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, [3] eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia [4] et provisa, et parata, et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, [5] tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætatum: plenum est forum, plena templa circa forum, pleni omnes aditus [6] hujus loci ac templi. Causa enim est post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, [7] præter eos, qui cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius, quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter: neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, [8] qua virtute ad communem dignitatem

salutemque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? [9]Qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore reipublicæ certent: quos, [10]ex multorum annorum dissensione [11]ad hujus ordinis societatem concordiamque revocatos, hodiernus dies vobiscum atque [12]hæc causa conjungit: quam conjunctionem si, in consulatu [13]confirmatam meo, perpetuam in republica tenuerimus; confirmo vobis, [14]nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam reipublicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ reipublicæ convenisse video [15]tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; [16]scribas item universos; quos [17]cum casu hæc dies ad ærarium frequentasset, video [18]ab exspectatione sortis ad communem salutem esse conversos. [19]Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operæ pretium est, patres conscripti, [1]libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere; [2]qui, virtute sua fortunam civitatis consecuti, hanc vere suam patriam esse judicant: quam [3]quidam hinc nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed [4]quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemorem, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos communis respublica, quos denique libertas ea, quæ dulcissima est, ad salutem patriæ defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, [5]qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc stare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet, et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, [6]voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrûm [7]forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli [8]concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem cœptum atque tentatum; sed [9]nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non [10]ipsum

illum sellæ atque operis et quæstus quotidiani locum; qui non cubile ac lectulum suum; qui denique non [11]cursum hunc otiosum vitæ suæ, salvum esse vellent. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt; immo vero, (id enim potius est dicendum,) genus hoc universum, amantissimum est otii: etenim [12]omne eorum instrumentum, omnis opera ac quæstus, frequentia civium sustinetur, alitur otio: quorum si quæstus, [13]occlusis tabernis, minui solet, [14]quid tandem incensis futurum est? Quæ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete.

IX. Habetis [1]consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis, atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum: omnes ordines ad conservandam rempublicam [2]mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce, consentiunt: obsessa facibus et telis impiæ conjurationis, [3]vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis [4]aras Penatium, vobis [5]illum ignem Vestæ perpetuum ac [6]sempiternum, vobis omnia templa deorum atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, [7]de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est. Habetis [8]ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui; [9]quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod [10]in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate [11]auctas exaggeratasque fortunas [12]una nox pæne delerit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio pæne præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum: sed ut mea vox, quæ debet [13]esse in republica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X. Nunc ante quam, patres conscripti, ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. [1]Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse judico [2]turpem et infirmam, contemtam et abjectam. [3]Quod si aliquando, alicujus furore et scelere [4]concitata, manus ista plus valuerit, quam vestra ac reipublicæ dignitas; me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: [5]vitæ tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim [6]semper bene [7]gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ reipublicæ gratulationem decrevistis. Sit [8]Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque ex Italia decedere coactus est: ornetur [9]alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit: habeatur vir egregius, [10]L. Paullus ille, [11]cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus, Perses, honestavit: sit in æterna gloria Marius, qui [12]bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus [13]Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes, [14]iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profecto inter horum laudes [15]aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ: nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, [16]quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est [17]uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriæ, quam domesticæ; quod hostes alienigenæ [18]aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos, cum a pernicie reipublicæ repuleris, nec vi coërcere, nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video; quod ego vestro, bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quæ

non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed etiam in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper hærebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et [19]tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium perfringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quæ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, [1]pro imperio, [2]pro exercitu, [3]pro provincia, quam neglexi, [4]pro triumpho, ceterisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me, propter urbis vestræque salutis custodiam, repudiata, [5]pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus rebus, [6]pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandam rempublicam diligentia, nihil aliud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: [7]quæ dum erit vestris mentibus infixa, firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitrabor. Quodsi meam spem vis improborum [8]fefellerit atque superaverit; commendo vobis parvum meum filium: [9]cui profecto satis erit præsidii, non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hæc omnia suo solus periculo conservaverit, illum esse filium memineritis. Quapropter [10]de summa salute vestra, populique Romani, patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, [11]de aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute Italiæ, deque [12]universa republica, decernite [13]diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet; et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et [14]per se ipsum præstare possit.

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS
PRO
A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA
ORATIO.

I. (1.) [2]Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, [3]in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si [4]hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis [5]hic A. Licinius fructum a me [6]repetere prope suo jure debet. [7]Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, et [8]pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem, et ad suscipiendam, et [9]ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque [10]conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; [11]a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem, et salutem ferre debemus. (2.) [12]Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque [13]hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, [14]ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus umquam dediti fuimus. [15]Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad [16]humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

II. (3.) Sed ne cui vestrûm mirum esse videatur, me

[1]in quæstione legitima, et in judicio publico, [2]cum res agatur apud [3]prætorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos [4]judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, [5]quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat; quæso a vobis, [6]ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis quemadmodum spero non molestam; ut me pro summo poëta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum, [7]hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente judicium, patiamini [8]de studiis humanitatis ac literarum paullo loqui liberius, et [9]in ejusmodi persona, quæ, propter otium ac studium, minime in judiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope [10]novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. (4.) Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, [11]perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adsciscendum fuisse.

III. [1]Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis [2]ad humanitatem informari solet, se [3]ad scribendi studium contulit: primum Antiochiæ, (nam ibi natus est [4]loco nobili;) celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque [5]eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter [6]ei antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus cunctæque Græciæ [7]sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. (5.) Erat Italia tunc plena [8]Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum: studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc [9]iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem reipublicæ, [10]non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Rhegini, et Neapolitani, civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt; et omnes, [11]qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt.

[12]Hac tanta celebritate famæ cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit, [13]Mario consule et Catulo. [14]Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque [15]aures [16]adhibere posset. Statim [17]Luculli, cum [18]prætextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed hoc [19]non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiæ prima fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. (6.) Erat temporibus illis jucundus Q. Metello, [20]illi Numidico, [21]et ejus filio Pio. [22]Audiebatur a M. Æmilio: [23]vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre, et filio: a L. Crasso [24]colebatur: [25]Lucullos vero, et [26]Drusum, et [27]Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum, devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore; quod eum non solum [28]colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte simulabant.

IV. [1]Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum L. Lucullo [2]in Siciliam profectus, et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit [3]Heracleam. [4]Quæ cum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli, ab Heracleensibus impetravit. (7.) [5]Data est civitas [6]Silvani lege et Carbonis, "Si qui fœderatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent: si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent:" et, "si sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi." Cum hic domicilium Romæ [7]multos jam annos haberet professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. (8.) [8]Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, [9]Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse [10]tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir [11]summa auctoritate, et religione, et fide, L. Lucullus, [12]qui se non opinari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse

dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines; (hujus judicii causa [13]cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt;) qui hunc adscriptum [14]Heracleensem dicunt. Hic tu [15]tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas, quas [16]Italico bello, incenso [17]tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum, [18]ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere; quærere, quæ habere non possumus: et [19]de hominum memoria tacere, [20]literarum memoriam flagitare: et, [21]cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, [22]quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. (9.) [23]At domicilium in Italia non habuit. Is qui, tot annis [24]ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? [25]At non est professus. [26]Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. [1]Nam cum [2]Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatæ dicerentur; Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resignasset: Metellus, homo sanctissimus [3]modestissimusque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad [4]judices venerit, et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. [5]His igitur tabulis [6]nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii videtis. (10.) Quæ cum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim cum [7]mediocribus multis, et aut nulla, aut humili aliqua arte præditis, gratuito civitatem [8]in Græcia homines impertiebantur, [9]Rheginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos, quod [10]scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa ingenii prædito gloria, noluisse! [11]Quid? cum ceteri, non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post [12]legem Papiam, aliquo modo [13]in eorum municipiorum tabulas [14]irrepserint: hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracleensem esse

voluit, rejicietur? (11.) [15]Census nostros requiris scilicet. —[16]Est enim obscurum, proximis censoribus, [17]hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse; [18]superioribus, [19]cum eodem quæstore fuisse in Asia: [20]primis, Julio et Crasso, [21]nullam populi partem esse censam. [22]Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, [23]ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive; [24]iis temporibus, quæ tu criminaris, ne ipsius quidem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et [25]testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, [26]et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo [27]proconsule.

VI. [1]Quære argumenta, si qua potes. Numquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum indicio revincetur.

(12.) Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. [2]Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convicio defessæ conquiescant. An tu existimas aut [3]suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, [4]nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, [5]nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me [6]his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, [7]ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut [8]ab nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut [9]otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocarit, aut denique somnus retardarit? (13.) Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris [10]ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt [11]tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique [12]aleæ, quantum [13]pilæ; tantum mihi egomet [14]ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero?

Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, [15]quod ex his studiis hæc quoque censetur oratio et facultas, quæ, [16]quantacumque est in me, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. [17]Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. (14.) [18]Nam, nisi [19]multorum præceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita [20]magno opere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem, [21]in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii, parvi esse ducenda; numquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas [22]dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. [23]Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenæ [24]sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, [25]nisi literarum lumen accederet. [26]Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego [27]mihi semper in administranda republica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. (15.) Quæret quispiam: "Quid? [1]illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes literis proditæ sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt?" [2]Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare; [3]sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines [4]excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, [5]naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor. Etiam illud adjungo, sæpius [6]ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. [7]Atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere exsistere: (16.) [8]ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, [9]Africanum: ex hoc [10]C. Lælium, L. Furium, [11]moderatissimos

homines et continentissimos: ex hoc fortissimum virum, [12]et illis temporibus doctissimum, [13]M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil [14]ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. [15]Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. [16]Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum; hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, [17]delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

VIII. (17.) [1]Quod si ipsi hæc neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrûm [2]tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut [3]Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? [4]qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille [5]corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus; nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? (18.) Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, ([6]utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis,) quoties ego hunc vidi, [7]cum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quæ tum agerentur, [8]dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, [9]commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quæ vero [10]accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem? [11]Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, [12]ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina, et præceptis, et arte constare; poëtam natura ipsa valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu [13]inflari.

Quare [14]suo jure noster ille Ennius [15]sanctos appellat poëtas, [16]quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. (19.) Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, [17]humanissimos homines, hoc poëtæ nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaria violavit. [18]Saxa et solitudines voci respondent; bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos [19]instituti rebus optimis non poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum [20]Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, [21]Chii suum vindicant, [22]Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam [23]delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se atque [24]contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi [1]alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt; nos hunc vivum, qui [2]et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiamus? præsertim cum [3]omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam [4]et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit, et [5]ipsi illi C. Mario, [6]qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. (20.) Neque enim quisquam est [7]tam aversus a Musis, [8]qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum facile præconium patiatur. [9]Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quæreretur, [10]quod acroama, aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: "ejus, [11]a quo sua virtus optime prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marius [12]item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari. (21.) [13]Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile, et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: [14]qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. [15]Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura regionis vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, [16]non maxima manu innumerabiles [17]Armeniorum copias fudit: [18]populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam

Cyzicenorum, ejusdem consilio, [19] ex omni impetu regio, ac totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam; [20] nostra semper feretur et prædicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis: [21] nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi. Quare, quorum ingeniis hæc [22] feruntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. (22.) Carus fuit [23] Africano superiori noster Ennius; [24] itaque etiam [25] in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At [26] ejus laudibus certe non solum [27] ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In cœlum [28] hujus proavus Cato tollitur; magnus honos populi Romani rebus [29] adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrûm laude decorantur.

X. Ergo [1] illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt; nos [2] hunc Heracleensem, [3] multis civitatibus expetitum, [4] in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

(23.) [5] Nam si quis [6] minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: propterea, quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, [7] Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, [8] orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, [9] quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare: [10] quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita, gloriæ causa, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum. (24.) [11] Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum [12] in Sigeo [13] ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, [14] "O fortunate," inquit, "adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!" Et vere. Nam, nisi [15] Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? [16] noster hic Magnus,

qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, nonne [17]Theophanem, Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militum civitate donavit? [18]et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt? (25.) [19]Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit! [20]Sulla, cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo hunc petentem repudiasset! [21]quem nos in concione vidimus, cum ei [22]libellum malus poëta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim [23]ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui sub ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. [24]Qui sedulitatem mali poëtæ duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? (26.) Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se, [25]neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui præsertim usque eo [26]de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam [27]Cordubæ natis poëtis, [28]pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, [1]sed præ nobis ferendum: [2]trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. [3]Ipsi philosophi, [4]etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: [5]in eo ipso, in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac se nominari volunt. (27.) [6]Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator, [7]Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit, [8]Fulvius, [9]non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores, [10]prope armati, poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices [11]a

Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere. (28.) Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, [12] jam me vobis, judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriæ, nimis acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam, [13] quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vita civium, proque universa republica gessimus, [14] attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, [15] hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, præter hanc laudis et gloriæ ; qua quidem detracta, judices, [16] quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? (29.) Certe, [17] si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus vitæ spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, [18] nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, neque toties de vita ipsa dimicaret. [19] Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noctes et dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat, atque admonet [20] non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adæquandam.

XII. (30.) [1] An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in republica, atque in his vitæ periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium, nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? [2] An, cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, [3] consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, [4] jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. [5] Hæc vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi

homines putaverunt, [6]ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit; nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

(31.) Quare conservate, judices, hominem [7]pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari tum dignitate, tum etiam [8]vetustate: ingenio autem tanto, quantum [9]id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis: causa vero ejusmodi, [10]quæ beneficio legis, [11]auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quæ cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modo [12]humana, verum etiam divina in tantis negotiis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris, vestrisque [13]domesticis periculis æternum se testimonium laudum daturum esse profitetur, quique [14]est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti atque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut [15]humanitate vestra levatus potius, quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. (32.) Quæ [16]de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quæ [17]non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine, et de hominis ingenio, [18]et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; [19]ab eo, qui judicium exercet, certe scio.

Reread April 28th 189

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIO PRO M. MARCELLO.

Begun April 25th 189

I. [2]Diuturni silentii, patres conscripti, [3]quo eram his temporibus usus, [4]non timore aliquo, sed [5]partim dolore, [6]partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit; idemque initium, [7]quæ vellem, quæque sentirem, meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim [8]mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam, inauditamque clementiam, [9]tantum, in summa potestate, rerum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem [10]sapientiam ac pæne divinam, tacitus nullo modo præterire possum. M. enim Marcello vobis, patres conscripti, reique publicæ reddito, non solum illius, sed meam etiam vocem et [11]auctoritatem, et vobis et reipublicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto.

[12]Dolebam enim, patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar, cum viderem, virum talem, [13]in eadem causa in qua ego fuissem, non in eadem esse fortuna: [14]nec mihi persuadere poteram, nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in [15]nostro veteri curriculo, illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite, distracto. Ergo et mihi [16]meæ pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar, interclusam aperuisti; [17]et his omnibus, ad bene de omni republica sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. [18]Intellectum est enim, mihi quidem in multis, et maxime in me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, cum M. Marcellum senatui populoque Romano concessisti, commemoratis præsertim [19]offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque reipublicæ, [20]tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferre.

[21]Ille quidem fructum omnis vitæ anteactæ hodierno die maximum cepit, cum summo consensu senatus, tum præterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit [22]laus, cum in accepto tanta sit gloria. [23]Est vero fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor pæne ad omnes, quam ad ipsum [24]ventura sit, lætitia pervenerit. Quod ei quidem merito, atque optimo jure, contigit. Quis enim est illo aut [25]nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis, præstantior?

II. [1]Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen affirmo (et hoc [2]pace dicam tua,) nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem, quam eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, [3]idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec [4]numero prœliorum, [5]nec varietate regionum, nec [6]celeritate conficiendi, [7]nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri: [8]nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quam tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis, [9]lustratæ sint.

[10]Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt [11]alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam [12]extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certe, [13]in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, [14]commeatus, multum juvant: maximam vero partem, [15]quasi suo jure, Fortuna sibi vindicat; et quidquid est prospere gestum, id pæne omne ducit suum.

At vero [16]hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante

adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, [17]quantumcumque est, (quod certe maximum,) totum est, inquam, tuum. [18]Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma [19]decerpit. [29]Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert: tibi cedit: [21]tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur. Numquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, [22]nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. DOMUISTI gentes [1]immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, [2]locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes: sed tamen ea vicisti, [3]quæ naturam et conditionem, ut vinci possent, habebant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quæ non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. [4]Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, [5]adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem; hæc qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed [6]simillimum Deo judico.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, [7]bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur illæ quidem non solum nostris, sed pæne omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla umquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet. Sed tamen [8]ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo, etiam cum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At vero, cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, (in [9]iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quæ natura insolens et superba est,) aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incendimur, [10]non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos sæpe, quos numquam vidimus, diligamus! Te vero, quem præsentem intuemur, [11]cujus mentem sensusque eos cernimus, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum reipublicæ fecerit, id esse [12]salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? [13]quibus studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complectemur?

Parietes, [14]me dius fidius, (ut mihi videntur,) hujus curiæ, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

IV. Equidem, cum [1]C. Marcelli, viri optimi [2]et commemorabili pietate præditi, lacrymas modo vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum [3]pectus memoria obfudit. Quibus tu etiam mortuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam reddidisti; [4]nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad paucos redactam, pæne ab interitu vindicâsti. Hunc tu igitur diem [5]tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratulationibus jure antepones. Hæc enim res unius [6]est propria Cæsaris: ceteræ, [7]duce te gestæ quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. [8]Hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es, et comes: [9]quæ quidem tanta est, ut tropæis monumentisque tuis allatura finem sit ætas (nihil enim est [10]opere aut manu factum, quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat vetustas): at vero hæc tua [11]justitia et lenitas animi florescet quotidie magis, ita [12]ut, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum afferat laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnes [13]victores bellorum civilium jam ante æquitate et misericordia viceras: hodierno vero die te ipsum vicisti. [14]Vereor, ne hoc, quod dicam, [15]non perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ipse cogitans sentio. Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cum ea, [16]quæ illa erat adepta, victis remisisti. Nam, cum ipsius victoriæ conditione jure [17]omnes victi occidissemus, [18]clementiæ tuæ judicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriæ conditio visque devicta est.

V. [1]Atque hoc C. Cæsaris judicium, patres conscripti, quam late pateat, attendite: omnes enim, [2]qui ad illa arma fato sumus [3]nescio quo reipublicæ misero funestoque compulsi, [4]etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, [5]a scelere certe liberati sumus. Nam, cum M. Marcellum, deprecantibus vobis, reipublicæ conservavit; memet mihi, [6]et iterum reipublicæ, nullo deprecante, [7]reliquos amplis-

simos viros et sibi ipsis et patriæ, reddidit: quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis. [8]Non ille hostes induxit in curiam; sed [9]judicavit, a plerisque, ignoratione potius, et falso atque inani metu, [10]quam cupiditate aut [11]crudelitate, bellum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello [12]semper de pace audiendum putavi; semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed [13]orationem etiam civium, pacem flagitantium, repudiari. [14]Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla umquam, secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ [15]socia, non belli atque armorum, fuerunt. [16]Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico: [17]tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, [18]ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem, prudens et sciens, tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.

[19]Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi: et in ipso bello [20]eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo, sensi. [21]Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum existimator, qui dubitet, quæ Cæsaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cum [22]pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, [23]ceteris fuit iratior. Atque id minus mirum fortasse tum, cum esset incertus exitus, et anceps fortuna belli: qui vero, [24]victor, pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat, [25]se maluisse non dimicare, quam vincere.

VI. [1]Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. [2]Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, vidi, cum insolentiam [3]certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius [4]victoriæ ferocitatem, extimescentem! Quo gratior [5]tua liberalitas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. [6]Non enim jam causæ sunt inter se, sed victoriæ, comparandæ. Vidimus tuam victoriam prœliorum exitu terminatam: gladium vagina vacuum in Urbe non vidimus. Quos amisimus cives, eos [7]Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ; ut dubitare debeat nemo,

quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam [8]ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest. [9]Alterius vero partis, nihil amplius dicam, quam (id, quod omnes verebamur,) [10]nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. Quidam enim, non modo [11]armatis, sed interdum etiam [12]otiosis, minabantur: nec, [13]quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur Dii immortales, ([14]etiamsi pœnas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverint, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverint,) vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando, [15]omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

[16]Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono; et fruere cum [17]fortuna et gloria, tum etiam natura et moribus tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. [18]Cetera cum tua recordabere, etsi persæpe virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati tuæ congratulabere. De nobis, quos in republica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties [19]de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua, cogitabis: [20]quæ non modo summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor [21]in laude vera, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut hæc a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aut pravitate aliqua [22]lapsis, [23]sed opinione officii, stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et specie quadam reipublicæ. [24]Non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt: contraque, summa laus, quod plerique minime timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. [1]Nunc vero venio ad gravissimam querelam, et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam; [2]quæ non tibi ipsi magis, quam, cum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero esse falsam, [3]numquam tamen verbis extenuabo. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; [4]ut, si in alterutro peccandum

sit, malim videri nimis timidus, quam parum prudens. [5]Sed quisnam est iste tam demens? [6]de tuisne? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex eo numero, [7]qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis [8]tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. At, si tui nihil cogitant sceleris, [9]cavendum est, ne quid inimici. Qui? omnes enim, qui fuerunt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt, aut tua misericordia retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut, qui [10]supersunt, sint amicissimi.

Sed tamen, cum in animis hominum [11]tantæ latebræ sint et tanti recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam: simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium [12]tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in republica, tam nihil umquam nec de sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat, tua salute contineri suam, et [13]ex unius tua vita pendere omnium? Equidem, de te dies noctesque ([14]ut debeo) cogitans, [15]casus duntaxat humanos, et incertos eventus valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, extimesco: [16]doleoque, cum respublica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis anima consistere. Si vero, ad humanos casus, incertosque eventus valetudinis, [17]sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensio; quem Deum, si cupiat, opitulari posse reipublicæ credamus?

VIII. Omnia sunt [1]excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, uni, quæ jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu (quod necesse fuit) perculsa atque prostrata: [2]constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, [3]comprimendæ libidines, [4]propaganda soboles: [5]omnia, quæ dilapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. [6]Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, tantoque animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata respublica, quicumque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis suæ: multaque uterque dux faceret [7]armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri pro-

hibuisset. Quæ quidem tibi omnia belli vulnera curanda sunt; [8]quibus, præter te, mederi nemo potest.

[9]Itaque illam tuam præclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audivi: "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel gloriæ." Satis, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si placet, gloriæ: at (quod maximum est) [10]patriæ certe parum. [11]Quare, omitte, quæso, istam [12]doctorum hominum in contemnenda morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo sapiens esse. Sæpe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud [13]nimis crebro dicere, satis te [14]tibi vixisse. [15]Credo: sed tum id audirem, [16]si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses. [17]Nunc, cum omnium salutem civium cunctamque rempublicam [18]res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint; [19]tantum abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quæ cogitas, nondum jeceris. [20]Hic tu modum tuæ vitæ, non salute reipublicæ, sed æquitate animi, definies? Quid, si [21]istud ne gloriæ quidem tuæ satis est? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.

[22]Parumne igitur, inquies, gloriam magnam relinquemus? Immo vero [23]aliis, quamvis multis, satis; tibi uni parum. [24]Quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id certe parum est tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quod si [25]rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit ut, devictis adversariis, rempublicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est; [26]vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura, quam gloriæ: [27]siquidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum, vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum, fama meritorum.

IX. [1]Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est; [2]hic restat actus, [3]in hoc elaborandum est, ut rempublicam constituas, eaque tu in primis composita, [4]cum summa tranquillitate et otio, perfruare: tum te, si voles, cum et patriæ, quod debes, solveris, [5]et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito. [6]Quid est enim omnino

hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum; quod cum venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est! [7] Quamquam iste tuus animus numquam [8] his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit; semperque immortalitatis amore flagravit.

[9] Nec vero hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, illa, inquam, [10] vita est tua, quæ vigebit memoria sæculorum omnium; quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. [11] Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes, oportet: quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jampridem multa habet; nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat. Obstupescent posteri certe, [12] imperia, provincias, [13] Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, [14] monumenta innumera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos. Sed, nisi hæc urbs [15] stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modo nomen tuum longe atque late; sedem quidem stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit, inter eos etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, [16] magna dissensio, cum alii laudibus ad cœlum res tuas gestas efferent, [17] alii fortasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis incendium [18] salute patriæ restinxeris; [19] ut illud fati fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. [20] Servi igitur iis etiam judicibus, qui multis post sæculis de te judicabunt, et quidem [21] haud scio, an incorruptius, quam nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia, judicabunt. [22] Id autem etiam si tunc ad te (ut quidam falso putant) non pertinebit; nunc certe pertinet, esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla umquam sit oblivio.

X. [1] Diversæ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententiæ: non enim [2] consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris, dissidebamus. [3] Erat autem obscuritas quædam, erat certamen [4] inter clarissimos duces: [5] multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expe-

diret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. [6]Perfuncta respublica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is, [7]qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut [8]morte dignos judicaret. [9]Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui, [10]armorum periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum; [11]ut etiam ille sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia, videri potest. [12]Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, et exstincta æquitate victoris: restat, ut omnes [13]unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid, non solum sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in ista sententia, qua cum antea, tum hodie vel maxime usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui hæc salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, [14]ut vitæ, ut saluti tuæ consulas: omnesque tibi, (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, quod [15]de me ipse sentio,) quoniam [16]subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modo excubias et custodias, sed etiam [17]laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum, pollicemur.

XI. [1]Sed, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio. Maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar: [2]majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt; quod ex omnium precibus et lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed, quia non est [3]stantibus omnibus necesse [4]dicere; a me certe dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quod volunt, et quod decet, et quod (M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et reipublicæ reddito) [5]præcipue id a me fieri debere intelligo. Nam lætari omnes, [6]non ut de unius solum, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio: [7]quod autem summæ benevolentiæ est, (quæ mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri,

præter eum quidem, cederem nemini,) cum id sollicitudine, cura, labore tamdiu præstiterim, quamdiu est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore, magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. [8]Itaque, C. Cæsar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, (quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar,) maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accesserit.

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Reread April 20th 189[illegible]

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIO

PRO LEGE MANILIA.

Begun April 23rd 187-

I. (1.) [2]Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester, multo jucundissimus, [3]hic autem locus, [4]ad agendum [5]amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites; tamen [6]hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non [7]mea me voluntas, sed [8]meæ vitæ rationes, ab ineunte ætate susceptæ prohibuerunt. Nam, cum antea [9]per ætatem nondum [10]hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem, statueremque, nihil huc, [11]nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria, afferri oportere; [12]omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. (2.) Ita neque hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab iis, qui [13]vestram causam defenderent; [14]et meus labor, in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum, [15]propter dilationem comitiorum, [16]ter prætor primus [17]centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, [18]et quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, [19]quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis; [20]et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre: certe, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, [21]ea apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et, si quid etiam [22]dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, [23]qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. (3.) [24]Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, quod [25]in hac insolita

mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in qua [26] oratio deesse nemini potest. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute: hujus autem orationis [27] difficilius est exitum, quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam [28] copia, quam modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. (4.) ATQUE, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, [1] unde hæc omnis causa ducitur: bellum grave et periculosum [2] vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, [3] Mithridate et Tigrane; [4] quorum alter relictus, [5] alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam [6] Asiam oblatam esse arbitratur. [7] Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literæ, [8] quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis [9] occupatæ; [10] qui ad me, pro necessitudine, quæ mihi est cum illo ordine, causam reipublicæ [11] periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: (5.) [12] Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: [13] regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate: Lucullum, magnis rebus gestis, [14] ab eo bello discedere: [15] huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: [16] unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti: eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, præterea neminem.

(6.) [17] Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur [18] de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum.—Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare [19] ad studium persequendi debeat: [20] in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis a majoribus, cum magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt: aguntur [21] certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima: quibus amissis, [22] et

pacis ornamenta, et subsidia belli requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est [23] a vobis et ipsorum et reipublicæ causa consulendum.

III. (7.) Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, [1] delenda vobis est illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta, quæ penitus jam insedit atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: [2] quod is, qui [3] uno die, tota Asia, [4] tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, [5] atque una literarum significatione, [6] cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc pœnam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, [7] sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat; et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto, [8] neque Cappadociæ latebris occultare velit, sed emergere [9] e patrio regno, atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiæ luce versari. (8.) Etenim adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo [10] insignia victoriæ, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit [11] L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores: sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille [12] pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verumtamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, [13] quod egerunt: venia danda, quod reliquerunt: propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam [14] respublica, [15] Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. (9.) Mithridates autem [1] omne reliquum tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: [2] qui, posteaquam maximas ædificasset ornassetque classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset, et se [3] Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simulasset; usque in Hispaniam [4] legatos [5] ac literas misit [6] ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus: ut, cum, duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis, [7] uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, [8] vos, ancipiti contentione districti, de imperio dimicaretis. (10.) [9] Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ multo plus [10] firmamenti ac roboris habebat, [11] Cn.

Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: [12]in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut [13]initia illa gestarum rerum magna atque præclara, non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti; [14]hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper acciderunt, [15]non culpæ, sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam [16]alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostra, neque falsa [17]afficta esse videatur. (11.) De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est [18]exorsus orationis meæ, videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores vestri sæpe, [1]mercatoribus ac naviculariis injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, [2]tot civium Romanorum millibus uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? [3]Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Græciæ lumen, [4]exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui [5]legatum populi Romani, consularem, vinculis ac verberibus, atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? [6]Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis [7]verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: [8]vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? (12.) Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit, tantam vobis imperii gloriam relinquere; sic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. [9]Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent [10]duo reges toti Asiæ, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, [11]cuncta Asia atque Græcia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: [12]imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum præsertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent, neque se id facere [13]summo sine periculo posse arbitrantur. (13.) Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos,

[14]unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum [15]prope esse, ([16]quo etiam carent ægrius,) cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad [17]maritimum bellum venerit, tamen [18]impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, [19]quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, [20]quorum salutem tali viro commendetis: [21]atque hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros, quod ejusmodi in provinciam homines [22]cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. [23]Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident, [24]tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

VI. (14.) Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores vestri [1]cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis, cum Pœnis bella gesserunt; quanto vos studio convenit, [2]injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere; [3]præsertim cum de vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, [4]tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: [5]Asia vero tam opima est et fertilis, [6]ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum, quæ exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si [7] et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. (15.) Nam ceteris in rebus, [8]cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiæ non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen [9]pecora relinquuntur, agricultura deseritur, [10]mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. [11]Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scriptura [12]vectigal

conservari potest. Quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, atque uno belli terrore amittitur. (16.) Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut eos, [13]qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis prope adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? [14]cum publicani familias maximas, quas in [15]saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque [16]custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos [17]illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis, non solum, (ut antea dixi,) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

VII. (17.) Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego [1]extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod [2]ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet: [3]quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. [4]Nam et publicani, [5]homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, [6]suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt: quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ curæ vobis esse debent. Etenim si vectigalia, [7]nervos esse reipublicæ, semper duximus; eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. (18.) Deinde [8]ceteris ex ordinibus homines gnavi et industrii partim ipsi in Asia [9]negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis: [10]partim suas et suorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate [11]prohibere; sapientiæ, videre, multorum civium calamitatem a republica sejunctam esse non posse. [12]Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare. Neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas, propter timorem. (19.) Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia, atque idem iste Mithridates [13]initio belli Asiatici docuit; id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia [14]res

magnas permulti amiserant, [15]scimus, Romæ, solutione impedita, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi [16]rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rempublicam, et, mihi credite, (id quod ipsi videtis,) [17] hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. [18]Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium [19]cum republica defendantur.

VIII. (29.) Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. [1]Potest enim hoc dici; belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est, [2]ne forte ea vobis, quæ diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. [3]Atque, ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro, et sapientissimo homini, et magno imperatori debeatur; dico, ejus adventu maximas [4]Mithridati copias, [5]omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas, fuisse; [6]urbemque Asiæ clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege [7]maxima multitudine, et oppugnatam vehementissime; quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: (21.) ab eodem imperatore [8]classem magnam et ornatam, [9]quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam: [10]magnas hostium præterea copias multis præliis esse deletas; [11]patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset: Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant [12]domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornata atque referta; ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociæ permultas

[13]uno aditu atque adventu esse captas: regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito, [14]ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque hæc omnia, [15]salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis; atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo [16]istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causæ, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. (22.) REQUIRETUR fortasse nunc, [1]quemadmodum, cum hæc ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites: non enim hoc sine causa quæri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut [2]ex eodem Ponto [3]Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant in fuga, [4]fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut [5]eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. [6]Sic Mithridates, fugiens, [7]maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas, in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita [8]illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. (23.) [9]Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, [10]plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatæ sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus [11]neque lacessendas bello neque tentandas putavit. [12]Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, [13]fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ [14]novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi [15]urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et prœliis usus erat secundis, [16]tamen

nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. (24.) [17]Hic jam plura non dicam: [18]fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quam processio longior quæreretur. [19]Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat, et eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic [20]fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quod regale iis nomen [21]magnum et sanctum esse videatur. (25.) [22]Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, [23]ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram umquam attingeret; [24]sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut [25]poetæ solent, qui res Romanas scribunt,) præterire me nostram calamitatem: quæ tanta fuit, ut eam, ad aures L. Luculli, [26]non ex prœlio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. (26.) [27]Hic in ipso illo malo, gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen, aliqua ex parte, iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, [28]quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo putavistis, partem militum, [29]qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. [30]Multa prætereo consulto; sed ea vos conjectura perspicitis. [31]Quantum igitur illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatæ nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, [32]novus imperator vester accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu?

X. (27.) Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bellum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, [1]ac tantis rebus præficiendo, dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque [2]innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam [3]antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit; quæ res est, quæ cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? (28.) Ego enim sic existimo, [4]in summo imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine [5]scientior umquam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui [6]e ludo atque pueritiæ disciplina, [7]bello maximo, atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum atque in militiæ disciplinam profectus est; [8]qui extrema pueritia miles fuit summi imperatoris, [9]ineunte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; [10]qui sæpius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt, [11]plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; [12]cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis non stipendiis, sed [13]triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus belli esse potest, [14]in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna reipublicæ? [15]Civile, [16]Africanum, [17]Transalpinum, [18]Hispaniense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus, [19]servile, [20]navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et [21]hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam [22]confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu militari positam, quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. (29.) [1]Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ potest par oratio inveniri? quid est, quod quisquam aut dignum illo, aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum possit afferre? [2]Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes imperatoriæ, quæ vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo,

consilium in providendo: [3]quæ tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus, aut audivimus, non fuerunt. (30.) [4]Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. [5]Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis, [6]non terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii, explicavit. [7]Testis est Africa, quæ magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. [8]Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione patefactum est. [9]Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et sæpius Italia, quæ, cum servili bello [10]tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: [11]quod bellum exspectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. (31.) Testes vero jam [12]omnes oræ, atque omnes exteræ [13]gentes ac nationes, [14]denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim [15]toto mari locus, per hos annos, aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? [16]Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme, aut referto prædonum mari navigaretur? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, [17]tam vetus, tam late dispersum, quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut [18]omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? (32.) Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? [19]quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas, aut a prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. SED quid ego [7]longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit [2]proprium populi Romani longe a domo bellare, et [3]propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas,

non sua tecta defendere. [4] Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, cum exercitus nostri a [5] Brundisio numquam, nisi [6] summa hieme, transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, [7] cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum [8] duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem pervenerint? (33.) [9] Cnidum aut Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias, captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus, [10] atque eos portus, quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietæ, celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, [11] inspectante prætore, a prædonibus esse direptum? Ex Miseno autem, [12] ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego [13] Ostiense incommodum, atque illam labem atque ignominiam reipublicæ querar, cum, prope inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui [14] consul populi Romani præpositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro dii immortales! tantamne [15] unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre reipublicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam [16] intra Oceani ostium prædonum navem esse audiatis? (34.) Atque hæc, qua celeritate gesta sint quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo prætereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam, aut [17] obeundi negotii, aut consequendi quæstus studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, [18] quam celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus navigavit? qui [19] nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari [20] Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit: inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque [21] hæc tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicæ firmissimis præsidiis classibusque munivit. (35.) Inde se cum in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Cisalpina præsidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram [22] Illyrici

maris, et in Achaiam omnemque Græciam navibus, [23]Italiæ duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque præsidiis adornavit: ipse autem, [24]ut a Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die [25]totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique prædones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim [26]unius hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem [27]Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme [28]apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media æstate confecit.

XIII. (36.) [1]Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid? ceteræ, quas paullo ante commemorare cœperam, quantæ atque quam multæ sunt? [2]non enim solum bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quærenda est; [3]sed multæ sunt artes eximiæ, hujus administræ comitesque virtutis. Ac primum, [4]quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores? quanta deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia? quanta fide? [5]quanta facilitate? quanto ingenio? quanta humanitate? Quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. [6]Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites; sed ea magis [7]ex aliorum contentione, quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. (37.) Quem enim [8]possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, [9]cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint? [10]quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de republica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut [11]propter cupiditatem provinciæ magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romæ [12]in quæstu reliquerit? — [13]Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui hæc fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui [14]ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas

calamitates, quocumque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? (38.) [15]Itinera, quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an [16]hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest [17]exercitum is continere imperator, [18]qui se ipsum non continet: neque severus esse [19] in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult. (39.) Hic miramur, hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerunt, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, [20]sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero, [21]quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac literæ perferuntur. Non modo, [22]ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. [23]Hiemis enim, non avaritiæ perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. (40.) Age vero, ceteris in rebus [1]qualis sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, et tam incredibilem cursum [2]inventum putatis? [3]Non enim illum eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter [4]in ultimas terras pertulerunt; sed eæ res, quæ [5]ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam [6]devocavit, [7]non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo [8]signa, et tabulas, ceteraque ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. (41.) Itaque omnes quidem, nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum, intuentur: nunc denique incipiunt

credere, [9]fuisse homines Romanos hac quando abstinentia: [10]quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. [11] Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum [12]hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis, maluisse. [13]Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimoniæ de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, [14]facilitate par infimis esse videatur. (42.) Jam quantum [15]consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, [16]in quo ipso inest quædam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, [17]hoc ipso in loco sæpe cognostis. Fidem vero ejus inter socios quantam existimari putatis, [18]quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic [19]tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia [20]nostræ memoriæ bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. (43.) Et, quoniam [1]auctoritas multum in bellis quoque administrandis atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. [2]Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris existiment, quis ignorat, cum sciamus, homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, opinione non minus [3]et fama, quam aliqua certa ratione commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum [4]clarius fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime [5]facit ad auctoritatem, [6]tanta et tam præclara judicia fecistis? (44.) An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non [7]illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus, referto foro, repletisque omnibus templis, ex quibus

[8]hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, [9]quantum auctoritas valeat in bello; ab eodem Cn. Pompeio [10]omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello præpositus est imperator, tanta repente [11]vilitas annonæ [12]ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariæ consecuta est, unius hominis spe et nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. (45.) [13]Jam, [14]accepta in Ponto calamitate, ex eo prœlio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium provincia non haberet; amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ipsum id temporis [15]divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem [16]insolita inflammatum victoria continuit, et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiæ retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute [17]profecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate profecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui [18]ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. (46.) Age vero, [1]illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore omnes uni huic se dediderunt? quod [2]Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium [3]in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid idem iste Mithridates? nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium, legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? [4]eum quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit: [5]ii, quibus semper erat molestum, ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem, quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, [6]multis postea rebus gestis, magnisque vestris

judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

(47.) Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, [7]quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut æquum est homini [8]de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: [9]Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam [10]ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna: de hujus autem hominis felicitate, quo de nunc agimus, [11]hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut præterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio nostra, aut ingrata esse videatur. (48.) Itaque [12]non sum prædicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res domi militiæque, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit: ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii [13]obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque [14]obsecundarint. Hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam [15]tam impudentem fuisse, qui a diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. [16]Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa (sicuti facitis) [17]velle et optare debetis.

(49.) Quare cum et bellum ita necessarium sit, ut negligi non possit: ita magnum, ut [18]accuratissime sit administrandum: et cum ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna: [19]dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis a diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rempublicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

XVII. (50.) [1]Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore: tamen ad tantum bellum [2]is erat deligendus atque mittendus. [3]Nunc, cum ad ceteras summas utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit, [4]quid exspectamus? aut cur non, ducibus diis immortalibus, eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute reipublicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committimus?

(51.) [5]At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicæ, [6]vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus; [7]itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, Q. Hortensius, [8]ab hac ratione dissentiunt: [9]quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse, et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias fortissimorum virorum et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsa re et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem: atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quæ adhuc a me dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse, et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. (52.) Quid igitur ait Hortensius? "Si uni [10]omnia tribuenda sunt, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium: sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere." Obsolevit jam ista oratio, [11]re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, [12]pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra [13]virum fortem A. Gabinium, [14]graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgasset: et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. (53.) Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quam ipsius populi Romani salus et [15]vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, prætores, quæstoresque

[16]capiebantur? cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu, et privato, et publico prohibebamur? cum ita clausa erant nobis omnia maria, [17]ut neque privatam rem transmarinam, neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. (54.) Quæ civitas antea umquam fuit, [1]non dico Atheniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non [2]Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe maritimisque rebus valuerunt, non [3]Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quæ civitas antea umquam [4]tam tenuis, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ non portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque oræ maritimæ per se ipsa defenderet? At hercle, [5]aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam, ille populus Romanus, cujus, usque ad nostram memoriam, nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, [6]magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit: (55.) nos, quorum majores [7]Antiochum regem classe [8]Persenque superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginienses, homines [9]in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque vicerunt, [10]ii nullo in loco jam prædonibus pares esse poteramus: nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos [11]præstare poteramus; tum, cum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Ægeo mari posita, [12]quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro [13]nihil timebat; [14]iidem non modo provinciis, atque oris Italiæ maritimis, ac portubus nostris, sed etiam [15]Appia jam via carebamus; et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani, [16]in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum vobis majores vestri [17]exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. (56.) [1]Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus, et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis; sed tamen [2]in

salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quam auctoritati vestræ obtemperare. Itaque [3]una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit; sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. (57.) [4]Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? (id quod est verius;) ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, cum [5]ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an [6]ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriæ imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, [7]qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus? (58.) An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes [8]honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebis fuissent, [9]anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; [10]in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem [11]per vos ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? [12]de quo legando spero consules ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt, [1] aut gravabuntur, [14]ego memet profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cujusquam, Quirites, [15]inimicum edictum, quo minus, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam: neque, [16]præter intercessionem, quidquam audiam; de qua (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio [17]socius adscribitur; propterea quod [18]alter uni id bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. (59.) Reliquum est, [1]ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur; qui cum ex vobis

quæreret, [2]si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid de eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri; [3]cepit magnum suæ virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, cum omnes, prope una voce, "in ipso vos spem habituros esse" dixistis. Etenim [4]talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non [5]et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo [6]vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis respublica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vita atque virtute.—(60.) [7]At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—[8]Non dico hoc loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: [9]non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab [10]uno imperatore esse confecta: duas urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: [11]non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: (61.) [12]in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova [13]summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid [1]enim tam novum, quam [2]adolescentulum, privatum, exercitum difficili reipublicæ tempore [3]conficere?—confecit:—huic præesse?—præfuit:—rem [4]optime ductu suo gerere?—gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescenti, [5]cujus a senatorio gradu ætas longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari? Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum [6]confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam [7]equitem Romanum triumphare? [8]At

eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed etiam studio omni visendam et concelebrandam putavit. (62.) Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum [9]duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore, cum esset [10]nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret, "Non oportere mitti hominem privatum [11]pro consule;" [12]L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, "Non se illum sua sententia pro consule sed pro consulibus mittere." Tanta in eo reipublicæ bene gerendæ spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut, ex senatusconsulto [13]legibus solutus, consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut [14]iterum eques Romanus [15]ex senatusconsulto triumpharet? [16]quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam hæc, quæ in hoc uno homine vidimus. (63.) Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, [17]profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem [1]de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populique Romani auctoritatem improbari: præsertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui [2]dissentiant, possit defendere: propterea quod, iisdem istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonum præponeretis. (64.) Hoc si vos [3]temere fecistis, et reipublicæ parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: [4]sin autem vos plus tum [5]in republica vidistis, vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis; aliquando isti principes,

et sibi, et ceteris, populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solum [6]militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque [7]interiorum nationum [8]ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, quam de hoste ac de laude, cogitet. Deinde etiam [9]si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. (65.) Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes, propter eorum, [10]quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, [11]injurias ac libidines. [12]Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ [13]requiruntur, quibus causa belli, propter diripiendi cupiditatem, inferatur. (66.) [14]Libenter hæc coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio disputarem, summis et clarissimis viris; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum calamitates: querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an, [15]hostium simulatione, contra socios atque amicos? quæ civitas est in Asia, [16]quæ non modo imperatoris, aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam si quem habetis, qui, [1]collatis signis, exercitus regios superare posse videatur: tamen, [2]nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia, manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit; non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. (67.) [3]Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quæ locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei

militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. [4] Videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari quotannis pecunia publica, [5] præter paucos; neque nos quidquam aliud assequi [6] classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, [7] qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus, proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non [8] cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis, magnum esse videamus. (68.) [9] Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui [10] inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. [11] Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis: est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius: cujus tantæ res gestæ terra marique exstiterunt, ut, cum [12] de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat; est [13] C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia præditus: est [14] Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis: est [15] C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. [16] Quare videte, num horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. (69.) Quæ cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum [1] istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, [2] auctore populo Romano, maneas in sententia, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi [3] perseverantiæque arbitror: deinde cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, [4] quantam nunc iterum [5] in eodem homine præficiendo videmus: [6] quid est, quod aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est [7] studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid [8] hoc beneficio populi

Romani, atque hac potestate prætoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum; id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero. (70.) Testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime, [9]qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, [10]qui ad rempublicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, [11]neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi [12]ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut præsidia periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus quæram: propterea quod pericula facile, [13]ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus: honores autem neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem nostra illa laboriosissima [14]ratione vitæ, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. (71.) Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne me reipublicæ causa suscepisse confirmo: tantumque abest, ut [15]aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut multas etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam, [16]mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. Sed ego me [17]hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem, et reipublicæ dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

[1]M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO L. MURENA

ORATIO.

I. (1.) [2]Quæ deprecatus a diis immortalibus sum, [3]judices, more institutoque majorum, illo die, quo, [4]auspicato, [5]comitiis centuriatis L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi, ut ea res mihi [6]magistratuique meo, [7]populo plebique Romanæ bene atque feliciter eveniret; eadem precor ab eisdem diis immortalibus, [8]ob ejusdem hominis consulatum una cum salute obtinendum, et ut vestræ mentes atque sententiæ cum populi Romani voluntatibus suffragiisque consentiant, [9]eaque res vobis, populoque Romano, pacem, tranquillitatem, otium, concordiamque afferat. [10]Quod si illa solemnis comitiorum precatio, consularibus auspiciis consecrata, tantam habet in se vim et religionem, quantam reipublicæ dignitas postulat: idem ego sum precatus, ut eis quoque hominibus, quibus hic consulatus, [11]me rogante, datus esset, ea res fauste, feliciter, prospereque eveniret. (2.) Quæ cum ita sint, judices, et cum [12]omnis deorum immortalium potestas aut translata sit ad vos, aut certe communicata vobiscum, idem consul eum vestræ fidei commendat, qui antea diis immortalibus commendavit; ut ejusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul, et defensus, [13]beneficium populi Romani cum vestra atque omnium civium salute tueatur. Et quoniam [14]in hoc officio studium meæ defensionis ab accusatoribus atque etiam ipsa susceptio causæ reprehensa est: ante-

quam pro L. Murena dicere instituo, pro me ipso pauca dicam; [15]non quo mihi potior, hoc quidem in tempore, sit officii mei, quam hujusce salutis defensio, sed ut, meo facto vobis probato, majore auctoritate ab hujus [16]honore, fama, fortunisque omnibus inimicorum impetus propulsare possim.

II. (3.) Et primum [1]M. Catoni, [2]vitam ad certam rationis normam dirigenti, et diligentissime perpendenti momenta officiorum omnium, [3]de officio meo respondebo. Negat fuisse rectum Cato, me et consulem, [4]et legis ambitus latorem, [5]et tam severe gesto consulatu, [6]causam L. Murenæ attingere. [7]Cujus reprehensio me vehementer movet, non solum ut vobis, judices, quibus maxime debeo, verum etiam ut ipsi Catoni, gravissimo atque integerrimo viro, rationem facti mei probem. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est æquius consulem defendi, quam a consule? Quis [8]mihi in republica potest aut debet esse conjunctior, quam is, cui respublica a me uno traditur sustinenda, magnis meis laboribus et periculis sustentata? [9]Quod si in iis rebus repetendis, quæ mancipi sunt, is periculum judicii præstare debet, qui se nexu obligavit, [10]profecto etiam rectius in judicio consulis designati, is potissimum consul, qui consulem declaravit, [11]auctor beneficii populi Romani defensorque periculi esse debebit. (4.) [12]Ac, si, ut nonnullis in civitatibus fieri solet, [13]patronus huic causæ publice constitueretur, is potissime honore affecto defensor daretur, qui, eodem honore præditus, non minus afferret ad dicendum auctoritatis, quam facultatis. [14]Quod si e portu solventibus ii, qui jam in portum ex alto invehuntur, [15]præcipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem, et prædonum, et locorum; [16]quod natura fert, ut eis faveamus, [17]qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, ingrediantur: [18]quo tandem me animo esse oportet, prope jam ex magna jactatione terram videntem, in hunc, cui video [19]maximas reipublicæ tempestates esse subeundas? Quare si est boni consulis, non solum

[20]videre, quid agatur, verum etiam providere, quid futurum sit, ostendam alio loco, [21]quantum salutis communis intersit, [22]duos consules in republica kalendis Januariis esse. (5.) Quod si ita est, non tam me [23]officium debuit ad hominis amici fortunas, quam respublica consulem ad communem salutem defendendam vocare.

III. [1]Nam quod legem de ambitu tuli, certe ita tuli, ut eam, quam mihimet ipsi jampridem tulerim de civium periculis defendendis, non abrogarem. Etenim si [2]largitionem factam esse confiterer, idque recte factum esse defenderem, facerem improbe, [3]etiam si alius legem tulisset: [4]cum vero nihil commissum contra legem esse defendam, quid est, quod meam defensionem latio legis impediat? (6.) [5]Negat esse ejusdem severitatis, Catilinam, exitium reipublicæ intra mœnia molientem, [6]verbis et pæne imperio urbe expulisse, [7]et nunc pro L. Murena dicere. [8]Ego autem has partes lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas me natura ipsa [9]docuit, semper egi libenter: [10]illam vero gravitatis severitatisque [11]personam non appetivi, sed ab republica mihi impositam sustinui, sicut hujus imperii dignitas in summo periculo civium postulabat. [12]Quod si tum, cum respublica vim et severitatem desiderabat, vici naturam, et tam vehemens fui, quam cogebar, non quam volebam: nunc, [13]cum omnes me causæ ad misericordiam atque ad humanitatem vocent, quanto tandem studio debeo [14]naturæ meæ consuetudinique servire? [15]At de [16]officio defensionis meæ, ac de ratione accusationis tuæ, fortasse etiam alia in parte orationis dicendum nobis erit.

(7.) Sed me, judices, non minus [17]hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi, Ser. Sulpicii, conquestio, quam Catonis accusatio [18]commovebat: qui [19]gravissime et acerbissime ferre dixit, me [20]familiaritatis necessitudinisque oblitum, causam L. Murenæ contra se defendere. Huic ego, judices, satisfacere cupio, vosque adhibere [21]arbitros. Nam cum grave est, vere accusari in amicitia, tum,

etiam si falso accuseris, [22]non est negligendum. [23]Ego, Ser. Sulpici, me in petitione tua tibi omnia studia atque officia, pro nostra necessitudine, et debuisse confiteor, et præstitisse arbitror. Nihil tibi, consulatum petenti, [24]a me defuit, quod esset aut ab amico, aut a gratioso, aut a consule postulandum. Abiit illud tempus: [25]mutata ratio est. [26]Sic existimo, sic mihi persuadeo, me tibi contra honorem L. Murenæ, quantum tu a me postulare ausus sis, tantum debuisse: contra salutem, nihil debere. (8.) Neque enim, si tibi tum, cum peteres consulatum, adfui, idcirco nunc, [27]cum Murenam ipsum petas, adjutor [28]eodem pacto esse debeo. Atque hoc non modo non laudari, sed ne concedi quidem potest, ut, amicis nostris accusantibus, non etiam alienissimos defendamus.

IV. Mihi autem cum Murena, judices, et vetus, et magna amicitia est, quæ [1]in capitis dimicatione a Ser. Sulpicio [2]non idcirco obruetur, quod ab eodem in honoris contentione superata est. [3]Quæ si causa non esset, tamen vel dignitas hominis, vel honoris ejus, quem adeptus est, amplitudo, summam mihi superbiæ crudelitatisque famam inussisset, si hominis, et suis et populi Romani ornamentis amplissimi, causam tanti periculi repudiassem. Neque enim jam mihi licet, [4]neque est integrum, ut meum laborem hominum periculis sublevandis non impertiam. Nam cum [5]præmia mihi tanta pro hac industria sint data, quanta antea nemini: [6]labores, per quos ea ceperis, cum adeptus sis, deponere, esset hominis et astuti et ingrati. (9.) [7]Quod si licet desinere, si te auctore possum, si nulla inertiæ, nulla superbiæ turpitudo, nulla inhumanitatis culpa suscipitur: ego vero libenter desino. Sin autem fuga laboris desidiam, repudiatio supplicum superbiam, amicorum neglectio [8]improbitatem coarguit: nimirum hæc causa est ejusmodi, quam nec industrius, nec misericors, nec officiosus deserere possit. Atque hujusce rei conjecturam [9]de tuo ipsius studio, Servi, facillime ceperis. Nam si tibi necesse putas, [10]etiam ad-

versariis amicorum tuorum de jure consulentibus respondere; [11]et, si turpe existimas, [12]te advocato, illum ipsum, quem contra veneris, [13]causa cadere: noli tam esse injustus, ut, cum [14]tui fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, nostros rivulos etiam amicis putes clausos esse oportere. (10.) Etenim, si me [15]tua familiaritas [16]ab hac causa removisset, et, si hoc idem Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis viris, si item ceteris, a quibus intelligo tuam gratiam magni æstimari, accidisset: in ea civitate consul designatus defensorem non haberet, in qua nemini umquam [17]infimo majores nostri patronum deesse voluerunt. Ego vero, judices, ipse me existimarem [18]nefarium, si amico, crudelem, si misero, superbum, si consuli defuissem. Quare [19]quod dandum est amicitiæ, large dabitur a me, ut tecum agam, Servi, non secus, ac si meus esset frater, qui mihi est carissimus, [20]isto in loco. [21]Quod tribuendum est officio, fidei, [22]religioni, id ita moderabor, ut meminerim, me contra amici studium pro amici periculo dicere.

V. (11.) [1]Intelligo, judices, tres totius accusationis partes fuisse, et earum unam in reprehensione vitæ, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus esse versatam. Atque harum trium partium prima illa, [2]quæ gravissima esse debebat, [3]ita fuit infirma et levis, ut illos lex magis quædam accusatoria, quam vera maledicendi facultas de vita L. Murenæ dicere aliquid coegerit. [4]Objecta est enim Asia: quæ ab hoc [5]non ad voluptatem et luxuriam expetita est, sed in militari labore peragrata. [6]Qui si adolescens, patre suo imperatore, non meruisset; aut hostem, aut patris imperium timuisse, aut a parente repudiatus videretur. [7]An, cum sedere in equis triumphantium prætextati potissimum filii soleant, [8]huic donis militaribus patris triumphum decorare fugiendum fuit, ut, rebus communiter gestis, pæne simul cum patre triumpharet? (12.) Hic vero, judices, et fuit in Asia, et viro fortissimo, parenti suo, magno adjumento in periculis, solatio in laboribus, gratulationi in victoria fuit. [9]Et, si

habet Asia suspicionem luxuriæ quandam, non Asiam numquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse, laudandum est. Quamobrem non Asiæ nomen objiciendum Murenæ fuit, ex qua laus familiæ, memoria generi, honos et gloria nomini constituta est: [10]sed aliquod aut in Asia susceptum, aut ex Asia deportatum flagitium ac dedecus. [11]Meruisse vero stipendia in eo bello, quod tum populus Romanus non modo maximum, sed etiam solum gerebat, virtutis: patre imperatore libentissime meruisse, [12]pietatis: finem stipendiorum, patris victoriam ac triumphum fuisse, felicitatis fuit. [13]Maledicto quidem idcirco nihil in hisce rebus loci est, quod omnia laus occupavit.

VI. (13.) [1]Saltatorem appellat L. Murenam Cato. [2]Maledictum est, si vere objicitur, vehementis accusatoris: sin falso, maledici conviciatoris. [3]Quare cum ista sis auctoritate, non debes, M. Cato, arripere maledictum [4]ex trivio, aut ex [5]scurrarum aliquo [6]convivio, neque temere consulem populi Romani saltatorem vocare: sed conspicere, quibus præterea vitiis affectum esse necesse sit eum, cui vere istud objici possit. Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit: neque in solitudine, [7]neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Tempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. [8]Tu mihi arripis id, quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum: [9]relinquis illa, quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino esse non potest. [10]Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur. Et, cum ea non reperiantur, [11]quæ voluptatis nomen habent, quæque vitiosa sunt: in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te [12]umbram luxuriæ reperturum putas? (14.) Nihil igitur in vitam L. Murenæ dici potest? Nihil, inquam, omnino, judices. Sic a me consul designatus defenditur, ut ejus nulla fraus, nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia, nulla crudelitas, [13]nullum petulans dictum proferatur. Bene habet: jacta sunt fundamenta defensionis. Nondum enim nostris laudibus,

quibus utar postea, sed prope inimicorum confessione, virum bonum, atque integrum hominem defendimus.

VII. [1]Quo constituto, facilior est mihi aditus ad contentionem dignitatis, quæ pars altera fuit accusationis.

(15.) [2]Summam video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, dignitatem generis, integritatis, industriæ, ceterorumque ornamentorum omnium, quibus fretum ad consulatus petitionem aggredi par est. Paria cognosco esse ista in L. Murena, atque ita paria, ut neque ipse dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te dignitate superarit. [3]Contempsisti L. Murenæ genus: extulisti tuum. [4]Quo loco si tibi hoc sumis, nisi qui patricius sit, neminem bono esse genere natum: facis, ut rursus plebs in Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur. [5]Sin autem sunt amplæ et honestæ familiæ plebeiæ; et [6]proavus L. Murenæ, et avus, prætores fuerunt, et pater, cum amplissime atque honestissime [7]ex prætura triumphasset, hoc faciliorem huic gradum consulatus adipiscendi reliquit, quod is jam [8]patri debitus, a filio petebatur. (16.) Tua vero nobilitas, Ser. Sulpici, tametsi summa est, tamen [9]hominibus literatis et historicis est notior, populo vero et suffragatoribus obscurior. Pater enim [10]fuit equestri loco: avus nulla illustri laude celebratus. Itaque non ex sermone hominum recenti, sed [11]ex annalium vetustate eruenda est memoria nobilitatis tuæ. Quare ego te semper in nostrum numerum aggregare soleo, quod virtute industriaque perfecisti, ut, cum equitis Romani esses filius, summa tamen amplitudine dignus putarere: nec mihi umquam minus in [12]Q. Pompeio, novo homine, et fortissimo viro, virtutis esse visum est, quam in homine nobilissimo, [13]M. Æmilio. Etenim [14]ejusdem animi atque ingenii est, posteris suis, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem nominis, [15]quam non acceperit tradere; et, ut Scaurus, memoriam prope intermortuam generis sui virtute renovare.

VIII. (17.) Quamquam ego jam putabam, judices, multis viris fortibus ne ignobilitas objiceretur generis,

[1]meo labore esse perfectum: [2]qui non modo [3]Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis illis, fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed his recentibus, Mariis, et Didiis, et Cæliis commemorandis [4]jacebant. Cum ego vero [5]tanto intervallo [6]claustra ista nobilitatis refregissem, ut aditus ad consulatum posthac, sicut apud majores nostros fuit, non magis nobilitati, quam virtuti, pateret: non arbitrabar, cum [7]ex familia vetere et illustri consul designatus ab equitis Romani filio, consule, defenderetur, de generis novitate accusatores esse dicturos. Etenim mihi ipsi accidit, ut cum [8]duobus patriciis, altero improbissimo atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque optimo viro, peterem: superavi tamen [9]dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam. [10]Quod si id crimen homini novo esse deberet, profecto mihi neque inimici, neque invidi defuissent. (18.) Omittamus igitur de genere dicere, [11]cujus est magna in utroque dignitas: videamus cetera.

[12]"Quæsturam una petiit, et sum ego factus prior." — [13]Non est respondendum ad omnia. Neque enim quemquam vestrûm fugit, [14]cum multi pares dignitate fiant, unus autem primum solus possit obtinere, non eundem esse ordinem dignitatis et renuntiationis; propterea quod renuntiatio gradus habeat, dignitas autem sit persæpe eadem omnium. [15]Sed quæstura utriusque propemodum pari momento sortis fuit. Habuit hic [16]lege Titia provinciam tacitam et quietam: [17]tu illam, cui, cum quæstores sortiuntur, etiam acclamari solet, [18]Ostiensem, non tam gratiosam et illustrem, quam negotiosam et molestam. [19]Consedit utriusque nomen in quæstura. Nullum enim vobis sors campum dedit, [20]in quo excurrere virtus cognoscique posset. (19.) [21]Reliqui temporis spatium in contentionem vocatur. Ab utroque dissimillima ratione tractatum est.

IX. Servius hic nobiscum [1]hanc urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi, cavendi, plenam sollicitudinis ac stomachi, secutus est: jus civile didicit: multum

vigilavit: laboravit: præsto multis fuit: multorum stultitiam perpessus est: arrogantiam pertulit: [2]difficultatem exsorbuit: vixit ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad suum. Magna laus, et grata hominibus, unum hominem elaborare [3]in ea scientia, quæ sit multis profutura. (20.) Quid Murena interea? Fortissimo et sapientissimo viro, summo imperatori, [4]legatus L. Lucullo fuit: qua in legatione duxit exercitum: [5]signa contulit: manum conseruit: magnas copias hostium fudit: urbes partim vi, partim obsidione cepit: [6]Asiam istam refertam, et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit: maximo in bello [7]sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator. Atque hæc, quamquam præsente L. Lucullo loquar, tamen ne ab ipso, propter periculum nostrum, [8]concessam videamur habere licentiam fingendi, publicis literis testata sunt omnia; quibus L. Lucullus tantum laudis impertit, quantum neque ambitiosus imperator, neque invidus, tribuere alteri in communicanda gloria debuit. (21.) [9]Summa in utroque est honestas, summa dignitas: quam ego, si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in laude ponam. Sed non licet. Agitat rem militarem: insectatur totam hanc legationem: assiduitatis et operarum harum quotidianarum putat [10]esse consulatum. “Apud exercitum [11]mihi fueris, inquit, tot annos? [12]forum non attigeris? abfueris tamdiu? et, cum longo intervallo veneris, cum iis, qui in foro habitarunt, de dignitate contendas?” Primum ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis, quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satietatis. Mihi quidem vehementer expediit, [13]positam in oculis esse gratiam. Sed tamen ego [14]mei satietatem magno meo labore superavi, et tu idem fortasse: verumtamen utrique nostrûm [15]desiderium nihil obfuisset. (22.) Sed, ut, hoc omisso, [16]ad studiorum atque artium contentionem revertamur: [17]qui potest dubitari, quin ad consulatum adipiscendum [18]multo plus afferat dignitatis

rei militaris, quam juris civilis gloria? Vigilas tu de nocte, ut tuis consultoribus respondeas: ille, ut eo, quo intendit, mature cum exercitu perveniat. Te [19]gallorum, illum [20]buccinarum cantus exsuscitat. [21]Tu actionem instituis, ille aciem instruit; tu caves, [22]ne tui consultores; ille, ne urbes aut castra capiantur. [23]Ille tenet et scit, ut hostium copiæ; tu, ut aquæ pluviæ arceantur: ille [24]exercitatur [25]in propagandis finibus; tu [26]in regendis: ac nimirum, (dicendum est enim quod sentio,) [27]rei militaris virtus præstat ceteris omnibus.

X. Hæc nomen populo Romano, hæc huic urbi æternam gloriam peperit: hæc orbem terrarum parere huic imperio coegit: omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra præclara studia, [1]et hæc forensis laus et industria latent in tutela ac præsidio bellicæ virtutis. [2]Simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus, [3]artes illico nostræ conticescunt.

(23.) [4]Et, quoniam mihi videris istam scientiam juris, tamquam filiolam osculari tuam, non patiar te in tanto errore versari, ut [5]istud nescio quid, quod tanto opere didicisti, præclarum aliquid esse arbitrere. Aliis ego te virtutibus, [6]continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide, ceteris omnibus, consulatu et omni honore semper dignissimum judicavi. [7]Quod quidem jus civile didicisti, non dicam, operam perdidisti: sed illud dicam, nullam esse [8]in illa disciplina [9]munitam ad consulatum viam. Omnes enim artes, quæ nobis populi Romani studia conciliant, [10]et admirabilem dignitatem, et pergratam utilitatem debent habere.

XI. (24.) Summa dignitas est in iis, qui militari laude antecellunt; omnia enim, [1]quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis, ab iis defendi et firmari putantur: summa etiam utilitas: siquidem eorum [2]consilio et periculo, cum republica, tum etiam nostris rebus perfrui possumus. Gravis etiam illa est, et plena dignitatis, dicendi facultas, ([3]quæ sæpe valuit in consule deligendo,) posse consilio atque oratione, et senatus, et populi, et eorum, qui res

judicant, mentes permovere. Quæritur consul, qui dicendo nonnumquam comprimat [4]tribunicios furores, qui concitatum populum flectat, [5]qui largitioni resistat. Non mirum, si ob hanc facultatem homines sæpe etiam non nobiles consulatum consecuti sunt: præsertim cum hæc eadem res [6]plurimas gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima studia pariat. Quorum [7]in isto vestro artificio, Sulpici, nihil est. (25.) Primum, dignitas [8]in tam tenui scientia quæ potest esse? [9]Res enim sunt parvæ, prope in singulis literis atque interpunctionibus verborum occupatæ. Deinde, etiam si quid apud majores nostros fuit in isto studio admirationis, id, [10]enuntiatis vestris mysteriis, totum est contemptum et abjectum. [11]Posset agi lege, necne, pauci quondam sciebant. [12]Fastos enim vulgo non habebant. Erant in magna potentia, qui consulebantur: a quibus etiam dies, [13]tamquam a Chaldæis, petebantur. Inventus est scriba quidam, [14]Cn. Flavius, [15]qui cornicum oculos confixerit, [16]et singulis diebus ediscendos fastos populo proposuerit, et ab ipsis cautis jureconsultis eorum sapientiam compilarit. [17]Itaque irati illi, quod sunt veriti, ne, dierum ratione pervulgata et cognita, sine sua opera lege posset agi, [18]notas quasdam composuerunt, ut omnibus in rebus ipsi interessent.

XII. (26.) [1]Cum hoc fieri bellissime posset: "Fundus Sabinus meus est:" "immo meus:" deinde judicium: noluerunt. "Fundus," inquit, "qui est in agro, qui Sabinus vocatur." Satis verbose. Cedo, quid postea? "Eum ego ex jure Quiritium meum esse aio." Quid tum? [2]"Inde ibi ego te ex jure [3]manu consertum voco." Quid huic tam loquaciter litigioso responderet [4]ille, unde petebatur, non habebat. [5]Transit idem jureconsultus, tibicinis Latini modo: [6]"Unde tu me," inquit, "ex jure manu consertum vocasti, inde ibi ego te revoco." Prætor interea ne [7]pulchrum se ac beatum putaret, [8]atque aliquid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, ei quoque [9]carmen compositum est, cum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero

in illo: "[10]Suis utrisque [11]superstitibus istam viam dico: inite viam." [12]Præsto aderat sapiens ille, qui inire viam doceret. "Redite viam." Eodem duce redibant. [13]Hæc jam tum apud illos barbatos ridicula, credo, videbantur: [14]homines, cum recte atque in loco constitissent, juberi abire: ut, unde abissent, eodem statim redirent. Iisdem ineptiis fucata sunt [15]illa omnia, "Quando te in jure conspicio:" et hæc: "[16]Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?" quæ dum erant occulta, necessario ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur: postea vero pervulgata, atque [17]in manibus jactata et excussa, [18]inanissima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima. (27.) [19]Nam cum permulta præclare legibus essent constituta, ea jureconsultorum ingeniis pleraque corrupta ac depravata sunt. Mulieres omnes, propter [20]infirmitatem consilii, majores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt: hi invenerunt genera tutorum, [21]quæ potestate mulierum continerentur. [22]Sacra interire illi noluerunt: horum ingenio senes [23]ad coemptiones faciendas, interimendorum sacrorum causa, reperti sunt. [24]In omni denique jure civili æquitatem reliquerunt, verba ipsa tenuerunt: ut, quia [25]in alicujus libris, exempli causa, [26]id nomen invenerant, putarunt, omnes mulieres, [27]quæ coëmptionem facerent, Caias vocari. [28]Jam illud mihi quidem mirum videri solet, tot homines, tam ingeniosos, per tot annos etiam nunc statuere non potuisse, [29]utrum diem tertium, an [30]perendinum: judicem, an arbitrum: rem, an litem dici oporteret.

XIII. (28.) Itaque (ut dixi) [1]dignitas in ista scientia consularis numquam fuit; quæ tota [2]ex rebus fictis commenticiisque constaret: gratiæ vero multo minores. Quod enim omnibus patet, et æque promptum est mihi et adversario meo, id esse [3]gratum nullo pacto potest. Itaque non modo beneficii collocandi spem, [4]sed etiam illud, quod aliquandiu fuit, "Licet consulere," jam perdidistis. Sapiens existimari nemo potest [5]in ea prudentia,

quæ neque extra Romam usquam, neque Romæ, rebus prolatis, quidquam valet. Peritus ideo haberi nemo potest, quod in eo, quod sciunt omnes, nullo modo possunt inter se discrepare. Difficilis autem res ideo non putatur, quod [6] et perpaucis et minime obscuris literis continetur. Itaque, si mihi, [7] homini vehementer occupato, stomachum moveritis, triduo me jureconsultum esse profitebor. [8] Etenim quæ de scripto aguntur, scripta sunt omnia: neque tamen quidquam [9] tam anguste scriptum est, quo ego non possim, " Qua de re agitur," addere; [10] quæ consuluntur autem, minimo periculo respondentur. Si id, quod oportet, responderis; idem videare respondisse, quod Servius: sin aliter; [11] etiam controversum jus nosse et tractare videare. (20.) Quapropter non solum illa gloria militaris vestris formulis atque actionibus anteponenda est, verum etiam dicendi consuetudo longe et multum [12] isti vestræ exercitationi ad honorem antecellit. Itaque mihi videntur plerique [13] initio multo hoc maluisse: post, cum id assequi non potuissent, [14] istuc potissimum sunt delapsi. Ut aiunt [15] in Græcis artificibus, eos [16] aulœdos esse, qui citharœdi fieri non potuerint; sic nonnullos videmus, qui oratores evadere non potuerunt, eos ad juris studium [17] devenire. [18] Magnus dicendi labor, magna res, magna dignitas, summa autem gratia. Etenim a vobis [19] salubritas quædam: ab iis, qui dicunt, salus ipsa petitur. Deinde vestra responsa atque decreta et evertuntur sæpe dicendo, et sine defensione oratoris firma esse non possunt: [20] in qua si satis profecissem, parcius de ejus laude dicerem: nunc nihil de me dico, sed de iis, qui in dicendo magni sunt aut fuerunt.

XIV. (30.) Duæ sunt [1] artes, quæ possunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis: una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni: ab hoc enim pacis ornamenta retinentur: ab illo belli pericula repelluntur. [2] Ceteræ tamen virtutes ipsæ per se multum valent, justitia, fides, pudor, temperantia; quibus te, Servi, excellere omnes intellig-

unt: [3]sed nunc de studiis ad honorem dispositis, non de insita cujusque virtute disputo. Omnia ista nobis studia de manibus excutiuntur, simul atque [4]aliquis motus novus bellicum canere cœpit. Etenim, ut ait, [5]ingeniosus poeta, et auctor valde bonus, prœliis promulgatis, [6]"pellitur e medio," non solum [7]ista vestra verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed etiam ipsa illa domina rerum, "sapientia; vi geritur res; spernitur orator," [8]non solum odiosus in dicendo, ac loquax, verum etiam "bonus: horridus miles amatur:" vestrum vero studium totum jacet. "Non ex jure manu consertum, sed [9]mage ferro," inquit, "rem repetunt." Quod si ita est, cedat, opinor, Sulpici, forum castris, otium militiæ, [10]stilus gladio, [11]umbra soli: sit denique in civitate ea [12]prima res, propter quam ipsa est civitas omnium princeps. (31.) Verum [13]hæc Cato nimium nos nostris verbis magna facere demonstrat; et oblitos esse, bellum illud omne Mithridaticum cum mulierculis esse gestum. Quod ego longe secus existimo, judices: deque eo pauca disseram; [14]neque enim causa in hoc continetur.

Nam, si omnia bella, quæ [15]cum Græcis gessimus, contemnenda sunt, derideatur de rege Pyrrho triumphus M'. Curii: de Philippo, T. Flaminini: de Ætolis, M. Fulvii; de rege Perse, L. Paulli: de Pseudophilippo, Q. Metelli: de Corinthiis, L. Mummii: sin hæc bella gravissima victoriæque eorum bellorum gratissimæ fuerunt; cur Asiaticæ nationes, atque [16]ille a te hostis contemnitur? Atqui, ex veterum rerum monumentis, vel maximum bellum populum Romanum cum [17]Antiocho gessisse video: cujus belli victor [18]L. Scipio, partita cum Publio fratre gloria, quam laudem ille, Africa oppressa, [19]cognomine ipso præ se ferebat, eandem hic sibi ex Asiæ nomine assumpsit. (32.) Quo quidem in bello virtus enituit egregia [20]M. Catonis, proavi tui: quo ille, cum esset, ut ego mihi statuo, talis, qualem te esse video,

[21] numquam esset profectus, si cum mulierculis bellandum esse arbitraretur. [22] Neque vero cum P. Africano senatus egisset, ut legatus fratri proficisceretur: cum ipse, paullo ante, Hannibale ex Italia expulso, ex Africa ejecto, Carthagine oppressa, maximis periculis rempublicam liberasset, nisi illud grave bellum et vehemens putaretur.

XV. Atqui, si diligenter, [1] quid Mithridates potuerit, et quid effecerit, et qui vir fuerit, consideraris: omnibus regibus, quibuscum populus Romanus bellum gessit, hunc regem nimirum antepones; quem L. Sulla, maximo et fortissimo exercitu, [2] pugna excitatum, [3] non rudis imperator, ut aliud nihil dicam, [4] bello invectum totam in Asiam, [5] cum pace dimisit: quem L. Murena, pater hujusce, vehementissime vigilantissimeque vexatum, repressum magna ex parte, non oppressum reliquit: qui rex, sibi aliquot annis sumptis ad confirmandas [6] rationes et copias belli, tantum ipse opibus conatuque invaluit, ut se Oceanum cum Ponto, Sertorii copias cum suis conjuncturum putaret. (33.) Ad quod bellum [7] duobus consulibus ita missis, ut alter Mithridatem persequeretur, alter Bithyniam tueretur: [8] alterius res et terra et mari calamitosæ vehementer et opes regis et nomen auxerunt: L. Luculli vero res tantæ exstiterunt, ut neque majus bellum commemorari possit, neque majore consilio et virtute gestum. [9] Nam, cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates [10] Asiæ januam fore putasset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, [11] et omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsessionis consumerentur. Quid? illam [12] pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum contento cursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Mitto prœlia: prætereo oppugnationes oppidorum. Expulsus regno tandem

aliquando, tantum tamen consilio atque auctoritate valuit, ut se, rege Armeniorum adjuncto, [13]novis opibus copiisque renovarit.

XVI. Ac, si mihi nunc de rebus gestis esset nostri exercitus imperatorisque dicendum, plurima et maxima prœlia commemorare possem. [1]Sed non id agimus. (34.) Hoc dico: si bellum hoc, si hic hostis, si ille rex contemnendus fuisset, neque tanta cura [2]senatus et populus Romanus suscipiendum putasset, neque tot annos gessisset, neque tanta gloria L. Luculli: neque vero ejus belli conficiendi curam tanto studio [3]populus Romanus ad Cn. Pompeium detulisset: cujus ex omnibus pugnis, quæ sunt innumerabiles, [4]vel acerrima mihi videtur illa, quæ cum rege commissa est, et summa contentione pugnata. Qua ex pugna cum se ille eripuisset, et [5]Bosporum confugisset, quo exercitus adire non posset: [6]etiam in extrema fortuna et fuga, nomen tamen retinuit regium. Itaque ipse Pompeius, regno possesso, ex omnibus oris ac notis sedibus hoste pulso, [7]tamen tantum in unius anima posuit, ut, cum omnia, quæ ille tenuerat, adierat, sperarat, victoria possideret; tamen non ante quam illum vita expulit bellum confectum judicarit. Hunc tu hostem, Cato, contemnis, quocum per tot annos, tot prœliis, tot imperatores bella gesserunt? cujus expulsi et ejecti vita tanti æstimata est, ut, morte ejus nuntiata, tum denique bellum confectum [8]arbitraremur? Hoc igitur in bello L. Murenam, legatum fortissimi animi, summi consilii, maximi laboris cognitum esse [9]defendimus: et [10]hanc ejus operam non minus ad consulatum adipiscendum, quam hanc nostram forensem industriam, dignitatis habuisse.

XVII. (35.) [1]"At enim in præturæ petitione prior renuntiatus est Servius."—[2]Pergitisne vos, tamquam ex [3]syngrapha, agere cum populo, ut, quem locum semel honoris cuipiam dederit, eundem [4]reliquis honoribus debeat? [5]Quod enim fretum, quem [6]Euripum tot motus,

tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum? Dies intermissus unus, aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia: et [7]totam opinionem parva nonnumquam commutat aura rumoris. Sæpe etiam sine ulla aperta causa fit aliud, atque existimamus, at nonnumquam ita factum esse etiam populus admiretur: quasi vero non ipse fecerit. (36.) Nihil est incertius vulgo, nihil obscurius voluntate hominum, [8]nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum. Quis L. Philippum summo ingenio, [9]opera, gratia, nobilitate, a M. Herennio superari posse arbitratus est? quis [10]Q. Catulum, humanitate, sapientia, integritate antecellentem, a Cn. Mallio? quis M. Scaurum, [11]hominem gravissimum, civem egregium, fortissimum senatorem, a Q. Maximo? Non modo horum nihil ita fore putatum est, sed ne cum esset factum quidem, quare ita factum esset intelligi potuit. Nam ut tempestates [12]sæpe certo aliquo cœli signo commoventur, sæpe improviso, nulla ex certa ratione, obscura aliqua ex causa concitantur; sic, in hac comitiorum tempestate populari, sæpe intelligas, quo signo commota sit; [13]sæpe ita obscura causa est, ut casu excitata esse videatur.

XVIII. (37.) Sed tamen, [1]si est reddenda ratio, [2]duæ res vehementer in prætura desideratæ sunt, quæ ambæ in consulatu Murenæ profuerunt: una, [3]exspectatio muneris, quæ et rumore nonnullo, et studiis sermonibusque competitorum creverat: [4]altera, quod ii, quos in provincia ac legatione omnis et liberalitatis et virtutis suæ testes habuerat, nondum decesserant. Horum utrumque ei fortuna ad consulatus petitionem reservavit. Nam et L. Luculli exercitus, qui ad triumphum convenerat, idem [5]comitiis L. Murenæ præsto fuit; et [6]munus amplissimum, quod petitio præturæ desiderabat, prætura restituit. (38.) Num tibi hæc parva videntur adjumenta et subsidia consulatus? [7]Voluntas militum? quæ cum per se valet multitudine, tum apud suos gratia, tum vero in consule

declarando multum etiam apud universum populum Romanum auctoritatis habet. Suffragatio militaris? imperatores enim comitiis consularibus, non [8]verborum interpretes deliguntur. [9]Quare gravis est illa oratio, "me saucium recreavit: me præda donavit: hoc duce castra cepimus, signa contulimus; numquam iste plus militi laboris imposuit, quam sibi sumpsit ipse; [10]cum fortis, tum etiam felix." [11]Hoc quanti putas esse ad famam hominum ac voluntatem? [12]Etenim si tanta illis comitiis religio est, ut adhuc semper [13]omen valuerit prærogativum: quid mirum est, in hoc felicitatis famam sermonemque valuisse?

XIX. Sed, si hæc [1]leviora ducis, quæ sunt gravissima, [2]et hanc urbanam suffragationem militari anteponis, noli [3]ludorum hujus elegantiam, et scenæ magnificentiam valde contemnere; quæ huic admodum [4]profuerunt. Nam quid ego dicam, populum ac vulgus imperitorum ludis magno opere delectari? Minus est mirandum. [5]Quamquam huic causæ id satis est: sunt enim populi ac multitudinis comitia. Quare si populo ludorum magnificentia voluptati est, non est mirandum, eam L. Murenæ apud populum profuisse. (39.) Sed si nosmet ipsi, qui et ab delectatione omni [6]negotiis impedimur, et in ipsa occupatione delectationes alias multas habere possumus, ludis tamen [7]oblectamur et ducimur; quid tu admirere de multitudine indocta? (40.) [8]L. Otho, vir fortis, meus necessarius, equestri ordini restituit non solum dignitatem, sed etiam [9]voluptatem. Itaque lex hæc, quæ ad ludos pertinet, est omnium gratissima, quod honestissimo ordini [10]cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis est restitutus. Quare delectant homines, mihi crede, ludi, etiam illos, qui dissimulant, non solum eos, qui fatentur: quod ego [11]in mea petitione sensi. [12]Nam nos quoque habuimus scenam competitricem. Quod si ego, qui [13]trinos ludos ædilis feceram, tamen Antonii ludis [14]commovebar: tibi, qui casu nullos feceras, [15]nihil hujus istam

ipsam, quam irrides, argenteam scenam, adversatam putas? (41.) Sed hæc sane sint paria omnia: [16]sit par forensis opera militari: sit par militari suffragatio urbana: sit idem magnificentissimos et nullos umquam fecisse ludos; quid? in ipsa prætura nihilne existimas [17]inter tuam et istius sortem interfuisse?

XX. [1]Hujus sors ea fuit, quam omnes tui necessarii tibi optabamus, juris dicundi: in qua [2]gloriam conciliat magnitudo negotii, gratiam æquitatis largitio: qua in sorte sapiens prætor, qualis hic fuit, offensionem vitat [3]æquabilitate decernendi, benevolentiam adjungit lenitate audiendi. Egregia et ad consulatum apta provincia, in qua laus æquitatis, integritatis, facilitatis, [4]ad extremum ludorum voluptate concluditur. (42.) [5]Quid tua sors? [6]tristis, atrox: quæstio peculatus, ex altera parte, lacrimarum et [7]squaloris, [8]ex altera, plena catenarum atque indicum. [9]Cogendi judices inviti, retinendi contra voluntatem: [10]scriba damnatus, ordo totus alienus: [11]Sullana gratificatio reprehensa; multi viri fortes, et [12]prope pars civitatis offensa est: [13]lites severe æstimatæ; [14]cui placet, obliviscitur, cui dolet, meminit. Postremo tu in provinciam ire noluisti. Non possum id in te reprehendere, quod in me ipso et prætor et consul probavi. Sed tamen [15]L. Murenæ provincia multas bonas gratias cum optima existimatione attulit. Habuit proficiscens delectum in Umbria: [16]dedit ei facultatem respublica liberalitatis: qua usus, multas sibi tribus, [17]quæ municipiis Umbriæ conficiuntur, adjunxit. Ipsa autem in Gallia, [18]ut nostri homines desperatas jam pecunias exigerent, æquitate diligentiaque perfecit. Tu interea Romæ [19]scilicet amicis præsto fuisti. Fateor; sed tamen illud cogita, nonnullorum amicorum studia minui solere in eos, a quibus provincias contemni intelligant.

XXI. (43.) Et, quoniam ostendi, judices, parem dignitatem ad consulatus petitionem, [1]disparem fortunam provincialium negotiorum in Murena atque in Sulpicio

fuisse; dicam jam apertius, in quo meus necessarius fuerit inferior Servius, et ea dicam, vobis audientibus, [2]amisso jam tempore, quæ ipsi soli, re integra, sæpe dixi. Petere consulatum nescire te, Servi, persæpe tibi dixi: et [3]in iis rebus ipsis, quas te magno et forti animo et agere et dicere videbam, tibi solitus sum dicere, magis te fortem senatorem mihi videri, quam sapientem candidatum. Primum [4]accusandi terrores et minæ, quibus tu quotidie uti solebas, sunt fortis viri; sed et populi opinionem [5]a spe adipiscendi avertunt, et amicorum studia debilitant. Nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit: neque [6]in uno aut altero animadversum est, sed jam in pluribus: simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur. (44.) [7]Quid ergo? acceptam injuriam persequi non placet? Immo vehementer placet: sed [8]aliud tempus est petendi, aliud persequendi. Petitorem ego, præsertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, [9]magnis copiis et in forum et in campum deduci volo: non placet mihi [10]inquisitio candidati, prænuntia repulsæ: non testium potius, quam suffragatorum comparatio: non minæ magis, quam blanditiæ: non [11]declamatio potius, quam persalutatio: præsertim cum jam, hoc novo more, omnes fere domos omnium concursent, [12]et ex vultu candidatorum conjecturam faciant, quantum quisque animi et facultatis habere videatur. (45.) "Videsne tu illum tristem? demissum? [13]jacet, diffidit, abjecit hastas." Serpit hic rumor: "scis tu illum accusationem cogitare? inquirere in competitores? testes quærere? [14]Alium faciam, quoniam sibi hic ipse desperat." Ejusmodi candidatorum amici intimi [15]debilitantur, studia deponunt, aut testatam rem abjiciunt, aut suam [16]operam et gratiam judicio et accusationi reservant.

XXII. Accedit eodem, ut etiam ipse candidatus [1]totum animum, atque omnem curam, operam, diligentiamque suam in petitione non possit ponere. Adjungitur enim accusationis cogitatio, [2]non parva res, sed nimirum

mnium maxima. Magnum est enim, te [3]comparare ea, uibus possis hominem e civitate, præsertim non inopem, ieque infirmum, exturbare: qui et per se, et per suos, t vero [4]etiam per alienos defendatur. Omnes enim ad ericula propulsanda concurrimus: et qui non aperte nimici sumus, etiam alienissimis, [5]in capitis periculis, micissimorum officia et studia præstamus. (46.) Quare go expertus et petendi, et defendendi, et accusandi moestiam, [6]sic intellexi: in petendo, studium esse acerimum; in defendendo, officium; in accusando, laborem. taque [7]sic statuo, fieri nullo modo posse, [8]ut idem acusationem et petitionem consulatus diligenter adornet tque instruat. [9]Unum sustinere pauci possunt, utrumue nemo. Tu, [10]cum te de curriculo petitionis deflexises, animumque ad accusandum transtulisses, existimasti e utrique negotio satisfacere posse! Vehementer errasti. Quis enim dies fuit, posteaquam [11]in istam accusandi deuntiationem ingressus es, quem tu non totum in ista atione consumpseris?

XXIII. [1]Legem ambitus flagitasti, quæ tibi non derat. [2]Erat enim severissime scripta Calpurnia. [3]Gestus st mos et voluntati et dignitati tuæ. [4]Sed tota illa lex ccusationem tuam, si haberes nocentem reum, fortasse rmasset: petitioni vero refragata est. (47.) Pœna [5]gravior in plebem tua voce efflagitata est; — [6]commoti animi enuiorum; — [7]exsilium in nostrum ordinem: concessit senatus postulationi tuæ, [8]sed non libenter duriorem fortunæ communi conditionem, te auctore, constituit. [9]Morbi excusationi pœna addita est, [10]voluntas offensa multorum, quibus aut contra valetudinis commodum laborandum est, aut incommodo morbi etiam ceteri vitæ fructus relinquendi. Quid ergo? [11]hæc quis tulit? [12]Is, qui auctoritati senatus, voluntati tuæ paruit: denique is tulit, qui minime probarat. [13]Illa, quæ mea summa voluntate senatus frequens repudiavit, mediocriter adversata tibi esse existimas? [14]Confusionem suffragiorum flagi-

tasti, [55]prorogationem legis Maniliæ, [17] æquationem gratiæ dignitatis, suffragiorum. Graviter [17]homines honesti, atque in suis civitatibus et municipiis gratiosi tulerunt, a tali viro esse pugnatum, ut omnes et [18]dignitatis et gratiæ, gradus tollerentur. [19]Idem editicios judices esse voluisti, [20]ut odia occulta civium, quæ tacitis nunc discordiis continentur, in fortunas optimi cujusque erumperent. (48.) Hæc omnia tibi accusandi viam muniebant, [21]adipiscendi obsæpiebant.

Atque [22]ex omnibus illa plaga est injecta petitioni tuæ, non tacente me, maxima: de qua ab homine ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo, Hortensio, multa gravissime dicta sunt. Quo etiam mihi [23]durior locus dicendi datus: ut, cum ante me et ille dixisset, et vir summa dignitate, et diligentia, et facultate dicendi, M. Crassus, [24] ego in extremo non partem aliquam agerem causæ, sed de tota re dicerem, quod mihi videretur. [25]Itaque in iisdem rebus fere versor, et, quoad possum, judices, occurro vestræ sapientiæ.

XXIV. Sed tamen, Servi, [1]quam te securim putas injecisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Romanum in eum metum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret, dum tu accusationem comparares, [2]deposita atque abjecta petitione? (49.) Etenim te [3]inquirere videbant, tristem ipsum, mœstos amicos; observationes, [4]testificationes, seductiones testium, [5]secessionem subscriptorum animadvertebant: quibus rebus certe ipsi candidatorum vultus obscuriores videri solent; Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro juventutis, vallatum [6]indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum cum spe militum, tum [7]collegæ mei, quemadmodum dicebat ipse, promissis; circumfluente colonorum [8]Arretinorum et Fesulanorum exercitu; quam turbam, dissimillimo ex genere, distinguebant homines [9]perculsi Sullani temporis calamitate. Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris: oculi sceleris: sermo, arrogantiæ: sic ut ei jam exploratus et [10]domi conditus

consulatus videretur. Murenam contemnebat: Sulpicium [11]accusatorem suum numerabat, non competitorem: ei vim denuntiabat: reipublicæ minabatur.

XXV. (50.) Quibus rebus qui timor bonis omnibus injectus sit, quantaque desperatio [1]reipublicæ, si ille factus esset, nolite a me commoneri velle: vosmet ipsi vobiscum recordamini. Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces [2]percrebuissent, quas habuisse in concione domestica dicebatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse, nisi [3]eum, qui ipse miser esset: [4]integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere: quare qui [5]consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet: minime timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum. (51.) Tum igitur, his rebus auditis, meministis fieri senatusconsultum, [6]referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus. Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, [7]Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus jussi, si quid vellet, quæ ad me allatæ essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit [8]apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, [9]duo corpora esse reipublicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite: alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, cum ita de se meritum esset, caput, se vivo, non defuturum. [10]Congemuit senatus frequens, neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit. Nam partim ideo fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant: partim, quia timebant. [11]Tum erupit e senatu, triumphans gaudio, quem omnino vivum illinc exire non oportuerat: præsertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine [12]paucis diebus ante, Catoni, fortissimo viro, judicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, [13]sed ruina restincturum.

XXVI. (52.) His tum rebus commotus, et quod hom-

ines jam tum conjuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina sciebam, descendi in campum cum firmissimo præsidio fortissimorum virorum, [1] et cum illa lata insignique lorica, non quæ me tegeret, (etenim sciebam Catilinam non latus aut ventrem, sed caput et collum solere petere,) verum ut omnes boni animadverterent, et, cum in metu et periculo consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem præsidiumque meum concurrerent. Itaque cum te, Servi, [2]remissiorem in petendo putarent, Catilinam et spe et cupiditate inflammatum viderent, omnes, qui illam ab republica pestem depellere cupiebant, ad Murenam se statim contulerunt. (53.) [3]Magna est autem comitiis consularibus repentina voluntatum inclinatio, præsertim cum incubuit [4]ad virum bonum et multis aliis adjumentis petitionis ornatum. Qui cum honestissimo patre atque majoribus, [5]modestissima adolescentia, clarissima legatione, [6]prætura probata in jure, grata in munere, ornata in provincia, petisset diligenter, et ita petisset, ut neque minanti cederet, neque cuiquam minaretur: huic mirandum est, magno adjumento Catilinæ subitam spem consulatus adipiscendi fuisse?

(54.) Nunc mihi tertius ille locus est orationis de ambitus criminibus, [7]perpurgatus ab iis, qui ante me dixerunt, a me, quoniam ita Murena voluit, retractandus: quo in loco [8]Postumio, familiari meo, ornatissimo viro, [9]de divisorum indiciis et de deprehensis pecuniis, adolescenti ingenioso et bono, [10]Ser. Sulpicio, [11]de equitum centuriis, M. Catoni, homini in omni virtute excellenti, de ipsius accusatione, de senatusconsulto, de republica respondebo.

XXVII. (55.) Sed pauca, quæ meum animum repente moverunt, prius de L. Murenæ fortuna conquerar. Nam cum sæpe antea, judices, et ex aliorum miseriis, et ex meis curis laboribusque quotidianis, fortunatos eos homines judicarem, qui, remoti [1]a studiis ambitionis otium ac tranquillitatem vitæ secuti sunt: tum vero in his L. Murenæ tantis tamque improvisis periculis ita

sum animo affectus, ut non queam satis neque communem omnium nostrûm conditionem, [2]neque hujus eventum fortunamque miserari: qui primum, dum ex honoribus continuis familiæ majorumque suorum [3]unum adscendere gradum dignitatis conatus est, venit in periculum, ne et [4]ea, quæ relicta, et hæc, quæ ab ipso parta sunt, amittat; deinde, [5]propter studium novæ laudis, etiam in veteris fortunæ discrimen adducitur. (56.) Quæ cum sint gravia, judices, tum illud acerbissimum est, quod habet eos accusatores non qui [6]odio inimicitiarum ad accusandum, sed qui studio accusandi ad inimicitias descenderunt. Nam, ut omittam Servium Sulpicium, quem intelligo [7]non injuria L. Murenæ, sed honoris contentione permotum, accusat [8]paternus amicus, Cn. Postumius, vetus, ut ait ipse, vicinus ac necessarius; [9]qui necessitudinis causas complures protulit, simultatis nullam commemorare potuit: accusat [10]Ser. Sulpicius, sodalis filii, [11]cujus ingenio paterni omnes necessarii munitiores esse debebant: accusat M. Cato, qui quamquam a Murena nulla re umquam [12]alienus fuit, tamen ea conditione nobis erat in hac civitate natus, ut ejus opes et ingenium præsidio multis etiam alienissimis, vix cuiquam inimico, exitio esse deberent. (57.) Respondebo igitur Postumio primum, [13]qui, nescio quo pacto, mihi videtur prætorius candidatus in consularem, quasi desultorius in quadrigarum curriculum, incurrere. [14]Cujus competitores si nihil deliquerunt, dignitati eorum concessit, cum petere destitit; sin autem eorum aliquis largitus est, expetendus amicus est, qui alienam potius injuriam, quam suam persequatur. * * * * * *

XXVIII. (58.) [1]Venio nunc ad M. Catonem, [2]quod est firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis; [3]qui tamen ita gravis est accusator et vehemens, ut multo magis ejus auctoritatem, quam criminationem pertimescam. [4]In quo ego accusatore, judices, primum illud deprecabor, ne quid L. Murenæ dignitas illius, ne quid exspectatio

tribunatus, ne quid totius vitæ splendor et gravitas noceat: denique ne ea soli huic obsint bona M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut multis prodesse posset. Bis consul fuerat [5] P. Africanus, et duos terrores hujus imperii, Carthaginem Numantiamque, deleverat, cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat in eo summa eloquentia, summa fides, summa integritas, auctoritas tanta, quanta [6] in ipso imperio populi Romani, quod illius opera tenebatur. Sæpe hoc majores natu dicere audivi, hanc accusatoris eximiam dignitatem plurimum [7] L. Cottæ profuisse. Noluerunt sapientissimi homines, qui tum rem illam judicabant, ita quemquam [8] cadere in judicio, ut nimiis adversarii viribus abjectus videretur. (59.) Quid? [9] Ser. Galbam (nam traditum memoriæ est) nonne proavo tuo, fortissimo atque florentissimo viro, M. Catoni, incumbenti ad ejus perniciem, populus Romanus [10] eripuit? Semper in hac civitate nimis magnis accusatorum opibus et populus universus, et sapientes ac [11] multum in posterum prospicientes judices restiterunt. [12] Nolo accusator in judicium potentiam afferat, non vim majorem aliquam, non auctoritatem excellentem, non nimiam gratiam. [13] Valeant hæc omnia ad salutem innocentium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium calamitosorum: in periculo vero, et in pernicie civium, repudientur. (60.) Nam si quis hoc forte dicet, Catonem descensurum ad accusandum non fuisse, [14] nisi prius de causa judicasset; iniquam legem, judices, et miseram conditionem instituet periculis hominum, si existimabit, [15] judicium accusatoris in reum pro aliquo præjudicio valere oportere.

XXIX. Ego [1] tuum consilium, Cato, propter singulare animi mei de tua virtute judicium, vituperare non audeo; nonnulla in re forsitan [2] conformare et leviter emendare possim. [3] "Non multa peccas," inquit ille fortissimo viro senior magister: "sed, si peccas, te regere possum." At ego te verissime dixerim peccare nihil, neque ulla in re te esse hujusmodi, [4] ut corrigendus

potius, quam leviter inflectendus esse videare. Finxit enim te ipsa natura ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam, ad omnes denique virtutes magnum hominem et excelsum. [5] Accessit istuc doctrina non moderata, [6] nec mitis, sed, ut mihi videtur, paullo asperior, et durior, quam aut veritas aut natura patiatur. (61.) Et quoniam non est nobis hæc oratio habenda aut [7] cum [8] imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paullo de [9] studiis humanitatis, quæ et mihi et vobis nota et jucunda sunt, disputabo. In M. Catone, judices, [10] hæc bona, quæ videmus, divina et egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnumquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistro. [11] Fuit enim quidam summo ingenio vir, [12] Zeno, cujus inventorum æmuli [13] Stoici nominantur. Hujus [14] sententiæ sunt et præcepta ejusmodi: [15] sapientem [16] gratia numquam moveri, numquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum et levem: viri non esse, neque exorari, neque placari: [17] solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi sint, formosos; si mendicissimi, divites; [18] si servitutem serviant, reges: nos autem, qui sapientes non sumus, fugitivos, exsules, hostes, insanos denique esse dicunt: [19] omnia peccata esse paria: omne delictum scelus esse nefarium: nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem [20] nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare numquam.

XXX. (62.) Hæc homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, [1] auctoribus eruditissimis inductus, arripuit: neque disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi. [2] Petunt aliquid publicani? [3] "Cave quidquam habeat momenti gratia." Supplices aliqui veniunt, miseri et calamitosi? "Sceleratus et nefarius fueris, si quidquam, misericordia adductus, feceris." Fatetur aliquis se peccasse, et ejus delicti veniam petit? "Nefarium est facinus, ignoscere." At leve delictum est. "Omnia peccata sunt paria."

[4]Dixisti quidpiam. " Fixum et statutum est." [5]Non re ductus es, sed opinione. " Sapiens nihil opinatur." [6]Errasti aliqua in re. Maledici putat. [7]Hac ex disciplina nobis illa sunt: [8]" Dixi in senatu me nomen consularis candidati delaturum." Iratus dixisti. " Numquam," inquit, " sapiens irascitur." [9]At temporis causa. " Improbi," inquit, " hominis est, mendacio fallere; mutare sententiam, turpe est; exorari, scelus; misereri, flagitium." (63.) [10]Nostri autem illi, (fatebor enim, Cato, me quoque in adolescentia, diffisum ingenio meo, quæsisse adjumenta doctrinæ,) nostri, inquam, illi a Platone et Aristotele, moderati homines et temperati, aiunt, apud sapientem [11]valere aliquando gratiam: viri boni esse misereri: distincta genera esse delictorum, et dispares pœnas: esse apud [12]hominem constantem ignoscendi locum: ipsum sapientem [13]sæpe aliquid opinari, quod nesciat: irasci nonnumquam: exorari eundem et placari; quod dixerit, interdum, si ita rectius sit, mutare; de sententia decedere aliquando; [14]omnes virtutes mediocritate quadam esse moderatas.

XXXI. (64.) [1]Hos ad magistros si qua te fortuna, Cato, cum ista natura detulisset, non tu quidem vir melior esses, nec fortior, nec temperantior, nec justior, (neque enim esse potes,) sed [2]paullo ad lenitatem propensior. Non accusares nullis adductus inimicitiis, nulla lacessitus injuria, [3]pudentissimum hominem, summa dignitate atque honestate præditum: putares cum [4]in ejusdem anni custodia te atque L. Murenam fortuna posuisset, aliquo te cum hoc reipublicæ vinculo esse conjunctum; quod atrociter in senatu dixisti, aut non dixisses, aut [5]seposuisses, aut mitiorem in partem interpretarere. (65.) Ac te ipsum (quantum ego opinione auguror) nunc et animi quodam impetu concitatum, et vi naturæ atque ingenii elatum, et recentibus [6]præceptorum studiis flagrantem, jam usus flectet, dies leniet, ætas mitigabit. Etenim isti ipsi mihi videntur vestri præceptores et virtutis magistri

fines officiorum [7]paullo longius, quam natura vellet, protulisse: [8]ut, cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet, consisteremus. [9]"Nihil ignoveris." [10]Immo aliquid, non omnia. "Nihil gratiæ causa feceris." [11]Immo resistito gratiæ, cum officium et fides postulabit. "Misericordia commotus ne sis." [12]Etiam; in dissolvenda severitate: sed tamen est laus aliqua humanitatis. [13]"In sententia permaneto." Vero; nisi sententiam alia vicerit melior. (66.) Hujuscemodi [14]Scipio ille fuit, quem non pœnitebat facere idem, quod tu: habere eruditissimum hominem, et pæne divinum domi: [15]cujus oratione et præceptis, quamquam erant [16]eadem ista, quæ te delectant, tamen asperior non est factus, sed (ut accepi a senibus) lenissimus. Quis vero C. Lælio comior? quis jucundior, eodem ex studio isto? quis illo gravior, sapientior? Possum de [17]L. Philo, de [18]C. Gallo dicere hæc eadem: sed te domum jam deducam tuam. Quemquamne existimas [19]Catone, proavo tuo, commodiorem, [20]comiorem, [21]moderatiorem fuisse ad omnem rationem humanitatis? De cujus præstanti virtute cum vere graviterque diceres, domesticum [22]te habere dixisti exemplum ad imitandum. Est illud quidem exemplum tibi propositum domi: sed tamen naturæ similitudo illius ad te magis, qui ab illo ortus es, quam ad unumquemque nostrûm pervenire potuit: ad imitandum vero tam mihi propositum exemplar illud est, quam tibi. Sed, si illius [23]comitatem et facilitatem tuæ gravitati severitatique adsperseris, non [24]ista quidem erunt meliora, quæ nunc sunt optima, sed certe condita jucundius.

XXXII. (67.) Quare, ut ad id, quod institui, revertar, [1]tolle mihi e causa nomen Catonis: remove ac prætermitte auctoritatem, quæ in judiciis aut nihil valere, aut ad salutem debet valere: congredere mecum criminibus ipsis. [2]Quid accusas, Cato? quid affers in judicium? quid arguis? Ambitum accusas? Non defendo. [3]Me reprehendis, quod idem defendam, quod lege punierim.

[4] Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam. [5] Ambitum vero ipsum vel tecum accusabo, si voles. Dixisti, senatusconsultum, me referente, esse factum, [6] "si mercede [7] corrupti obviam candidatis issent, si conducti sectarentur, si gladiatoribus vulgo [8] locus tributim, et item prandia si vulgo essent data, contra legem Calpurniam factum videri." Ergo ita senatus judicat, contra legem facta hæc videri, [9] si facta sint: decernit, quod nihil opus est, dum candidatis morem gerit. [10] Nam factum sit, necne, vehementer quæritur. Si factum sit, quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest. (68.) Est igitur ridiculum, quod est dubium, id relinquere incertum: quod nemini dubium potest esse, id judicare. [11] Atqui id decernitur omnibus postulantibus candidatis: ut ex senatusconsulto, neque cujus intersit, neque contra quem sit, intelligi possit. Quare doce, a L. Murena illa esse commissa: tum egomet tibi, contra legem commissa esse, concedam.

XXXIII. [1] "Multi obviam prodierunt de provincia decedenti, consulatum petenti." Solet fieri. [2] Eccui autem non proditur revertenti? [3] "Quæ fuit ista multitudo!" Primum, si tibi [4] istam rationem non possim reddere: quid habet admirationis, tali viro advenienti, candidato consulari, obviam prodisse multos? quod nisi esset factum, magis mirandum videretur. (69.) Quid, si etiam illud addam, [5] quod a consuetudine non abhorret, rogatos esse multos? num aut criminosum sit aut mirandum, qua in civitate [6] rogati infimorum hominum filios, prope de nocte, ex ultima sæpe urbe, deductum venire soleamus, in ea [7] non esse gravatos homines prodire hora tertia in campum Martium, præsertim talis viri nomine rogatos? Quid, si [8] omnes societates venerunt, quarum ex numero multi hic sedent judices? quid, si multi homines nostri ordinis honestissimi, quid, si illa officiosissima, quæ neminem patitur non honeste in urbem introire, [9] tota natio candidatorum? si denique ipse accusator [10] noster Postumius obviam cum bene magna caterva

sua venit: quid habet ista multitudo admirationis? Omitto [11]clientes, vicinos, tribules, exercitum totum Luculli, qui ad triumphum per eos dies venerat: hoc dico, [12]frequentiam in isto officio gratuitam, non modo dignitati ullius umquam, sed ne voluntati quidem defuisse. (70.) [13]"At sectabantur multi."—Doce, mercede: concedam esse crimen. Hoc quidem remoto, quid reprehendis?

XXXIV. [1]"Quid opus est," inquit, "sectatoribus?"—A me tu id quæris, quid opus sit eo, [2]quo semper usi sumus? [3]Homines tenues unum habent in nostrum ordinem aut promerendi aut referendi beneficii locum, hanc in nostris petitionibus operam atque assectationem. [4]Neque enim fieri potest, neque postulandum est a nobis, aut ab equitibus Romanis, ut suos necessarios candidatos sectentur totos dies: [5]a quibus si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum deducimur, si uno [6]basilicæ spatio honestamur, diligenter observari videmur et coli: [7]tenuiorum et non occupatorum amicorum est ista assiduitas, quorum copia bonis et beneficis deesse non solet. (71.) Noli igitur eripere [8]hunc inferiori generi hominum fructum officii, Cato: sine eos, qui omnia a nobis sperant, habere ipsos quoque aliquid, quod nobis tribuere possint. [9]Si nihil erit, præter ipsorum suffragium, tenue est: si, ut suffragentur, nihil valent gratia. Ipsi denique, ut solent loqui, [10]non dicere pro nobis, non spondere, non vocare domum suam possunt: atque [11]hæc a nobis petunt omnia, neque ulla re alia, quæ a nobis consequuntur, nisi opera sua, compensari putant posse. Itaque et [12]legi Fabiæ, quæ est de numero sectatorum, et senatusconsulto, quod est [13]L. Cæsare consule factum, restiterunt. [14]Nulla est enim pœna, quæ possit observantiam tenuiorum ab hoc vetere instituto officiorum excludere.—(72.) [15]"At spectacula sunt tributim data, et ad prandium vulgo vocati."—Etsi hoc factum a Murena omnino, judices, non est, ab ejus amicis autem [16]more et modo factum est; tamen admonitus re ipsa, recordor,

quantum hæ quæstiones in senatu habitæ [17]punctorum nobis, Servi, detraxerint. Quod enim tempus fuit aut nostra aut patrum nostrorum memoria, [18]quo hæc, sive ambitio est, sive liberalitas, non fuerit, ut locus et in circo et in foro daretur amicis et tribulibus? [19]Hæc homines tenuiores primum, nondum qui a suis tribulibus vetere instituto assequebantur * *.

XXXV. (73) * * * [1]Præfectum fabrûm semel locum tribulibus suis [2]dedisse: quid statuent in viros primarios, [3]qui in circo totas tabernas, tribulium causa, compararunt? [4]Hæc omnia sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum item crimina, a multitudine in tuam nimiam diligentiam, Servi, conjecta sunt: in quibus tamen Murena ab senatus auctoritate defenditur. Quid enim? Senatus num obviam prodire crimen putat? "Non; sed mercede." [5]Convince. Num sectari multos? "Non; sed conductos." [6]Doce. Num locum ad spectandum dare? aut ad prandium invitare? "Minime; [7]sed vulgo, passim."— Quid est vulgo? "Universos." Non igitur, si [8]L. Natta, summo loco adolescens, qui, et quo animo jam sit, et qualis vir futurus sit, videmus, [9]in equitum centuriis voluit esse et ad hoc officium necessitudinis, et ad reliquum tempus, gratiosus, id erit [10]ejus vitrico fraudi, aut crimini: nec, si [11]virgo Vestalis, hujus propinqua et necessaria, locum suum [12]gladiatoribus concessit huic, [13]non et illa pie fecit, et hic a culpa est remotus. [14]Omnia hæc sunt officia necessariorum, commoda tenuiorum, munia candidatorum.

(74.) At enim agit mecum [15]austere et Stoice Cato. Negat verum esse, allici benevolentiam cibo: negat, [16]judicium hominum in magistratibus mandandis corrumpi voluptatibus oportere. Ergo ad cœnam, petitionis causa, si quis vocat, condemnetur. [17]"Quippe," inquit, "tu mihi summum imperium, tu summam auctoritatem, tu gubernacula reipublicæ petas fovendis hominum sensibus, et deleniendis animis, et adhibendis voluptatibus? [18]Utrum

lenocinium," inquit, "a grege delicatæ juventutis, an orbis terrarum imperium a populo Romano petebas?" — [19] Horribilis oratio: sed eam usus, vita, mores, civitas ipsa respuit. Neque tamen Lacedæmonii, [20] auctores istius vitæ atque orationis, qui quotidianis epulis in robore accumbunt, neque vero [21] Cretes, quorum nemo gustavit umquam cubans, [22] melius, quam Romani homines, [23] qui tempora voluptatis laborisque dispertiunt, respublicas suas retinuerunt: [24] quorum alteri uno adventu nostri exercitus deleti sunt; alteri nostri imperii præsidio disciplinam suam legesque conservant.

XXXVI. (75.) Quare noli, Cato, majorum instituta, quæ [1] res ipsa, quæ diuturnitas imperii comprobat, nimium severa oratione reprehendere. Fuit [2] eodem ex studio vir eruditus apud patres nostros, et honestus homo et nobilis, Q. Tubero. Is, cum [3] epulum Q. Maximus, [4] Africani patrui sui nomine, populo Romano daret, rogatus est a Maximo, [5] ut triclinium sterneret, cum esset Tubero ejusdem Africani sororis filius. Atque ille, homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus, [6] stravit pelliculis hædinis lectulos Punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia: quasi vero esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur; quem cum supremo ejus die Maximus laudaret, gratias egit diis immortalibus, quod ille vir in hac republica potissimum natus esset; necesse enim fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Hujus in morte celebranda graviter tulit populus Romanus [7] hanc perversam sapientiam Tuberonis. (76.) Itaque [8] homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum esset L. Paulli nepos, P. Africani, ut dixi, sororis filius, [9] his hædinis pelliculis prætura dejectus est. Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit: [10] non amat profusas epulas; sordes et inhumanitatem multo minus: [11] distinguit rationem officiorum ac temporum, vicissitudinem laboris ac voluptatis. Nam, quod ais, nulla re allici hominum mentes oportere ad magistratum

mandandum, nisi dignitate; [12]hoc tu ipse, in quo summa est dignitas, non servas. Cur enim quemquam, ut studeat tibi, ut te adjuvet, rogas? Rogas tu me, ut mihi præsis, ut committam ego me tibi. Quid tandem? istuc me rogari oportet abs te, an te potius a me, ut pro mea salute laborem periculumque suscipias? (77.) Quid? quod habes [13]nomenclatorem? in eo quidem [14]fallis et decipis. [15]Nam, si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi. [16]Sin, etiam si noris, tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt, [17]cur ante petis, quam insusurravit? aut quid, cum admoneris, tamen, quasi tute noris, ita salutas? quid, posteaquam es designatus, multo salutas negligentius? [18]Hæc omnia ad rationem civitatis si dirigas, recta sunt: sin perpendere ad disciplinæ præcepta velis, reperiantur pravissima. Quare nec plebi Romanæ eripiendi [19]fructus isti sunt ludorum, gladiatorum, conviviorum, quæ omnia majores nostri comparaverunt: [20]nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda est, quæ liberalitatem magis significat, quam largitionem.

XXXVII. (78.) [1]At enim te ad accusandum respublica adduxit. [2]Credo, Cato, te isto animo atque ea opinione venisse. Sed tu imprudentia laberis. Ego quod facio, judices, cum amicitiæ dignitatisque L. Murenæ gratia facio, tum me pacis, otii, concordiæ, libertatis, salutis, vitæ denique omnium nostrûm causa facere [3]clamo atque testor. Audite, audite consulem, judices, nihil dicam arrogantius, tantum dicam, totos dies atque noctes de republica cogitantem. Non usque eo L. Catilina rempublicam despexit atque contempsit, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civitatem oppressurum arbitraretur. [4]Latius patet illius sceleris contagio, quam quisquam putat; ad plures pertinet. Intus, intus, inquam, est [5]equus Trojanus: a quo numquam, me consule, dormientes opprimemini. (79.) Quæris a me, quid ego Catilinam metuam. Nihil; et curavi ne quis metueret: sed [6]copias

illius, quas hic video, dico esse metuendas: nec tam timendus est nunc exercitus L. Catilinæ, quam isti, qui illum exercitum deseruisse dicuntur. Non enim deseruerunt, sed ab illo in speculis atque insidiis relicti, [7]in capite atque in cervicibus nostris restiterunt. Hi et [8]integrum consulem, et bonum imperatorem, [9]et natura, et fortuna cum reipublicæ salute conjunctum, dejici de urbis præsidio, et de custodia civitatis [10]vestris sententiis deturbari volunt. Quorum ego ferrum et audaciam rejeci [11]in campo, debilitavi in foro, compressi etiam domi meæ sæpe, judices, his vos si alterum consulem tradideritis, plus multo erunt vestris sententiis, quam suis gladiis consecuti. Magni interest, judices, id quod ego multis repugnantibus egi atque perfeci, esse [12]kalendis Januariis in republica duo consules. (80.) Nolite arbitrari, mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis viis, [13]aut * * Non lex improba, non perniciosa largitio, non auditum aliquando aliquod malum [14]reipublicæ quæritur. Inita sunt in hac civitate consilia, judices, urbis delendæ, civium trucidandorum, nominis Romani exstinguendi. Atque hæc cives, cives, inquam, (si eos hoc nomine appellari fas est,) de patria sua et cogitant et cogitaverunt; horum ego quotidie consiliis occurro, audaciam debilito, sceleri resisto. Sed vos moneo, judices: [15]in exitu est jam meus consulatus: nolite mihi subtrahere [16]vicarium meæ diligentiæ: nolite adimere eum, cui rempublicam cupio tradere incolumem, ab his tantis periculis defendendam.

XXXVIII. (81.) Atque ad hæc mala, judices, quid accedat aliud, non videtis? Te, te appello, Cato: nonne prospicis [1]tempestatem anni tui? jam enim hesterna concione intonuit vox perniciosa, [2]designati tribuni, collegæ tui: contra quem multum [3]tua mens, multum omnes boni providerunt, qui te ad tribunatus petitionem vocaverunt. Omnia, quæ per hoc triennium agitata sunt, jam ab eo tempore, quo [4]a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in

hos menses, in hoc tempus erumpunt. (82.) Qui locus est, judices, quod tempus, qui dies, quæ nox, cum ego non ex istorum insidiis ac mucronibus, non solum meo, sed multo etiam magis divino consilio eripiar atque evolem? Neque isti me [5]meo nomine interfici, sed vigilantem consulem de reipublicæ præsidio demovere volunt: nec minus vellent, Cato, te quoque aliqua ratione, si possent, tollere: id quod, mihi crede, [6]et agunt, et moliuntur. Vident, quantum in te sit animi, quantum ingenii, quantum auctoritatis, quantum reipublicæ præsidii: sed cum [7]consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliatam vim tribuniciam viderint, tum se facilius inermem et debilitatum te oppressuros arbitrantur. Nam [8]ne sufficiatur consul, non timent. [9]Vident te in tuorum potestate collegarum fore: sperant [10]sibi Silanum, clarum virum, sine collega, te sine consule, rempublicam sine præsidio objici posse. (83.) His tantis in rebus tantisque in periculis, est tuum, M. Cato, qui non mihi, non tibi, sed patriæ natus es, videre quid agatur, retinere adjutorem, defensorem, socium in republica, consulem [11]non cupidum, consulem (quod maxime tempus hoc postulat) fortuna constitutum ad amplexandum otium: scientia, ad bellum gerendum: [12]animo et usu, ad quod velis negotium.

XXXIX. Quamquam [1]hujusce rei potestas omnis in vobis sita est, judices: totam rempublicam vos in hac causa tenetis, vos gubernatis. Si L. Catilina cum suo consilio nefariorum hominum, quos secum eduxit, hac de re posset judicare, condemnaret L. Murenam: si interficere posset, occideret. [2]Petunt enim rationes illius, ut orbetur auxilio respublica: ut minuatur contra suum furorem imperatorum copia: ut major facultas tribunis plebis detur, [3]depulso adversario, seditionis ac discordiæ concitandæ. [4]Idemne igitur delecti amplissimis ex ordinibus honestissimi atque sapientissimi viri judicabunt, quod ille importunissimus gladiator, hostis reipublicæ judicaret? (84.) Mihi credite, judices, in

hac causa non solum de L. Murenæ, verum etiam de vestra salute sententiam feretis. In discrimen extremum venimus: nihil est jam, unde nos reficiamus, aut ubi lapsi resistamus. Non solum minuenda non sunt auxilia, quæ habemus, sed etiam nova, si fieri possit, comparanda. Hostis est enim non [5]apud Anienem, quod bello Punico gravissimum visum est, sed in urbe, in foro: (dii immortales! sine gemitu hoc dici non potest:) [6]nonnemo etiam in illo sacrario reipublicæ, in ipsa, inquam, curia non nemo hostis est. Dii [7]faxint, ut [8]meus collega, vir fortissimus, hoc Catilinæ nefarium latrocinium armatus opprimat! ego togatus, vobis bonisque omnibus adjutoribus, hoc, quod conceptum respublica periculum parturit, consilio discutiam et comprimam! (85.) Sed quid tandem fiet, si [9]hæc elapsa de manibus nostris, in eum annum, qui consequitur, redundarint? Unus erit consul, et is non in administrando bello, sed in sufficiendo collega occupatus. Hunc jam qui [10]impedituri sint, * * * illa pestis immanis, [11]importuna, prorumpet, qua poterit: et jam populo Romano minatur: in agros suburbanos repente advolabit: [12]versabitur in castris furor, in curia timor, in foro conjuratio, in campo exercitus, in agris vastitas: omni autem in sede ac loco ferrum flammamque metuemus. Quæ jamdiu comparantur, eadem ista omnia, [13]si ornata suis præsidiis erit respublica, facile et magistratuum consiliis et privatorum diligentia comprimentur.

XL. (86.) Quæ cum ita sint, judices, primum reipublicæ causa, qua nulla res cuiquam [1]potior debet esse, vos, pro mea summa et vobis cognita in rempublicam diligentia, moneo, pro auctoritate consulari hortor, pro magnitudine periculi obtestor, ut otio, ut paci, ut saluti, ut vitæ vestræ et ceterorum civium consulatis: deinde ego fidem vestram, [2]defensoris et amici officio adductus, oro atque obsecro, judices, ut ne hominis miseri, et cum [3]corporis morbo, tum animi dolore confecti, L. Murenæ, recentem gratulationem nova lamentatione

obruatis. Modo maximo beneficio populi Romani ornatus, fortunatus videbatur, quod primus in familiam veterem, primus in [4]municipium antiquissimum consulatum attulisset; nunc idem [5]squalore sordidus, confectus morbo, lacrymis ac mœrore perditus, vester est supplex, judices, vestram fidem obtestatur, misericordiam implorat, vestram potestatem ac vestras opes [6]intuetur. (87.) Nolite, per deos immortales! judices, [7]hac eum re, qua se honestiorem fore putavit, etiam ceteris ante partis honestatibus atque omni dignitate fortunaque privare. [8]Atque ita vos L. Murena, judices, orat atque obsecrat, si injuste neminem læsit; si nullius aures voluntatemve violavit; si nemini, ut levissime dicam, odio, nec domi, nec militiæ, fuit, sit apud vos [9]modestiæ locus, sit demissis hominibus perfugium, sit auxilium pudori. [10]Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus magnam habere debet, judices. [11]Una enim eripiuntur cum consulatu omnia. Invidiam vero his temporibus habere consulatus ipse nullam potest. [12]Objicitur enim concionibus seditiosorum, insidiis conjuratorum, telis Catilinæ: ad omne denique periculum, atque ad omnem invidiam solus opponitur. (88.) Quare quid invidendum Murenæ, aut cuiquam nostrûm sit [13]in hoc præclaro consulatu, non video, judices. Quæ vero miseranda sunt, ea et mihi ante oculos versantur, et vos videre et perspicere potestis.

XLI. Si (quod Jupiter omen avertat!) [1]hunc vestris sententiis afflixeritis, [2]quo se miser vertet? domumne? ut eam imaginem clarissimi viri, parentis sui, quam paucis ante diebus [3]laureatam in sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam ignominia [4]lugentemque videat? an ad matrem, quæ [5]misera, modo consulem osculata filium suum, nunc cruciatur et sollicita est, ne eundem paullo post spoliatum omni dignitate conspiciat? (89.) Sed quid ego matrem, aut domum appello, quem [6]nova pœna legis et domo, et parente, omnium suorum

consuetudine conspectuque privat? Ibit igitur in exsilium miser? Quo? ad Orientisne partes, in quibus annos multos legatus fuit, et exercitus duxit, et res maximas gessit? [7] At habet magnum dolorem, unde cum honore decesseris, eodem cum ignominia reverti. An se in contrariam partem terrarum abdet, ut Gallia Transalpina, quem nuper [8] summo cum imperio libentissime viderit, eundem lugentem, mœrentem, exsulem videat? In ea porro provincia, quo animo [9] C. Murenam, fratrem suum, adspiciet? [10] qui hujus dolor? qui illius mœror erit? quæ utriusque lamentatio? [11] quanta autem perturbatio fortunæ atque sermonis, quod, quibus in locis paucis ante diebus factum esse consulem Murenam, nuntii literæque celebrassent, et unde hospites atque amici gratulatum Romam concurrerint, repente eo accedat ipse nuntius suæ calamitatis? (90.) Quæ si acerba, si misera, si luctuosa sunt, si alienissima a mansuetudine et misericordia vestra, judices, [12] conservate populi Romani beneficium: reddite reipublicæ consulem: date hoc ipsius pudori, date patri mortuo, date generi et familiæ, date etiam Lanuvio, municipio honestissimo, quod in hac tota causa frequens mœstumque vidistis. Nolite a sacris patriis [13] Junonis Sospitæ, cui omnes consules [14] facere necesse est, domesticum et suum consulem potissimum avellere. Quem ego vobis, si quid habet momenti commendatio, aut auctoritatis confirmatio mea, consul consulem, judices, ita commendo, ut cupidissimum otii, studiosissimum bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem, fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic conjurationi, quæ nunc rempublicam labefactat, futurum esse promittam et spondeam.

[illegible]

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "First Oration of M. Tullius Cicero against Lucius Catiline, delivered in the Senate."— Catiline's intention was to leave Rome, and join his army, then assembling in different parts of Italy; while the other conspirators remained within the walls, to butcher the senators and fire the capitol. Cicero, having discovered this design, summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator, with the intention of laying before it the whole circumstances of the plot. But Catiline having unexpectedly appeared in the midst of the assembly, his audacity impelled the consular orator to an abrupt invective, which is directly addressed to the traitor, and commences without the preamble by which most of his other harangues are introduced.

In point of effect, this oration must have been perfectly electric. The disclosure to the criminal himself of his most secret purposes; their flagitious nature, threatening the lives of every one present; the whole course of his villanies and treasons, blazoned forth with the fire of incensed eloquence; and the adjuration to him, by fleeing from Rome, to free his country from such a pest, were all wonderfully calculated to excite astonishment, admiration, and horror.

The great object of the whole oration, was to drive Catiline into banishment; and it appears somewhat singular, that so dangerous a personage, and one who might have been so easily convicted, should thus have been forced, or even allowed, to withdraw to his army, instead of being secured and punished. From the language of Sallust (*Cat.* c. xxxi.), this oration would appear to have been originally altogether extemporaneous, and to have been subsequently committed to writing by Cicero.

I. 2. *Quousque tandem*, &c. "How far, then, Catiline, wilt thou trifle with our patience? How long, too, will that frantic wickedness of thine baffle our efforts? To what extent will thy unbridled audacity insolently display itself?"—We may suppose the whole senate to have remained, for a time, buried in the deepest silence, every eye directed towards Catiline; and Cicero, at last, slowly rising from his curule chair, and pointing the finger of indignant scorn at the guilty intruder, to have burst forth into this startling and impassioned exordium.

3. *Abutēre.* Literally, "wilt thou abuse."— Cicero prefers the softer and more poetic termination *re*, in the imperfect and future indicative, and present and imperfect subjunctive. In the present indicative he rarely employs it. — *Patientia nostra.* The reference in *nostra* is to himself and the senate generally.

4. *Iste tuus.* The pronoun *iste* is here employed to mark indignant scorn and contempt. It must be observed, with regard to *iste,* that it is, strictly speaking, used, together with its derivatives, in reference to the person addressed. Thus, *iste locus,* "that place where you are;" *ista verba,* "those words which you uttered." When Cicero addressed his antagonist, in any instance, he often used *iste,* in accordance with the principle just laid down; and, as he generally used it contumeliously, it acquired a reproachful meaning. But this is by no means universally the case. In the present passage, however, *iste* has this scornful meaning, and *tuus* is merely added in order to strengthen its general reference to the person addressed.

5. *Eludet.* A metaphor borrowed from the movements of gladiators, in avoiding a blow from an opponent. (Donat. in Ter. *Eun.* i. 1. 10.) So Catiline is said, by the orator, to baffle every effort, on the part of good citizens, for preserving the public repose. — *Quem ad finem.* Equivalent, in Ciceronian Latinity, to *quousque* or *quamdiu.* (Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Finis.* — Schütz, *Index Lat.* s. v.) — *Jactabit.* The student will mark the force of the frequentative. It is equivalent to *insolenter se geret.*

6. *Nihilne te,* &c. "Have the guards stationed nightly on the Palatine hill produced no impression upon thee? Have the watches planted throughout the city produced none? None, the consternation that pervades all classes? None, the thronging together of all good citizens?" &c. Literally, "Has the nightly guard of the Palatium in no respect moved thee? In no respect have the watches of the city?" &c.

7. *Palatii.* The Palatine was the most central of the seven hills of Rome, and the most important to be guarded in case any public disturbance arose, since a foe, in possession of it, might easily make himself master of the rest of the city. Hence the necessity of its being secured on the present occasion. The Palatine hill was the residence of Romulus, and, in fact, the first part of the city that was inhabited. Here, in a later age, stood the imperial mansion of Augustus, and his successors, and hence the origin of the modern term "palace."

8. *Urbis vigiliæ.* When there was any alarm or disturbance in the city, or when any suspicion was entertained of public commotion or secret conspiracy, the inferior magistrates (the ædiles, quæstors, and tribunes) were intrusted by the senate with the care of the public peace, and planted guards and watches in proper places. Compare Sallust (*Cat.* c. xxx.): "*Ut Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent.*"

9. *Concursus.* Several editions have *consensus* ("the union"), which is also given by Quintilian (ix. 3. 30.) in citing from this passage. The more spirited reading, however, is undoubtedly *concursus.*

10. *Munitissimus.* In dangerous emergencies, the senate were usually convened in the temple of some tutelary divinity, and not in a *curia,* or senate-house. The place selected, on the present occasion, was the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the foot of the Palatine hill: and it is hence called "*munitissimus locus,*" from the circumstance of there being a guard, at the time, on the Palatine. With respect to the true position of the temple of Jupiter Stator, (which some editors very erroneously make to have been in the capitol,) consult Liv. i. 12. Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 794. Nardini, vi. 12.

11. *Horum ora vultusque.* "The looks and countenances of these

who are here assembled." *Ora* refers to the looks of aversion directed at Catiline by the great majority of those present; *vultus* to their countenances, in which were depicted anxiety and alarm. Muretus refers the words to the aversion manifested by the senators on the entrance of Catiline into the assembly, when all quitted that part of the benches where he had taken his seat. They would rather seem to refer to the deportment of the senate during all the time that he had been present.

12. *Patēre.* "Lie open to view," *i. e.* are brought fully to light. — *Constrictam jam horum omnium teneri.* Literally, "is now held firmly grasped by the knowledge of all of these," *i. e.* is now become a matter of firm conviction to all who are here assembled. *Constrictus* is elegantly applied to whatever is firmly held in, and can no longer escape our grasp. While the compound term *conscientia* (instead of the simple *scientia*) is employed to denote that many are acquainted with the conspiracy. Compare the explanation of Schütz (*Index Lat.* s. v.): "*Communis inter complures rei alicujus notitia.*" We have given *horum omnium* with Grævius, instead of the common reading *omnium horum.*

13. *Proxima.* Cicero delivered this oration on the 8th of November. A meeting of the conspirators had taken place on the night of the 6th, at the house of Læca. This is what Cicero calls *nox superior.* The morning of the 7th was the time fixed for his assassination by the two Roman knights. During that day, Cicero caused all the movements of the conspirators to be closely watched, and ascertained also, by his secret agents, all that was done on the night of the 7th. This was the *nox proxima.* Compare chapter iv. and *Pro Sull.* c. xviii.

14. *Immo vero.* "Nay, indeed." Grævius omits *vero,* but its presence imparts additional strength to the clause. Compare *Ep. ad Att.* xii. 42. : "*Ferendus tibi in hoc error : ferendus? immo vero etiam adjuvandus :*" and also Tursellinus *de Part. Lat.* s. v. *Immo.*

15. *Publici consilii particeps.* "A sharer in the public deliberations." Cicero's object is to excite the indignation of the senate against Catiline, for his having come into that assembly, not to inquire or seek for any thing, but actually to take part in their deliberations.

16. *Viri fortes.* Spoken ironically. "Men, full of courage." Cicero charges himself and the senate with cowardice, in not having before this brought Catiline to punishment. — *Satisfacere reipublicæ.* "To be doing our duty to the state." — *Istius.* "Of that wretch." Pointing at Catiline. Compare note 4.

17. *In te conferri,* &c. Understand *jampridem,* from the previous clause. "Long since ought that ruin to have been heaped upon thy own head," &c. The pronoun *istam* tacitly implies that the ruin in question is the work of Catiline, and this idea is immediately enlarged upon in what follows, *quam tu in nos omnes,* &c.

18. *An vero.* The primitive meaning of *an* is "or," and, when used interrogatively, the sentence is always elliptical. Thus, *an decertare mecum voluit?* "Did he wish to contend with me?" This, when resolved, is nothing more than, "Am I wrong in my surmise, *or* did he wish to contend with me?" So, in the present instance, *an vero vir amplissimus,* &c. which we translate, "Did, in fact, that very illustrious individual," &c., is in reality, when fully expressed, "Am I wrong in my assertion, *or* did, in fact," &c. The same explanation will apply to the Greek ἤ, when used as an interrogative particle.

19. *P. Scipio.* The reference is to P. Scipio Nasica. He is called *privatus* because the office of *pontifex maximus* was not a magistracy; and hence the same person could be pontifex and also consul or prætor. Compare the remarks of Muretus, *ad loc.* The term *privatus* may, therefore, be rendered, "although filling no office of magistracy." As regards Scipio Nasica, consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Scipio.* — *Gracchum.* Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Gracchus*, and *Legal Index*, s. v. *Sempronia Lex.*

20. *Mediocriter labefactantem*, &c. "When only disturbing in a moderate degree, the settled order of things in the state." The idea literally involved is the causing what was before firmly fixed to totter, and swerve from its place. *Status* is here figuratively employed, in allusion to the posture or attitude of a gladiator in combat. — It will be observed, that Cicero designedly extenuates the offence of Tiberius Gracchus, in order that the rigour, with which he was punished, might be contrasted the more strongly with the impunity enjoyed by Catiline.

21. *Catilinam.* The common text has *vero* after *Catilinam;* but since this already occurs with *an*, in the previous part of the sentence, and does not appear in the present passage as cited by Quintilian (viii. 4. 13.), we have rejected it with Manutius, Lambinus, and other editors. We have also given, with Schütz, *terrarum*, in place of the common reading *terræ*, the former likewise occurring in Quintilian.

22. *Nam illa*, &c. Cicero here assigns a reason for other examples not being cited, in preference to that of Tiberius Gracchus. They were of too remote a date; whereas the movements of Gracchus had occurred at a comparatively recent period.

23. *C. Servilius Ahala.* Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Ahala.* He was *magister equitum* to the dictator T. Q. Cincinnatus. Ernesti first gave the true reading *C. Servilius*, for the common lection *Q. Servilius.* — *Sp. Melium.* Mælius was the richest private man in the commonwealth, and more than suspected of aiming at the sovereign power, in consequence of his liberal donations of corn among the lower orders, during a season of great scarcity. Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Mælius.* — *Novis rebus studentem.* "Aiming at a change in the government," *i. e.* plotting a revolution.

24. *Ista virtus.* "That degree of public virtue," *i. e.* of true patriotism. In our remarks on the pronoun *iste* and its usage by Cicero, we observed that the distinction there laid down did not hold good universally. (See note 4.) The present passage furnishes a case in point. *Ista* is here used simply in the sense of *illa*, and the latter pronoun itself would no doubt have been actually employed, had it not occurred just before, in the expression "*nam illa nimis*," &c. Compare, as regards the exceptions to the rule about *iste*, the remarks of Manutius ad Cic. *Epist. Fam.* iii. 10.; and Laur. Valla. *de L. L.* ii. 4.

25. *Habemus.* We have rejected *enim* after *habemus*, with Grævius, Ernesti, Schütz, &c., on the authority of some of the best MSS. It appears to have found its way into the text from *habemus enim*, in the next chapter.

26. *Senatusconsultum.* By which the consuls were enjoined, "*ut viderent ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet.*" A decree of this nature armed the consuls with dictatorial power for the time being, and, by virtue of it, they could put to death whomsoever they pleased, without the formality of a trial. (Compare Sallust, *Cat.* c. xxix., and Plutarch,

Vit. Cic. c. xv.) Catiline and his accomplices might have been seized and punished under this decree; but Cicero purposely abstained from such a course, and sought rather to induce them to quit the city.

27. *Non deest reipublicæ*, &c. "Neither the counsel nor the sanction of this order is wanting to the republic," *i. e.* the decree which the senate had passed against Catiline contained "counsel," or *consilium*, and was, a "sanction," or *auctoritas*. Compare Tacitus (*Germ.* xii.): "*Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium et auctoritas, adsunt.*"

28. *Nos consules desumus*. "We consuls are wanting in our duty." We have inserted a third *nos* before *desumus*, as given by Priscian, xvii. p. 1076. ed. Putsch. (*Op.* ed. Krehl, vol. ii. p. 53.) — Cicero means, that the consuls have not done their duty in allowing Catiline to go so long unpunished. His object is to intimidate him and induce him to leave the city.

II. 1. *Quondam*. A. U. C. 633, B. C. 121. Fifty-eight years before the time when Cicero uttered this. — *L. Opimius*. He was consul, with Fabius Maximus, A. U. C. 633. Consult *Historical Index*.

2. *Videret*, &c. A decree of this kind was called *decretum ultimum*, or *ultimæ necessitatis*. Consult chap. i. note 26. Sometimes both consuls were named in it, at other times only one.

3. *Quasdam seditionum suspiciones*. "Certain suspicions of seditious projects." Cicero here purposely uses mild language, as in the instance of the elder Gracchus. See chap. i. note 20., and consult *Historical Index*.

4. *Clarissimo patre*, &c. The Gracchi had for their father Sempronius Gracchus, who had been once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and had enjoyed two triumphs. Their maternal grandfather was the elder Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

5. *M. Fulvius*. One of the three commissioners named for carrying into effect the agrarian law, by dividing the public lands. He was the particular friend of C. Gracchus. Consult *Historical Index*. — The elder son of Fulvius was slain with his father during the affray; the younger after the conflict.

6. *C. Mario*. This occurred during the sixth consulship of Marius. The crime of Saturninus and Servilius was seditious and turbulent conduct, and especially the having assassinated C. Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, in the Campus Martius. Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Saturninus*. The individual whom Cicero here calls C. Servilius, is elsewhere styled C. Servilius Glaucia. Cicero purposely employs the *nomen* merely, as it belonged to a family of distinction, and he adds to it the title of prætor, in order that it may be seen, that neither birth nor official dignity could save him from the prompt vengeance of the laws, which Catiline had for so long a time been braving.

7. *L. Saturnini*, &c. The true reading of this passage is involved in considerable doubt. The conjectural emendation, which we have given in the text, appears the least objectionable, and was first suggested, we believe, by E. H. Barker. "Did the punishment due to the republic, delay, for a single day thereafter, the death of L. Saturninus," &c., *i. e.* did L. Saturninus, though a tribune of the commons, and C. Servilius, although invested with the prætorship, escape the punishment of death, so justly their due, for a single day after the decree in question had been

passed? — The common text has, *num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis, et C. Servilium prætorem, mors ac reipublicæ pœna remorata est?* "Did death, and the punishment due to the republic, fail, for a single day thereafter, to overtake L. Saturninus," &c. It is extremely questionable, however, whether we can say, in correct Latinity, *pœna remoratur hominem,* "punishment fails to overtake the man." Cicero, elsewhere, uses *remorari* in its ordinary sense, "to delay," or retard." Thus: "*hæ res quæ cæteros* remorari *solent illum non retardarunt.*" (*Pro Leg. Manil.* xiv.) Although Propertius, on the other hand, has a passage, which seems at first view to favour the common explanation, "*Quamvis te longæ* remorentur *fata senectæ,*" (i. 19. 17.) But there is nothing here, in reality, to prevent our making *remorentur* equivalent to *retineant.* — Ernesti gives the ordinary reading in the passage of Cicero under consideration, but recommends *L. Saturnini, tribuni plebis, et C. Servilii prætoris,* retaining, however, *mors ac,* (which we have changed to *mortem,*) and giving to *remorata est* the intransitive meaning, "to delay," or "linger." But *mors ac pœna* is extremely frigid. — As regards the reading which we have adopted, it will be borne in mind, that proper names, and titles of office, are frequently written in the MSS. with more or less abbreviation, and that, in consequence of this, the grammatical case can oftentimes be discovered only from the context. So that, in fact, *mortem* for *mors ac* is the only alteration that appears at all violent, if it even be so in reality.

8. *Nos.* "We consuls." Referring to himself and colleague. — *Vicesimum diem.* It was, in fact, only the 18th day since the senate had decreed that Cicero and Antonius should see that the republic received no injury. The orator, however, calls it, in round numbers, the 20th. So, in the oration against Piso (c. ii.), in place of thirty-six years, he says forty. In the same way, the one hundred and five judges at Rome were called *centumviri,* "the hundred." Compare the remarks of Asconius (*in Pison.* l. c.), and those of Muretus on the present passage. Consult also Manutius (*in loc.*): "*Integrum numerum amat orator,*" &c.

9. *Gladium.* Omitted in many MSS. and editions; but defended by Ernesti, because *inclusum* precedes.

10. *Confestim interfectum,* &c. "You ought, Catiline, to have been immediately put to death." *Convenit* is here the perfect tense. Muretus doubts, whether this usage of *convenit* be in accordance with correct Latinity; but many examples might be adduced in confirmation of it. One alone will here suffice: "*Quo nomine mirari convenit eos.*" (Vell. Paterc. i. 3. (Compare Boecker, and Burmann, *ad loc.*)

11. *Cupio.* Render the first *cupio,* "I am desirous on the one hand," and the second, "I am anxious on the other." If expressed in Greek, the first of these clauses would have μέν, and the second δέ.

12. *Dissolutum.* "Culpably negligent," *i. e.* too indulgent. Compare the remark of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.*): "*Dissolutus,* nimis negligens, *opponitur* severo et justo;" and the words of Cicero himself, on another occasion (*Verr.* v. 3.): "*Maluisse Domitium crudelem in animadvertendo, quam in prætermittendo* dissolutum *videri.*"

13. *Nequitiæque.* The term *nequitia,* though generally employed to denote "worthlessness," "wickedness," "depravity," &c., is here used in a milder sense, for "utter remissness." Compare the language of Cicero (chap. xi.): "*Num est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiæ ac nequitiæ pertimescenda?*" Here *nequitia* is opposed to *severitas.*

14. *In Etruriæ faucibus.* "In the mountain-defiles that open on Etruria." Cn. Manlius had then near Fæsulæ, in Etruria, an army, which he had collected from the veteran soldiers of Sylla, under whom he had himself served. Fæsulæ stood at the foot of the Appenines, not far from what is now the city of Florence, and the camp of Manlius was pitched near a narrow defile leading into Etruria. The term *fauces* is often employed to denote a mountain pass, defile, strait, &c., leading to some place or region. Compare Livy (xlii. 54.): "*ultraque oppida* in faucibus *sunt, quæ Tempe adeunt.*"

15. *Eorum autem imperatorem.* Alluding to Catiline. — *Atque adeo,* &c. "Ay, and even in the senate." — *Credo.* "I presume," ironically. — *Serius.* "At too late a period."

16. *Certa de causa.* "For a certain reason." Cicero is more explicit on this head, at the close of the present oration (c. xii.). His fear was, lest, if Catiline were punished at an early stage of the proceedings, before his guilt became fully developed, he might pass with many for an injured man; since there were not a few in the city, and even some in the senate, who believed Catiline innocent, and who would have called Cicero a tyrant if he had put him to death. And then again, even if Catiline himself were capitally punished, the conspiracy would not be crushed, since so many of the guilty participators in it would still remain alive. Cicero's object was to compel Catiline to leave the city, and carry with him all his abandoned confederates; and hence, in order to intimidate, and drive him to this course, he speaks immediately after of soon putting him to death: "*Tum denique interficiam te,*" &c.

17. *Tam tui similis.* "So like thee in character," *i. e.* so like thee in utter want of principle. *Similis* and *dissimilis,* generally speaking, are used with a dative of external resemblance; but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 274.)

18. *Obsessus.* "Beset." From *obsido, -ĕre.* Cicero had numerous guards on the alert, both from the free towns of Italy and from the capital itself. — *Ne commovere te possis,* &c. A metaphor borrowed from the situation of a combatant, who is hemmed in so closely by his opponent as to be unable "to make any further movement."

III. 1. *Privata domus.* Alluding particularly to the house of Læca. — *Vocem conjurationis.* Cicero obtained full information of the secret meetings and plans of Catiline, through Fulvia and Curius. Consult *Historical Index.* — Grævius and others read *voces* instead of *vocem,* but this destroys the personification in *conjurationis.* If Cicero had written *voces,* he would have put *conjuratorum* in place of *conjurationis.*

2. *Si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia?* "If all your secret plans are made manifest, if they all burst forth into public view?" *Illustrantur* refers back to *tenebris,* and *erumpunt* to *parietibus.*

3. *Istam mentem.* "That detestable purpose of yours." Compare chap. i. note 4. — *Mihi crede.* "Take me for your adviser." Rely on what I tell you. — *Quæ etiam mecum,* &c. "And these you may even review along with me." The student will observe that we have rendered *quæ* by *et hæc.* Wherever the connection is slight between the antecedent and relative, the latter may be resolved into the conjunction and demonstrative or personal pronoun. (Compare Crombie, *Gymnasium,* vol. i. 388.)

4. *Ante diem duodecimum*, &c. "On the twelfth day before the kalends of November," *i. e.* on the 21st of October. This apparently anomalous mode of expression probably arose from a transposition of *ante*. Having once written *ante die duodecimo kalendas*, they would easily be led to change *die* into *diem*, as if it had been governed by *ante*. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 428.) — The date alluded to in the text requires some explanation. On the 20th of October, Cicero gave notice to the senate of the existence of a conspiracy against the state. The consular election was to have been held the next day, the 21st; but the senate, in consequence of the impending danger, put off the *comitia*, and resolved to meet on that day for the purpose of deliberating more fully on the subject; for, otherwise, they could not have done any business on a comitial day. On the 21st, therefore, Cicero, in a full house, called upon Catiline to clear himself from the charge alleged against him; whereupon the latter, without denying or excusing it, bluntly replied, "that there were two bodies in the republic," meaning the senate and people, "the one of them infirm, with a weak head; the other firm, without a head; and that this last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived." This declaration startled the senate, and they immediately decreed, that the consuls should see that the republic received no injury. The next day, the postponed *comitia* took place, and Silanus and Murena were elected consuls for the year 691, Catiline being one of the unsuccessful competitors.

5. *Ante diem sextum*, &c. "The sixth day before the kalends of November," *i. e.* the 27th of October.

6. *Id quod multo magis est admirandum.* Ernesti regards these words s a gloss, but without sufficient reason. It was, in fact, a sufficient matter of surprise and wonder, that Cicero should have been so well informed, as to be able to predict, in the senate, the very day on which Manlius would be in arms.

7. *Te contulisse.* "That you had conspired," *i. e.* conferred about. *Conferre* is "to deliberate along with others," not simply "to deliberate." Compare Cicero (*ad Att.* xvi. 3.): "*Coram hoc conferemus atque de hoc deliberabimus.*"

8. *In ante diem quintum*, &c. "For the fifth day before the kalends of November," *i. e.* had set down the intended massacre *for* that day. The phraseology *ante diem*, &c., has already been noticed (note 4.). The preposition *in* is here employed to govern the entire clause, and designates the time *for* which the intended action is set down, and *on* which it is to be performed.

9. *Principes civitatis.* "Leading men of the state." By *principes civitatis*, Cicero here means *principes optimatum*. (Compare *Pro Sext.* xlv. 48. &c. *Pro Red.* iii.) The term *optimates* with Cicero generally designates persons distinguished by rank, or political merit, and sometimes the former only.

10. *Reprimendorum.* Used here in the sense of *impediendorum.* — *Profugerunt.* Among those who quitted Rome, was M. Licinius Crassus, who had received a letter from Catiline, warning him to depart, which letter he showed to Cicero. (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. xv.)

11. *Nostra qui remansissimus cæde.* "With the blood of those of us that had remained." The elegant construction here employed is deserving of being noted. The relative is made to refer to an antecedent implied in the possessive. Compare Terence (*Andr.* i. 1. 70.):

"*Omnes laudare fortunas* meas, qui *gnatum haberem tali ingenio prœditum.*"

12. *Prœneste.* Neuter accusative singular. This place was situate in Latium, about 23 miles S. E. from Rome. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position, and it was therefore an important place for Catiline to seize upon and for Cicero to endeavour to secure. Consult *Geographical Index.* — *Kalendis ipsis Novembris.* "On the kalends of November," *i. e.* on the first day of the month. — *Occupaturum.* Muretus says, that no other writer makes mention of this attempt.

13. *Prœsidiis.* These *prœsidia, custodiœ,* and *vigiliœ* were composed of the inhabitants of Præneste, but the whole arrangement was Cicero's.

14. *Non modo non,* &c. We have here the full expression. It is very common, in this construction, for the second *non* to be omitted. Compare Cortius ad Plin. *Ep.* viii. 7. Muret. *Var. Lect.* x. 7.

IV. 1. *Noctem illam superiorem.* "The transactions of the night before the last." The night here meant was that of the 6th of November, when the meeting was held at the house of Læca. Compare chap. i. note 4. — *Priori nocte.* "On that former night." Referring again to the night of the 6th.

2. *Inter falcarios.* "Into the scythe-makers' street." This was a street, or district, of Rome, most probably the former, taking its name from the residence of these artisans. The explanation of Priscian is in accordance with this: "*Dico te venisse inter falcarios,* id est, *in locum ubi sunt falcarii.*" (*Op.* ed. Krehl, vol. ii. p. 203.) Livy, (xxxv. 42.) somewhat in the same way, uses the term *lignarios:* "*Porticum extra trigeminam inter* lignarios *fecerunt,*" where Crevier understands *opifices;* but Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.*) *negotiatores.*

3. *Complures.* Sallust (*Cat.* xvii.) gives the names of eleven senators, who were present on this occasion. Compare *Pro Sulla,* c. xviii. *seq.* — *Convincam.* "I will prove the truth of what I say."

4. *In hoc orbis terrœ,* &c. "In this, the most venerated and august assembly of earth." — *Cogitent.* "Are plotting." The subjunctive mood is used in this construction for the sake of perspicuity, since the indicative would be ambiguous, and would present a double meaning. Thus, *sunt qui cogitant,* means not only, "there are those who plot," but also, "they who plot exist." The subjunctive, therefore, is preferred for the former of these meanings. So, *sunt qui dicant, sunt qui legant,* &c.

5. *Distribuisti partes Italiœ.* Sallust (*Cat.* xxvii.) informs us, that C. Manlius was sent to Fæsulæ and the adjacent parts of Etruria; Septimius, a native of Camerinum, into the Picene territory; C. Julius, into Apulia.

6. *Quos Romœ relinqueres.* According to Sallust (*Cat.* xliii.), Statilius and Gabinius were to fire the city, and Cethegus to assassinate Cicero. Lentulus was to have had, according to Plutarch, a general superintendence of the whole affair, and was to have spared none, in the general massacre, but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and hold as hostages for a peace with that commander; for there was a report, about this time, that Pompey was returning with his army from the Mithridatic war. (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. xviii.)

7. *Descripsisti urbis partes,* &c. Sallust states, (*Cat.* xliii.) that the conspirators were to fire twelve parts of the city at one and the same time. Plutarch, however, informs us, that they had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and had selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general. Others were to intercept the water, and kill all who went to seek it. (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. xviii.)

8. *Confirmasti.* " You assured them." — *Dixisti paullulum,* &c. " You told them that you still, even then, were in some little degree hindered from departing." Literally, " That there was still, even then, some little cause of delay unto you."

9. *Duo equites Romani.* Sallust (*Cat.* xxxviii.) gives the names, C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, but he calls the latter a senator. Vargunteius was probably of equestrian origin.

10. *Illa ipsa nocte,* &c. They were to pay their intended visit early in the morning; a time when the distinguished Romans, and higher magistrates, held their levees, and when clients used to wait upon their patrons. Compare Martial (iv. 8. 1.): *Prima salutantes, atque altera conterit hora.*"

11. *Comperi.* He obtained his information from Curius through Fulvia. (Sall. *Cat.* xxviii.) — *Exclusi eos,* &c. Plutarch informs us, that the assassins came as soon as it was light, and, being denied entrance, grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected. He calls them Marcius and Cethegus; but Cicero, Sallust, Appian, and Plutarch are too much at variance with each other, to enable us to give, with precision, all the minor features of the conspiracy. Why the two individuals in question were not admitted, and then disarmed and put in custody, is difficult for us to imagine, the more especially as Cicero had predicted their arrival to many of his friends.

V. 1. *Quæ cum ita sint.* " Such being the case." Cicero's usual form of expression, in reference to things that have been explained by him, and may now be regarded as settled and clear; as, for example, in the present instance, the existence of a treasonable design on the part of Catiline.

2. *Illa tua Manliana castra.* Compare chap. ii. note 14.

3. *Si minus, quam plurimos.* " If not all, as many as possible." — *Murus,* strictly speaking, the wall of a city; *mœnia,* battlements, or fortifications; *paries,* the wall of a house. (Crombie, *Gymn.* vol. i. p. 2.) — *Nobiscum versari diutius.* " To remain any longer among us." Literally, " to be occupied," or, " engaged, along with us," &c.

4. *Non feram,* &c. " I will not endure, I will not suffer, I will not permit this." The gradation here is worthy of notice. As a man I will not *endure* thy presence; as a good citizen, I will not *suffer* thee to remain unopposed; as a magistrate, I will not *permit* thee to continue among us.

5. *Atque huic ipsi,* &c. " And to Jupiter Stator, in particular, in whose temple we are here assembled." The student will observe the force of *huic* in designating the place. With regard to *ipsi,* it may be remarked, that this pronoun is not, in fact, reflective, but serves emphatically to distinguish that to which it is applied from all others. — *Statori.* Jupiter Stator was so called from his having stopped the flight of the

Romans, when hard pressed by the Sabines. In the memorable action which was brought to an end by the heroic conduct of the Sabine females, Romulus and his followers had been driven back to the base of the Palatine hill, when he invoked, in his extremity, the aid of Jupiter, and vowed a temple to him on the spot where he was standing, if that god would stop the disgraceful flight of the Romans. The action took a favourable turn, and a temple was accordingly erected, at the foot of the Palatine, to Jupiter, surnamed, from the circumstances of the case, *Stator*, because he had caused the Romans to *make a stand* (*Stare* fecit) in this quarter, against their pursuers (Liv. i. 12.). Some editors indulge in the singular error of making the temple of Jupiter Stator to have been in the capitol, thus confounding it with that of Jupiter Capitolinus. — Jupiter Stator is called by Plutarch Στήσιος, and by Dio Cassius Ὀρθώσιος.

6. *Habenda est gratia.* The common text places *habenda est gratia* after *diis immortalibus.* Grævius, on the authority of some of his MSS. removes *gratia*, and places it after *hujus urbis.* We have adopted the arrangement recommended by Schütz, as the more elegant and forcible.

7. *Tamque infestam reipublicæ.* " And so fraught with ruin to the republic." — *Toties.* There is something of the exaggeration of oratory in this, since Catiline had only once before conspired against the state along with Cn. Piso. (Sall. *Cat.* c. xviii.) The reference, however, may also be a general one to his activity in wickedness.

8. *In uno homine.* " In the person of a single individual." Cicero means that the public weal is no longer to depend on his own life. Some commentators apply these words less correctly to Catiline. — *Summa salus.* The best MSS. have this order, in place of the common *salus summa,* and so Grævius and others read.

9. *Consuli designato.* The consuls elect were so called during the interval that elapsed between the period of their election and that of their entrance upon office. These magistrates, from A. U. C. 600, were elected about the end of July, or beginning of August, and installed on the first of January. — Cicero and Catiline had both been candidates for the consulship, and when the former succeeded, Catiline endeavoured to murder him in the Campus Martius, and elsewhere, by his private emissaries, ("*omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni.*" Sall. *Cat.* c. xxvi.).

10. *Proximis comitiis consularibus.* Referring to the 22d of October, the previous month. (Compare chap. iii. note 4.) On the day of election here alluded to, Cicero, as Plutarch informs us, put on a coat of mail: the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and displayed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was again rejected, and Silanus and Murena were chosen consuls. (*Vit. Cic.* c. xiv.)

11. *Campo.* The consular *comitia* were held in the Campus Martius. — *Competitores.* Silanus and Murena. — *Amicorum præsidio,* &c. Consult note 10. — *Me petisti.* " You aimed a thrust at me." A gladiatorial term. Compare Cicero's language towards the close of chapter vi. " *Quot ego tuas petitiones,*" &c.

12. *Esse conjunctam.* "Was intimately connected." — *Petis.* "You aim a blow at." Compare note 11. — *Ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.* "You summon to ruin and desolation." Elegantly used instead of the more common phraseology, "*Evertere et solo æquare machinaris.*"

13. *Quoniam id, quod primum,* &c. "Since I dare not yet pursue that course which first suggests itself, and is in strict accordance with the principles of this government, and the administration of our forefathers," *i. e.* inflict capital punishment upon you. — Some commentators refer the expression *hujus imperii* to the consular office, ("and is in strict accordance with the nature of that office which I now fill;") but the other interpretation seems preferable.

14. *Ad severitatem.* "In point of severity." — *Et ad communem,* &c. "And, as regards the common safety, productive of more decided advantage."

15. *Reliqua conjuratorum manus.* Ernesti thinks *reliqua* too frigid, and suggests *aliqua,* which appears to us still more frigid than *reliqua.*

16. *Exhaurietur ex urbe,* &c. "That foul gathering of thy followers, large in point of number, and fraught with ruin to the state, will be drained away from our city," *i. e.* that worthless crew of thy abandoned followers, so large in number, and who are plotting only ruin to the state, will be driven far away from our city. *Sentina,* properly means that part of the ship where the bilge-water collects. It is then taken to denote the bilge-water itself; and finally any worthless and impure collection of persons. Cicero in the following passage, employs the term in speaking of the lowest of the people, the very dregs of the city: "*Hoc enim verbo est usus, quasi de aliqua sentina, ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur.*" — It will be perceived from an examination of the text, that we have made a change in the arrangement of the latter part of the clause. The common reading is *perniciosa sentina reipublicæ,* and *reipublicæ* is thus regarded as a genitive, forming with *comitum* a double genitive, in imitation of the Greek. (Goerenz ad Cic. *Leg.* ii. 17. 42. p. 169. Matthiæ, *G. G.* § 380. vol. ii. p. 608.) Ernesti, however, with very good reason, suspects this genitive *reipublicæ* to be a mere interpolation, since *ex urbe,* which is sufficient for the sense, precedes. He retains it, notwithstanding, in his text. We have also retained *reipublicæ,* but have placed it before *sentina,* and have made it depend, as a dative, on *perniciosa.* It may be that *sentina reipublicæ,* was written originally by some copyist for *reipublicæ sentina,* (a common error in MSS.), and the true position of the words may at first have been designated by small numbers placed over them, which numbers were omitted by subsequent copyists, and the erroneous order allowed to remain. (Compare Porson, *Letter to Dalzel,* in the Mus. Crit. vol. i. p. 336.)

17. *Tua sponte faciebas.* "You were inclined to do of your own accord." *Faciebas* is here equivalent to *facere volebas.* — *Exire ex urbe,* &c. How much stronger than if he had said, "*exire ex urbe Cicero Catilinam jubet.*"

18. *Num in exsilium?* Cicero purposely avoids *ordering* Catiline to go *into exile.* This would have been, in the present stage of the case, a hazardous experiment, as it might have exposed him to the charge of an odious and tyrannical exercise of authority. The Romans were averse to the using of the word *exile,* even in their judicial sentences, and

hence the punishment of expatriation was called *ignis et aquæ interdictio*, "interdicting from fire and water," by the force of which a person was compelled to leave Italy. It was a settled principle, that no Roman citizen could lose, without his own consent, the right of citizenship, and hence, when a person was to be banished, he was, by a fiction of law, interdicted from fire and water. (Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 16. 10. ed. Haubold, p. 184.)

VI. 1. *Extra istam conjurationem*, &c. "Unconnected with that conspiracy of yours and your abandoned followers." The pronoun *iste* here marks the person, and also denotes scorn and contempt on the part of the speaker. Compare chap. i. note 4.

2. *Quæ nota*, &c. "What mark of domestic turpitude has not been branded on your character?" *Nota* was applied by the Romans to the mark branded on a fugitive slave when retaken, (Cic. *Off.* ii. 7.) and also to the stigma imposed by the censors for immoral conduct. (*Pro Cluent.* xlvi.) So the voice of public scorn had branded, with infamy, the character of Catiline. According to Plutarch, Sallust, and Asconius, Catiline had slain his own brother; had murdered his own son, that there might be no obstacle to his marriage with Aurelia Orestilla; and had indulged in incestuous intercourse with an illegitimate daughter of his.

3. *Quod privatarum rerum*, &c. "What shameful conduct in private life clings not to you for your lasting infamy?" Literally, "adheres not to your infamy." This clause is strongly suspected of being a mere interpolation, since the same idea is already expressed by the words, "*Quæ nota*," &c. It was very probably, at first, a mere marginal interpretation, given by some scholiast to the words, *quæ nota*, &c., and gradually found its way into the text. The Latinity of *non hæret infamiæ* is very questionable, and savours strongly of the style of a scholiast.

4. *Quæ libido.* "What scenes of impurity." Compare the remark of Döring (*ad loc.*): "*Oculis nempe homines libidinosi venari solent libidinis alimenta.*"

5. *Quod facinus.* "What daring deed." — *Quod flagitium.* "What infamous pollution." The distinction between *facinus* and *flagitium* should be noted. *Facinus* denotes a bold or daring action; and unless it be joined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously described as commendable, the term is always to be understood in a vituperative sense. *Flagitium* refers chiefly to disgraceful and lustful excess, though it sometimes denotes any fault, error, or crime, that reflects dishonour on the offender. (Crombie, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 120.)

6. *Quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses.* "Whom you had entangled amid the allurements of your corrupting arts." Compare Sallust (*Cat.* c. xiv.): "*Sed maxume adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat,*" &c.

7. *Facem prætulisti.* Alluding to Catiline's initiating the young into the revels of the night, and being, as it were, their guide to scenes of debauchery.

8. *Vacuefecisses.* Catiline was said to have poisoned his first wife, in order to make way for Aurelia Orestilla, and, besides this, to have murdered his son by the former marriage, that he might not be an obstacle to his second union. — *Alio incredibili scelere.* The murder of

his son. Compare Catullus (lxiv. 402.): "*Optavit genitor primævi funera gnati,*" &c.

9. *Tanti facinoris immanitas.* "So monstrous a piece of wickedness." Literally, "the enormity of so great a crime."

10. *Proximis idibus.* His creditors would then be entitled to call for the interest on their advances. Among the Romans, the Calends and Ides were the two periods of the month, when money was either laid out at interest or called in, or else the interest demanded for what was on loan. Compare Horace (*Sat.* i. 3. 87.): "*Quum tristes misero venere kalendæ.*" And also (*Epod.* ii. 69.): "*Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,*" &c. — The present oration was delivered on the 8th of November, and the next Ides would be on the thirteenth. The Ides fell on the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of the other months.

11. *Domesticam tuam difficultatem.* "Your domestic difficulties." *i. e.* your debts. Compare *Verr.* ii. 28. : "*Ostendit se in summa difficultate esse numaria.*"

12. *Hujus vitæ lux.* Grævius and others read merely *hæc lux*; but then, as Ernesti correctly remarks, the whole relation is lost between *hujus vitæ lux*, and *hujus cœli spiritus.*

13. *Pridie kalendas Januarias.* The time here meant is the 31st of December. Sallust gives a brief account of this earlier conspiracy (*Cat.* xviii.). The plan was to murder the consuls in the capitol, and then, for Catiline and Autronius to seize upon the consular authority. Suetonius (*Vit. Iul. Cæs.* c. ix.) informs us, on the faith of contemporary writers, that Cæsar and Crassus had taken part in this conspiracy, and that it failed from Cæsar's not having given the preconcerted signal in consequence of Crassus's not appearing at the appointed time. According to Sallust, the plot failed a second time, on the nones (5th) of February, in consequence of Catiline's having given the signal for action before a sufficient number of conspirators had assembled.

14. *Lepido et Tullo consulibus.* A. U. C. 687. Catiline, being accused of extortion, was unable to stand candidate for the consulship; and hence, inflamed with hatred and disappointment, he resolved to murder the new consuls.

15. *Stetisse in comitio cum telo.* "Took your station in the *comitium* with a dagger." The *comitium* was that part of the forum where the *comitia* met. — It was forbidden by one of the laws of the twelve tables, to carry any weapon within the city. The allusion in the text has already been explained under note 13.

16. *Non mentem aliquam.* "That no change of mind." This is the interpretation commonly given to the clause. It is susceptible, however, of a different meaning, "that no return of mind," *i. e.* no glimpse of reason, and consequent remorse, amid his phrensy.

17. *Fortunam.* "The wonted good fortune." Compare Sallust (*Cat.* xli.): "*Tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ.*"

18. *Neque enim sunt,* &c. "For neither are they concealed from the knowledge of all, nor have only a few been committed by thee subsequent to that event." The common text has *multo post,* an erroneous reading. The best editions give *multa* instead of *multo.*

19. *Quot ego tuas petitiones,* &c. "How many thrusts of thine aimed in such a way that they seemed impossible to be shunned, have I avoided by a slight turning away, as it were, and, to borrow the language

of the gladiatorial schools, by the movements of my body." *Petitio*, *declinatio*, *corpus*, and *effugio*, are all gladiatorial terms, purposely employed by Cicero, that he may seem to regard Catiline as no better than one of this class of persons. Compare the language he uses in the second oration against Catiline (c. xi.): "*Gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules opponite*," &c.

20. *Nihil agis*, &c. "You do nothing, you contrive nothing, you meditate nothing." The student will observe the regular gradation of ideas. — We have retained the common reading with Ernesti. Some editors reject *nihil moliris, quod mihi latere valeat in tempore*, but without any propriety. The words from *quod* to *tempore*, both inclusive, are wanting in some manuscripts.

21. *In tempore.* "At the very moment when it is of advantage to me to know them." Equivalent to *illo tempore quo illa scire mihi utile sit.* Compare the Greek form ἐν καιρῷ, and Drakenb. ad Liv. viii. 7.

22. *Quoties jam*, &c. "How often before this has that dagger of thine been wrested from thy grasp?"

23. *Tamen ea carere diutius non potes.* These words are omitted by some editors, as not required by the context, and savouring, therefore, of interpolation. They are susceptible, however, of an easy defence: "Still you cannot be deprived of it for a longer period than the mere instant," *i. e.* no matter how often it be wrested, or fall, from your grasp, it is sure, the very next instant, to be in your hands again. — They who reject this clause do not seem to have paid sufficient attention to the force of the comparative *diutius*.

24. *Quæ quidem*, &c. As the relative begins the clause, and the connection between it and the antecedent is comparatively slight, it must be rendered by the pronoun *hæc*. (Compare chap. iii. note 3.) "With what unhallowed rites this same dagger has been consecrated by thee and devoted to its purpose, I do not know, that you deem it a matter of solemn obligation to plunge it into the bosom of a consul." Cicero is thought to allude here to the horrid sacrifice of a human being, at the house of Catiline, an account of which is given by Sallust (*Cat.* c. xxiii.) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 30. — vol. i. p. 131. ed. Reimar). — The sacrificial knife was consecrated to that purpose alone: Cicero insinuates that Catiline had a weapon dedicated to the sole purpose of slaying the consuls.

VII. 1. *Odio.* "By the detestation." — *Quæ tibi nulla debetur.* "No portion of which is justly your due."

2. *Paullo ante.* "A moment ago." — *Ex hac tanta frequentia.* "Of this so crowded a house. Referring to the full numbers of the senate, whom the intelligence of the conspiracy had drawn together.

3. *Salutavit.* When Catiline came into this meeting, and took his seat, all the senators abandoned that part of the *subsellia*, or benches where he had placed himself, and not one of his private friends dared to salute him.

4. *Vocis exspectas contumeliam*, &c. "Do you wait for an open affront, conveyed to your ears by the voices of these present, when you have been overpowered by that most expressive sentence which their very silence has passed upon you?" A paraphrase has been here employed, to give what a literal translation would only serve to obscure. — The *contumelia vocis* is the same as if the senators had openly

called Catiline a public enemy; the *judicium taciturnitatis* refers to the manner in which he was received on coming into the senate. — The student will mark the force of the subjunctive *oppressus sis*, as denoting what is, to all appearance, passing in the mind of Catiline.

5. *Ista.* The orator here points to the place where Catiline is seated. Compare chap. i. note 4. — *Subsellia.* The seats of the senators are here called *subsellia*, in opposition to the elevated place where the consul had his curule chair. *Subsellium* properly means a low bench or seat.

6. *Nudam atque inanem.* "Completely bare." The Latin writers frequently employ two epithets, of almost the same import, to give additional strength to the idea.

7. *Servi mehercle*, &c. Muretus passes a high and richly deserved encomium on the force and skill which characterise this passage. It is, in truth, an excellent illustration of the argument *a fortiori.*

8. *Injuria.* "Without just cause." — *Offensum.* "Odious." Compare Casaubon ad Suet. *Jul.* xix. — *Omnium oculis.* We have adopted the order of Grævius, as more in accordance with euphony. The common text has *oculis omnium.*

9. *Vulneras.* "You are every day wounding." *Vulnero* is here used somewhat in the sense of *lædo.* Compare chap. iv. "*Eos nondum voce vulnero.*"

10. *Omnium nostrûm parens.* Compare the beautiful passage in the treatise *de Officiis*: "*Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.*"

11. *Et jamdiu te nihil judicat*, &c. The common text has *de te.* We have rejected the preposition, according to the suggestion of Lambinus, which is approved of by Muretus and Grævius. If *de* be retained, the sense requires the insertion of another *te*, in the accusative, before *cogitare*, which would be extremely awkward and inelegant.

12. *Parricidio suo.* "Her ruin." The term *parricidium*, among the Roman writers, indicates not merely the murder of parents, but also, of those with whom one stands in any near and intimate relation. Compare the language of one of the old lawyers: "*Lege Pompeia de parricidis tenetur, qui patrem, matrem, avum, aviam, fratrem, sororem, patronum, patronam occiderit.*" (Pauli *Sentent.* lib. v. tit. 24.)

13. *Hujus tu neque*, &c. "Will you neither respect her authority, nor be guided by her opinion, nor stand in awe of her power?" *Judicium* is here equivalent to *sententiam.* His country had come to the conclusion, that Catiline ought to depart from her and go into exile.

14. *Tacita loquitur.* What the grammarians call an *oxymoron*, an apparent contradiction in terms. So in the following chapter, "*quum tacent clamant.*"

15. *Multorum civium neces.* Alluding to the murders committed by Catiline, as a partisan, and during the proscriptions of Sylla. Consult *Historical Index.*

16. *Sociorum.* Catiline had, as prætor, obtained Africa for his government, where he was guilty of great extortion and rapine. On his return to Rome, he was accused by Publius Clodius, but escaped by bribing his accuser and the judges who tried him.

17. *Quæstiones.* "Public prosecutions." Consult *Legal Index.*

18. *Quidquid increpuerit*, &c. "For Catiline to be feared, on

every alarm." Literally, *quidquid increpuerit*, "Whatever noise may have been made." Compare Livy (iv. 43.): "*Si quid increpet terroris.*"

19. *Quod a tuo scelere abhorreat*, "That is free from your guilty participation." In which you do not bear a part.

20. *Si est verus*, &c. What Hermogenes calls a σχῆμα διλήμματον or form of a dilemma.

VIII. 1. *Nonne impetrare debeat.* "Ought she not to obtain her request," *i. e.* ought she not to prevail upon you to depart.

2. *Quid, quod tu ipse*, &c. "What shall I say of this, that you offered to surrender yourself into the safe keeping of some private individual?" The phrase *quid quod*, which can only be used when a verb succeeds, is elliptical, and to be completed as follows: *Quid dicam de eo quod.* It generally implies, that what comes after is more surprising or decisive than what went before, and hence it is frequently rendered into English by "nay" or "nay even." Compare Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 416. — Sanctii *Min.* vol. ii. p. 210. (ed. Bauer).

3. *In custodiam.* This is what was called *libera custodia.* When an individual of rank and family laboured under the suspicion of any treasonable practices, he sometimes surrendered himself into the hands of another person, distinguished for private worth, and attachment to the state, to be guarded, as it were, by the latter, until his guilt or innocence might be established by the result of a public prosecution. This step was generally taken in order to impress the people with an opinion of his innocence. On some occasions, the person accused was given over into the safe keeping of another, without being allowed to exercise any will of his own, as in the case of Lentulus, and the other confederates of Catiline, recorded by Sallust (*Cat.* c. xlvii.). Dio Cassius (lviii. 3.) calls this species of custody, by a very appropriate name, φυλακὴ ἄδεσμος. Compare Lipsius ad Tacit. *Ann.* vi. 4.

4. *M'. Lepidum.* We have given the prænomen as *M'.* (i. e. *Manium*) instead of the common reading *M.* (*Marcum*). The Lepidus here meant was Manius, not Marcus Lepidus, who held the consulship with Volcatius Tullus. Compare Manutius (*ad loc.*), and also the remarks of Morgenstern and Beck.

5. *Habitare.* "To take up your residence."

6. *Parietibus.* The term *paries* most commonly denotes the wall of a house. Its primitive meaning appears to have been a party, or separation, wall. In the following passage it signifies a wall for upholding or supporting: "*Parietes fornicum perfossi urbem patefecerunt.*" (Liv. xliv. 11.)

7. *Qui essem.* "Since I was." *Qui* is joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause states some circumstance belonging to the antecedent, as accounting for the principal fact, or as contributing to its production. (Crombie, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 371.)

8. *Q. Metellum.* Cicero refers to Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, who was subsequently despatched by him to raise an armed force against Catiline in the Gallic and Picene territories. (Compare *Orat. II. in Cat.* chapters ii. and xii.) He was consul with L. Afranius, two years afterwards.

9. *Virum optimum.* Used ironically. Compare Quintillian ix. 2. — *M. Marcellum.* The father of Marius Marcellus, one of the accomplices of Catiline (*Pro Sext.* iv.). Orosius, (vi. 4.) in the following passage, makes mention of both father and son: *Motus etiam in Pelignis ortus a Marcellis, patre et filio, per L. Vectium proditus, patefacta Catilinæ conjuratione, quasi succisa radice, compressus est,*" &c. We must be careful, however, not to confound the Marcellus here mentioned with the one named by Cicero a little after, and whom he styles *vir fortissimus.* This latter was the one whom he defended before Cæsar.

10. *Videlicet.* Ironical. "No doubt." — *Ad suspicandum.* "In spying out your secret movements." — *Ad vindicandum.* "In bringing you to justice."

11. *Morari.* We have retained the common reading. Many editions have *emori,* and they who give this lection think that Cicero probably meant to warn Catiline, that his remaining in Rome would but lead to a speedy death. Cicero, however, is not speaking of a death to be patiently endured by Catiline, but of the utter impossibility of that individual's remaining any longer in a city where every object must remind him of his own guilty schemes, and of the hatred and contempt which these had brought upon him. Besides *morari* and *abire* are in direct opposition, and the presence of the latter requires the former as a matter of course.

12. *Refer, inquis, ad senatum.* "Lay the matter, you say, before the senate." *Referre ad senatum* was the usual phrase for the laying of any matter before the Roman senate. If the consuls were in the city at the time when any such reference was to be made, they, by virtue of their office, consulted the senate on the matter in question. If they were absent, the reference was made by the other magistrates, according to their respective rank. (Aul. Gell. xiv. 7.)

13. *Quod abhorret a meis moribus.* "Which is repugnant to my character." As Cicero was naturally averse to harshness and severity, he was unwilling to lay the affair of Catiline formally before the senate, since he knew that the latter would, most certainly, condemn him. His object was to induce him to quit the city.

14. *Faciam ut intelligas.* "I will act in such a way that you may clearly perceive." He means, that he will tell him openly to go into exile, and that the senate will sanction this bold step on the part of Cicero, by their total silence.

15. *Hanc vocem.* "This word." Consult chap. v. note 18.

16. *Quid est, Catilina?* Cicero probably made a pause at the end of the previous sentence, that Catiline might observe the more clearly, from the total silence of the assembled senators, how completely their sentiments accorded with those of the speaker. He then exclaims, in reference to the silence which prevails on all sides: "What is this, Catiline?"

17. *Patiuntur, tacent.* "They suffer me to address you in this language, they are silent," *i. e.* they permit me to use this bold language towards you, and to bid you go into exile, because they believe, with me, that you are an enemy to your country; and no one raises his voice in your behalf.

18. *Quid exspectas auctoritatem,* &c. "Why do you wait for their authorising this by their voices, when you clearly perceive their wishes

although they are silent?" Cicero refers to their confirming, by word of mouth, the order which he had given Catiline to depart into exile.

19. *Sextio.* P. Sextius Gallus, who was quæstor to the consul Antonius, and whom Cicero subsequently defended in an oration which has come down to us.

20. *M. Marcello.* This is the Marcellus whom Cicero afterwards defended before Cæsar. Consult *Historical Index.*

21. *Jam.* "Ere now." — *Vim et manus.* "The hand of violence." Literally, "violence and their hands." A species of hendiadys.

22. *De te.* "With regard to you." — *Cum quiescunt,* &c. "When they remain quiet, they actually approve of my conduct; when they permit me to use this language, they, in truth, decree to that effect; when they keep silence, they, in fact, proclaim loudly their sentiments." — *Probant.* The senate approve of the course which Cicero has just pursued towards Catiline, in ordering him into exile. — *Decernunt.* They actually decree that he go into exile. — *Clamant.* They loudly proclaim, as it were, their decided conviction of Catiline's being a foe to his country.

23. *Quorum tibi auctoritas,* &c. "Whose authority, it seems, is highly respected by you; whose lives are most cheap in your eyes." Catiline pretended great respect for the authority and sanction of the senate, but held their lives, in fact, so cheap, as to have marked out the majority of them for destruction.

24. *Sed etiam illi equites Romani.* "But even those Roman knights do the same," i. e. *silentio probant.*

25. *Qui circumstant senatum.* A body of Roman knights, and other patriotic citizens, were in arms around the temple in which the senate were convened, in order to protect them from any sudden attack on the part of the conspirators, in case such, as was strongly apprehended, should take place. — *Voces.* Referring to the patriotic cries of those assembled without the temple.

26. *Usque ad portas prosequantur.* Those who went into voluntary exile were generally accompanied to the city gates by large numbers of their friends. Cicero promises an escort of knights to Catiline, if he will abandon Rome. The orator means, that, through joy to rid themselves of him, they will see him safely to the gates of the city.

IX. 1. *Quamquam.* "And yet." Compare the remarks of Forcellini, on this usage of *quamquam*: "*Venustatem habet, cum quis se ipsum corrigit;*" and consult the following passages where it occurs in the same sense: Cic. *N. D.* iii. 16.: Virg. *Æn.* v. 194.

2. *Te ut ulla res frangat?* &c. "Is it to be expected that any thing can ever break that obstinate spirit of yours? that you can ever reform?" We must supply before *ut*, in this passage, the words *sperandumne sit fore*, or something equivalent. Drakenborch (ad Liv. iv. 2. 12.) has collected examples of this elegant and elliptical usage of the particle *ut*. — *Frangat.* As regards the peculiar force of this verb in such passages as the present, compare Liv. ii. 23.; and consult Broukhus. ad Tibull. i. 9. 71.

3. *Duint.* An archaism for *dent*. This form occurs also in Livy, (x. 19.), as forming part of the language of a vow: "*Bellona, si hodie nobis victoriam duis, ast ego templum tibi voveo.*" Besides being used on such solemn occasions, it is frequently met with among the comic writers.

4. *Sed est mihi tanti.* "But it is worth this sacrifice." As if he had said: "*Reipublicæ salus est mihi tanti momenti, ut huic impendenti invidiæ tempestati me objiciam.*"

5. *Privata sit.* "Be private in its character," *i. e.* concern me individually; fall only on my head.

6. *Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare.* "But that you can be at all affected by the consciousness of your crimes." *Vitia* is here used to denote any evil deeds.

7. *Ut temporibus reipublicæ concedas.* "That you can yield to the interests of the republic." It is the same as if Cicero had said: "*Ut a consilio tuo recedas, et ea, quæ præsens reipublicæ status postulat, fieri patiaris.*" — We have given *concedas* with the greater number of editions. Grævius, Lallemand, Beck, and Schütz, prefer *cedas,* which is found in some manuscripts, and this reading is also defended by Goerenz, ad Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 11. 26. p. 251. But *concedo* is often used by Cicero for the simple *cedo.* Compare *Epist. ad Fam.* iv. 3.: *ad Att.* xiv. 18.: *Verr.* ii. 44.: *Rosc. Am.* xl.

8. *Pudor.* "A sense of shame." — *Umquam.* This word does not appear in the common text. Quintilian, (ix. 3. 62.) in quoting the passage, inserts it after *pudor,* a reading which Schütz and Matthiæ adopt. We have removed it to its present place as giving a fuller sound to the sentence.

9. *Recta.* Supply *via.* Thus Terence (*Andr.* iii. 4. 21.): "*Quin hinc recta in pistrinum proficiscar via.*"

10. *Sermones hominum.* "The remarks of men," *i. e.* the censures that will be heaped upon me for my tyrannical conduct. Compare Cic. (*Verr.* iv. 7.): "*In sermonem hominum atque vitupcrationem venire,*" and (*Ep. ad Att.* ii. 14.): "*Vapulare sermonibus.*"

11. *Molem istius invidiæ.* "The weight of that odium which you will thus bring upon me." The student will mark the force of the pronoun *iste,* and consult chap. i. note 4.

12. *Servire meæ laudi et gloriæ.* "To subserve the purposes of my praise and my glory," *i. e.* to advance my reputation and glory. — Cicero resorts to an artful dilemma. Catiline may entertain either hostile or friendly feelings towards Cicero, just as he pleases, for the purpose either of exposing him to odium, or contributing to his renown, but in either event he must leave the city.

13. *Cum importuna sceleratorum manu.* "With thy lawless band of miscreants." *Importunus* here denotes a total disregard for what time, place, circumstance, and person demand. Hence it obtains the signification of "unbridled," "outrageous," "intolerable," &c. Compare *Verr.* vi. 50.: "*Importunissimæ libidines,*" "the most unbridled desires," and *Orat. II. in Cat.* ch. vi.: "*Importunissimus hostis.*"

14. *Impio latrocinio.* "In your impious scheme of robbery." It is called "impious," or unhallowed, because directed against his native country. *Latrocinium,* in its earliest acceptation, meant merely the service of a soldier, and the primitive meaning of *latro* itself was the same as *miles.* The idea of robbery and plunder was associated with it at a later period, from the plundering habits of disbanded soldiers. Festus derives *latro* from the Greek λατρεία "service," where others, however, by a change of reading, make λάτρον "pay," the root. (Lindemann, *Corp. Gram. Lat.* vol. i. p. 88.) Varro's derivation of the term from *latus,* because the *latrones,* at first, like a kind of

body-guard, protected the *side* of the king or commander (*circum latera erant regi*), or, because they wore swords by their sides (*ad latera habebant ferrum*), is now deservedly rejected.

15. *Quamquam.* "And yet." Compare note 1.

16. *Qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium,* &c. "To wait for thee in arms near Forum Aurelium." The preposition *ad*, with the name of a place, denotes immediate proximity, but not the being in the place itself. — Towns, where the prætor held what we would term his circuits, for administering justice, and where also markets were established, were called *Fora* by the Romans. The Town of Forum Aurelium (now *Monte Alto*), was situate in Etruria, and took the latter part of its name from the Via Aurelia on which it stood, and which led from Rome to Pisa. The Aurelian Way was continued from this latter place, A. U. C. 639, by the consul Æmilius Scaurus, under the name of Via Æmilia, as far as Dertona (now *Tortona*), and at a later period was carried from Vada Sabata (where it had left the coast for Dertona) to the Maritime Alps, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as Arelate (now *Arles*). Consult Cramer, *Anc. Italy*, vol. i. p. 35.; and Anton. *Itin.* p. 288. ed. Wesseling; Sigon. *Ant. Jur. Ital.* ii. 5.

17. *Cui sciam.* The common text has *quum sciam;* Ernesti merely *sciam.* We have inserted *cui* with Beck and Schütz, "*concinnitatis gratia.*"

18. *Aquilam illam argenteam.* The same which Marius had in his army in the Cimbric war. Catiline fell beside it in the battle which ended the conspiracy. (Sall. *Cat.* lix.) — Among the Romans, a silver eagle, with expanded wings, on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above it, and occasionally also placed within the chapel, was the main standard of the legion. It was anciently carried before the Triarii, or third rank, composed of the oldest soldiers; but, after the time of Marius, in the first line, and near it was the ordinary place of the general. The reason of this change of place appears to have been, because, in the time of Marius, the best troops began to be placed first. Consult Salmas. *de Re Milit.* c. vi. — Lips. *de Mil. Rom.* lib. iv. dial. 3. and 5. — Rasche, *Lex. Rei Num.* s. v. *Aquila Legionaria.*

19. *Cui domi tuæ,* &c. "For which a shrine was established at your own home, where your crimes were offered up as appropriate incense." We have been compelled to resort to a paraphrase, in order to express more clearly the meaning of the orator. — It has been stated in the previous note, that the eagle of the legion was sometimes placed in a kind of chapel, or *ædicula*, and at other times was represented either without any such chapel, or as having it above the wings. Dio Cassius (xl. 18.) is very explicit respecting the first of these: ἔστι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίδρυται. So Catiline, in the figurative language of Cicero, had, by keeping the Marian Eagle at his own home, established there, in fact, a kind of sanctuary for it; and, as the Roman soldiers were accustomed to pay adoration to their standards, so he, according to the orator, might be said to have adored the one in his possession, and to have invoked it as the tutelary deity of intended violence and rapine. — With regard to the different forms of the legionary standard, already alluded to, consult Stewech. ad Veget. *R. M.* ii. c. 6. p. 121. and the authorities cited by Reimar (ad Dion. Cass. *l. c.*), where the error of Lipsius is corrected, who confounds the small temple mentioned by

Dio with the sanctuary of the camp where all the standards were worshipped.

20. *Tu ut illa*, &c. "Is it to be believed that you can any longer," &c. Supply *credendumne sit fore*, and consult note 2. — *Istam impiam dexteram.* "That impious right hand of thine."

X. 1. *Hæc res*, i. e. *hoc bellum contra patriam, hæc civium cædes.* It is incorrect to apply these words to Catiline's forced departure from the city. — *Ad hanc te amentiam*, &c. "It was for this mad career of crime that nature gave you being, inclination trained, fate reserved you."

2. *Nisi nefarium.* "Unless of an unhallowed character." *Bellum nefarium* means a war against his native country, and hence impious and unhallowed. — *Nactus es.* "You have got together." — *Atque ab omni*, &c. The order is, *atque* (ex) *derelictis ab non modo omni fortuna, verum etiam* (a) *spe.*

3. *Hic*, i. e. *inter ejusmodi hominum gregem.* — *Qua lætitia perfruere*, &c. "What gratification will you experience, with what joy will you exult, in what delight will you revel." Cortius ad Plin. *Ep.* iv. 15. conjectures *perfluas* in place of *perfruere*, but the emendation is of no great value. If any change be needed, it would be to reject the words *qua lætitia perfruere*, as an explanatory gloss of what follows, viz. : *quibus gaudiis exsultabis?*

4. *Ad hujus vitæ studium*, &c. "It was to prepare you, no doubt, for the zealous pursuit of such a life as this, that all those labours of yours, as they are called, were gone through with." *Meditari* is here used passively, in the sense of *agi* or *exerceri.* The whole passage is full of irony and bitter scorn.

5. *Ad obsidendum stuprum.* "For the purpose of watching an opportunity for debauchery." The literal meaning is, "to lie in wait for debauchery." Compare *Verr.* i. 2. : *Qui meum tempus obsideret.*" — *Ad facinus obeundum.* "For the execution of some daring and wicked enterprise."

6. *Bonis occisorum.* Grævius and some other editors give *otiosorum* from a few MSS. ; but this destroys the force of Cicero's remark. The orator means, that Catiline enriched himself by plundering the property of those who had been proscribed during the civil contests of Sylla and Marius, he being a partisan of the former. Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Catilina.*

7. *Habes ubi ostentes.* "You have now a glorious field for displaying." Ironical. — *Patientiam famis*, &c. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* v. and *Orat. pro Cœl.* c. vi.

8. *Confectum.* "Undone." — *Cum te a consulatu repuli.* Cicero means, when his influence prevented Catiline from being elected to the consulship.

9. *Exul.* We have given this, and also *consul*, in Italics, to mark the *paronomasia.* So likewise *latrocinium* and *bellum.*

XI. 1. *Nunc, ut a me*, &c. "Now, Conscript Fathers, that I may, in the most earnest and solemn manner, remove from me what seems, as it were, an almost well-grounded complaint on the part of my country." *Quandam* (literally, "a certain") is purposely employed to qualify *prope justam.* — The verb *detestari* here denotes, "to seek to remove any thing from one, such as blame, accusation, &c., by the utmost earnest-

ness of manner, adjuring, calling to witness all that one holds dear;" while *deprecari* rises upon it in meaning, "to pray in the most solemn manner, to entreat fervently, to supplicate, that one may be freed from certain consequences." Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

2. *Percipite, quæso, quæ dicam,* &c. The oratorical skill with which Cicero brings this oration to a close, is admirable. He had, already, in the earlier part of the discourse, repeatedly asserted, that it was fully in his power to put Catiline to death if he felt inclined. In order to support this assertion once more in the strongest manner, he introduces the striking personification of his own country, complaining that he had not removed Catiline from existence, when it was his duty to have done so. The three grounds of excuse, which might have exonerated him from censure in the case of an ordinary offender, his country here pronounces utterly insufficient to excuse his inaction. 1. *The custom of early days.* — Why, in earlier days, replies his country, even individuals uninvested with magistracy, as, for example, Scipio Nasica, put to death with their own hands the disturbers of the public repose. 2. *The law which forbade any Roman citizen's being put to death.* — But, replies his country, no man who fails in his duty as a citizen, can claim the privileges of one. 3. *The dread of public odium for what might seem too harsh an exercise of authority.* — A man, like Cicero, whom the republic had elevated, in so extraordinary a manner, to the highest office in her gift, is bound, when the safety of that republic is at stake, to consider personal odium or danger as of only secondary importance. — All this forms, as Muretus remarks, "*orationem moratam.*"

3. *M. Tulli, quid agis?* Compare the address of his country to Socrates, in the *Criton* of Plato (§ 11.), εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ποιεῖν; κ. τ. λ.

4. *Evocatorem servorum.* Those soldiers who had served out their time (*emeriti*), and those who from Sylla's time downward had received, instead of a military pension, a piece of ground to cultivate and dwell on, were always, in case of any sudden and dangerous emergency, compelled again to enter the ranks and perform military service. When this was to be done, persons were sent to summon them, called *conquisitores* or *evocatores.* (Dio Cass. xliv. 12. — Lips. *de Mil. Rom.* i. 8. — Turneb. *Advers.* i. 9. — Stewech. ad Veget. ii. 3.) We see from this, with what bitter scorn Catiline is called *evocator servorum,* as if he had gone into their very workshops and summoned them forth to insurrection and deeds of blood.

5. *Non emissus ex urbe,* &c. On the principle, that, if allowed to escape, he will only return with surer means of destruction.

6. *Mactari.* "To be visited." Used here for *affici.* The verb *mactare* is the official term, properly, for slaying a victim at a sacrifice after the salted meal had been sprinkled between the horns, and all the other ceremonies performed. In its primitive sense, however, it is equivalent merely to *magis augere,* and hence, when applied to a sacrifice, means in strictness, to go on and consummate what has been already begun, *i. e.* to slay the victim. It is in this way only we can explain such phrases as the following: "*Mactant honoribus,*" "they advance with honours," *i. e.* heap fresh honours upon. (Cic. *de Repub.* ap. Non. iv. 291.) "*Liberum patrem, fanorum consecratione mactatis.*" "Ye do honour to father Bacchus," &c. (Arnob. i. p. 24) Compare also the forms *macte virtute, macte ingenio,* &c. — The propriety of

Cicero's phrase will now be fully apparent. His country tells him that something more must be done; the last act, the finishing blow to the conspiracy, must now be attended to, by putting Catiline to death.

7. *Mosne majorum?* Their forefathers would not put a Roman citizen to death without the order of the Roman people. — *At persæpe etiam privati,* &c. Cicero alludes particularly to the case of P. Scipio Nasica who headed the party of the nobility when Tiberius Gracchus was slain. The expression *persæpe* falls under the head of what may be denominated oratorical exaggeration, since justifiable instances of this nature were by no means frequent.

8. *An leges?* The Porcian and Sempronian laws in particular. The former ordained, that no Roman citizen should be bound, scourged, or put to death. (*Pro Rab.* iv. — *Verr.* v. 63. — Liv. x. 9.) The latter enjoined, that no Roman citizen should be put to death without the express order of the Roman people: which was only reviving one of the provisions of the twelve tables. It was intended, however, in fact, as a revival of the Porcian law, which had grown in some degree obsolete. Consult Sigon. *de Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom.* i. 6.; and Heineccius, *Antiq. Rom.* Append. i. 1. 27. p. 247. ed. Haubold.

9. *Rogatæ sunt.* "Have been enacted." The people, at the *comitia,* were *asked* their pleasure respecting the passage of laws. The usual form of application, on the part of the presiding magistrate, was "*velitis, jubeatis Quirites?*" Hence *rogare legem,* which would strictly mean "to ask the people about the passage of a law," gets the meaning of "to enact a law," and so also *rogare magistratis,* "to elect magistrates." On the same principle, before a law was carried through, and while it was still pending, it was termed *rogatio,* "a bill." Hence, too, when the people were to vote about a law, two ballots were given them, on one of which were the letters U. R. (i. e. *uti rogas*), and on the other A. (i. e. *antiquo, antiqua probo*). The former was the affirmative, ballot, and was equivalent to, "*volo legem esse uti rogas.*"

10. *Tenuerunt.* "Have retained," *i. e.* have been allowed to retain. — *Invidiam posteritatis.* "The reproaches of posterity." Literally, "the odium," or "dislike."

11. *Præclaram vero,* &c. "You are making a fine return, indeed, to the Roman people." Ironical. — *Hominem per te cognitum.* "A person brought into notice by your own exertions merely," *i. e.* what the Romans were accustomed to call "a new man," *novus homo;* meaning one who had been the first of his family to raise himself to any curule office, or, in other words, to enroll himself by his personal merits among the nobility. Cicero was fond of alluding to this feature in his history, and it was certainly a most pardonable kind of pride.

12. *Tam mature.* Cicero was elected consul the very year he was first permitted, by law, to offer himself as a candidate. No one could present himself as an aspirant for the consulship, until he had completed his 43d year. The orator boasts of having obtained all the inferior offices in the same way; each in the year when he was first allowed to apply for it. Hence the expression in the present passage *per omnes honorum gradus,* "through all the gradations of office."

13. *Severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia.* "The odium arising from a strict and firm discharge of duty." — *Quam inertiæ ac nequitiæ.* "Than that which is attendant upon indolence and remissness." Compare chap. ii. note 13.

14. *Tum te non existimas*, &c. A beautiful figure, best expressed by a paraphrase: "Do you not imagine that you yourself will be then enveloped amid the flames which the indignation of your country shall have kindled against you?" Literally, "Do you not think that you will then blaze amid the conflagration of odium?" The figure arises very naturally from the previous expression, "*tecta ardebunt.*"

XII. 1. *His ego sanctissimis vocibus.* "To these most revered expostulations on the part of my country." *Sanctissimis* is here equivalent to *sanctissime colendis.* — *Mentibus.* "To the secret thoughts."

2. *Si judicarem.* "Could I have thought." In conditional propositions, it is not uncommon for the consequent clause to contain the pluperfect subjunctive, while the conditional clause contains the imperfect subjunctive with *si* or *nisi.* Thus in the present instance we have *judicarem* and *dedissem.* The probability is thus spoken of generally, without being strictly referred to the time at which it existed. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 333.)

3. *Unius usuram horæ ad vivendum.* "The enjoyment of a single hour for the purposes of existence." — *Gladiatori isti.* Compare chap. vi. note 19. — *Etenim.* "*And* well may I make this assertion, *for.*" Compare the Greek form of expression καὶ γάρ.

4. *Honestarunt.* "Graced." Equivalent to *decorarunt.* — *Certe mihi*, &c. Ernesti suspects *mihi* of being unnecessary here. But it is needed to mark a kind of opposition to *summi viri, et clarissimi cives.*

5. *Parricida civium.* Consult chap. vii. note 12.

6. *Qui spem Catilinæ*, &c. "Who have fostered the hopes of Catiline, by their feeble expressions of opinion." — *Non credendo.* "By not believing in its existence."

7. *Si in hunc animadvertissem.* "If I had punished him." Understand *supplicio.* The verb *animadvertere*, when used with an ellipsis of *supplicio*, in the sense of punishing, denotes to punish by authority, and then refers to the vigilance of the magistrate, in marking offences committed. The use of the preposition *in*, on such occasions, before the name of the culprits, intimates more strongly the steady attention directed towards the conduct found to be reprehensible. (Hill, *Synonyms*, p. 89.)

8. *Regie.* "Tyrannically." After the expulsion of Tarquin, nothing was more hateful to a Roman ear than the name of "king," *rex*, and hence they connected with the expressions *regnare, regie aliquid facere aut dicere*, the idea of tyrannical and oppressive conduct, and such as was hostile to freedom. Compare Cic. *Agrar.* ii. 6., where, in order to excite the hatred of the people against the authors of the Agrarian law, he calls them "*decem reges ærarii, vectigalium, provinciarum omnium*," &c.

9. *Paullisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse.* "May be repressed for a season, but cannot be for ever suppressed." Compare the remarks of Ernestus Antonius: "*Qui* reprimitur, *ad tempus tantum continetur; qui* comprimitur, *plane conficitur.*"

10. *Se ejecerit.* Equivalent in effect to *præceps ex urbe exierit.* — *Ceteros naufragos.* "The rest of his shipwrecked band of followers." Ernesti suspects that *naufragos* is mere interpolation, which has found its way into the text from having been mentioned in the second oration against Catiline (c. xi.). He mistakes, however, a very forcible figure.

By *naufragi* Cicero means those who are shipwrecked in character and fortune by reason of their flagitious excesses. Compare *pro Sull.* c. xiv. where those who have lost their private patrimony are called *patrimonio naufragi.*

11. *Hæc tam adulta reipublicæ pestis.* "This so ripe a plague of the republic." As if he had said: "*Hic Catilina, tam robustus et corroboratus reipublicæ eversor, tantum roboris et virium jam in evertenda republica nactus.*"

XIII. 1. *Jamdiu.* For the space of three years, *i. e.* ever since the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus.

2. *Quo pacto.* "By what means," *i. e.* by what fatality. — *Omnium scelerum,* &c. "The maturity of all these crimes, and of this long-continued madness and audacity." — *Erupit.* The metaphor appears to be borrowed from an ulcer, breaking when ripe. Compare Pliny (*H. N.* xxii. 23. 49.): "*ulcera maturescentia,*" and (xxii. 10. 12.) "*ulcera erumpentia.*"

3. *Ex tanto latrocinio.* "From so numerous a band of robbers." *Latrocinium* is here used for *latrones,* as *servitium* often is for *servi.*

4. *In venis atque in visceribus reipublicæ.* "In the veins and vitals of the republic." The *viscera* are the upper entrails or vitals, including the lungs, heart, liver, &c. The *intestina* are the lower entrails. Compare the language of Celsus, "*a visceribus ad intestina veniundum est,*" (iv. 11.); and again, "*Septum id quod transversum a superioribus visceribus intestina discernit.*" (vii. 4. p. 354. ed. Targa.) The corresponding word in Greek is *σπλάγχνα,* which were the parts always examined by the soothsayers.

5. *Æstu febrique.* "Under a burning fever."

6. *Qui est.* "Which exists." — *Relevatus.* "After being mitigated in some degree." — *Vivis reliquis.* "While the other conspirators remain alive." We have adopted this reading in place of the common one, *civibus reliquis,* which does not suit the context. Cicero means, that the death of Catiline will not suffice for crushing the evil engendered by the conspiracy, as long as his accomplices are allowed to remain alive.

7. *Circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani.* L. Valerius Flaccus was *Prætor urbanus* at this time, and the partisans of Catiline appear to have placed themselves, at different times, around his tribunal, to deter him, if possible, from administering justice.

3. *Obsidere.* "To beset." A verb of the third conjugation, *obsido, -ĕre.*

9. *Malleolos.* "Fiery arrows." A description of this species of missile is given by Ammianus Marcellinus, (xxiii. 3.) from which it appears that they were a kind of arrow, with an iron grating below the head, swelling out like a clew in spinning. This iron receptacle was filled with combustibles, which, on being ignited, burnt fiercely, and could only be extinguished by dust thrown upon the flame. Water merely served to increase its vehemence. The name *malleolus* ("little mallet") was given to this missile, from the resemblance which the projecting or swelling part bore to the head of a mallet. Compare Lips. *Poliorc.* v. 5.; and the authorities cited by him.

10. *Quid de republica sentiat.* "What his sentiments are respecting the republic."

11. *Oppressa, vindicata.* "Crushed, punished."

12. *Cum summa reipublicæ salute*, &c. "With the best interests of the republic firmly established, and with your own calamity and ruin fully assured, and with the destruction of those, who have joined themselves with you in every act of wickedness and parricide, now reduced to absolute certainty, go forth to your impious and unhallowed war." We have introduced a partial paraphrase, in order to convey the orator's meaning more clearly. The idea, more briefly expressed, would be as follows: "Go forth, for the safety of the republic, for your own ruin, and for the destruction of your accomplices.

13. *Auspiciis.* Matthiæ well remarks, that not only temples, but also statues were consecrated by taking the auspices. — *Statorem.* "The stay." Consult chap. v. note 5.

14. *Scelerum fœdere.* "By a compact of wickedness." — *Mactabis.* "Wilt visit." Compare chap. xi. note 6.

SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

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1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Second Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Catiline, delivered before the Roman people."—Catiline having escaped unmolested to the camp of Manlius in Etruria, the conduct of Cicero in not apprehending, but sending away, this formidable enemy, had probably excited some censure and discontent. The second Catilinarian oration was, in consequence, delivered by Cicero, in an assembly of the people, in order to justify his driving the chief conspirator from Rome. A capital punishment, he admits, ought long since to have overtaken Catiline, but such was the spirit of the times, that the existence of the conspiracy would not have been believed, and he had, therefore, resolved to place his guilt in a point of view so conspicuous, that vigorous measures might, without hesitation, be adopted, both against Catiline and his accomplices.

He also takes this opportunity to warn his audience against those bands of conspirators who still lurked within the city, and whom he divides into various classes, describing, in the strongest language, the different degrees of guilt and profligacy, by which they were severally characterised.

I. 2. *Tandem aliquando*, &c. "At length, then, Romans, we have either cast out, or sent away, or accompanied with execrations on his voluntary departure from our city, Lucius Catiline, raging with audacity, breathing forth crime, wickedly plotting the ruin of his country, every instant threatening you and this city with fire and sword." This commencement makes a kind of opposition to the *Quousque tandem* with which the first oration begins.

3. *Quirites.* An appellation given to the whole Roman people when addressed on any public occasion. The term is commonly derived from *Quirinus*, a name given to Romulus, or from *Cures*, a town of the Sabines. They who favour the latter etymology assert, that the Sabines were called Quirites before their junction with the Romans, and that it afterwards became the common appellation of the united people. The former derivation, however, appears preferable. *Quirinus* was a title of Janus, the god that opened the year, when armies moved forth on campaigns; and the root is *Quiris*, the Sabine term for "a spear." Hence the senate could find no appellation more glorious than this, to bestow on the valiant Romulus after he had disappeared from the earth.

4. *Scelus anhelantem.* A strong and beautiful expression. One, who is deeply agitated, breathes deeply (*anhelat*); and Catiline is thus said to send forth crime with every exspiration from his troubled bosom. His whole thoughts are identified with wickedness.

5. *Minitantem.* The student will mark the singular propriety and force of the frequentative.

6. *Vel ejecimus.* By consular authority. Cicero perhaps alludes, by the use of this word (*ejicio*) to some complaints on the part of Catiline's friends, of his having been dealt with too harshly. — *Vel emisimus.* Implying permission to depart. — *Ipsum.* Literally, "of his own accord." Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Ipse.*

7. *Verbis.* Referring particularly to the expressions used at the close of the previous oration. It was customary, at Rome, for their friends to escort to the gates of the city any distinguished persons when leaving the city on affairs of importance, and to accompany them with their wishes and prayers (*euntes ad portas prosequi*). Cicero, here, by a very striking figure, applies this custom to the case of Catiline, but the *verba*, with which every good citizen is supposed to have accompanied him, are wishes and prayers for his ruin.

8. *Abiit, excessit,* &c. "He is gone, he has left us, he has escaped, he has broken away." This beautiful and striking climax appears to be couched in terms borrowed from the operations of the chase. *Abiit* applies to the wild beast, when he has left his usual haunts and retired to another part of the forest; *excessit,* when, after having been tracked out, he leaves the spot before the nets can be prepared for him; *evasit,* when he has been surrounded by the toils, but escapes by springing forth; and *erupit,* when he bursts his way through every intervening obstacle.

9. *A monstro illo atque prodigio.* "By that monster and prodigy of wickedness." Compare *pro Cœl.* iii. 12. *seq.*

10. *Sica illa.* Compare *Orat. I.* ch. vi. "*Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus,*" &c.

11. *Non in campo.* Consult chap. v. note 11.

12. *Non in foro.* The forum being the place where much public business was transacted, the magistrates were here more exposed to the murderous designs of Catiline. — *Intra domesticos parietes.* Referring to the attempt made by the two Roman knights to assassinate him at his own house.

13. *Loco ille motus est.* "He was dislodged from his stronghold." Some apply the expression to the movements of gladiators, and render it, "He was driven from his position." This, however, wants force.

14. *Bellum justum.* "A regular warfare." Opposed to *latrocinium occultum,* and denoting a formal and regular war.

15. *Quod non extulit.* "That he did not carry out with him." — *Afflictum et profligatum.* "Afflicted, and as it were dashed to the very ground."

16. *Perculsum atque abjectum.* "A stricken and a worthless thing." — *Retorquet oculos,* &c. Another figure borrowed from the movements of savage animals. Catiline is compared to some wild beast looking back at the prey which has just been torn from its grasp.

II. 1. *Quales esse omnes oportebat.* All good citizens thought that Catiline ought to have been put to death. Cicero here says, that this should have been the opinion of all citizens indiscriminately. — *Triumphat.* As if over a common foe to all. — *Tam capitalem hostem.* "So deadly a foe." *Capitalis* is here used for *perniciosus,* or, in other words, "*omnium bonorum capitibus quasi insidians.*"

2. *Et affectum.* "And to have been visited." — *Hujus imperii severitas.* "The strict discharge of the duties of my magistracy." With *imperii* supply *consularis.* — *Respublica.* "The interests of the republic."

3. *Qui, quæ ego deferrem,* &c. "Who would not have believed what I might have alleged against him." The student will observe in this clause, and in several that follow, the use of the imperfect subjunctive for the pluperfect. This is done, in order to state the probability in general terms, without any strict reference to the time at which it actually existed. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 333.) — The use of the pronoun *ego* is worthy of notice here. Cicero means that many would not have believed the accusation against Catiline, because *he*, Catiline's private foe, as was supposed, had seen fit to make it.

4. *Qui propter stultitiam non putarent?* "Who, from want of judgment, would have deemed the charges untrue?" Equivalent to *putarent non vera esse quæ ego deferrem.* — *Defenderent.* Supply *eum,* scil. *Catilinam.* — *Quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent?* "How many, who, from utter worthlessness, would have favoured his cause?"

5. *Ac si,* &c. "And yet, could I have supposed, that, if he were taken off, all danger would have been driven away from you, long since would I," &c. *Illo sublato* is here equivalent to *morte Catilinæ,* — *Invidiæ meæ.* "Of personal odium." The same in effect as *odii mihi suscipiendi.*

6. *Ne vobis quidem omnibus,* &c. "That, if I should punish him with death, as he deserved, while the affair was still as yet not clearly ascertained by you all." The term *re* refers to the existence of the conspiracy, and the guilt of Catiline.

7. *Quam vehementer.* Ironically meant. — *Parum comitatus.* "Slightly attended." According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* c. xvi.) he was accompanied by three hundred armed followers, ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὁπλοφόρων, κ. τ. λ. He also had with him the fasces and other badges of authority. (Compare Sallust, *Cat.* c. xxxvii.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 3.; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 33.)

8. *Tongilium mihi eduxit.* "He has led out with him my Tongilius." The pronoun *mihi* is here of peculiar and idiomatic elegance, and is made to answer the purpose of bitter irony. Tongilius was, as may readily be inferred from the context, an infamous character, and a bosom-friend of Catiline.

9. *Quem amare in prætexta cœperat.* "To whom he had begun to be attached in early youth." The *prætexta* was the gown, which the Roman youth wore until they were 17 years of age: it is here put, therefore, for that period of life. — The common text has *calumnia* added after *prætexta.* It is, however, a mere marginal note, which found its way, at last, into the text. It appears to have been inserted in the margin of a manuscript, by some person disputing the truth of the charge. If to be translated, it must be rendered by a kind of parenthesis, "a mere calumny," and must be regarded as ironical. Lambinus, Manutius, Heumannus, Schütz, and others, reject it from the text, and we have followed their authority. Garatonia, in the Naples ed. proposes the following: "*quem* armare *in prætexta calumnia cœperat,*" making *armare calumnia* go together in construction, and giving the phrase the meaning of "*ad omnem calumniandi artem formare,*" but this is not Ciceronian phraseology.

10. *Publicium et Munacium.* Supply *pariter eduxit.* The individuals here mentioned were two of the worthless companions of Catiline. — *Quorum æs alienum,* &c. "Whose debts contracted in a tavern." *Popina* is a tavern, or eating house, the resort of intemperate and gluttonous persons. Compare the language of Plautus (*Pœn.* iv. 2. 13.): "*Bibitur, estur, quasi in popina.*" — Cicero refers to the tavern-debts of Publicius and Munacius, not, as some explain it, to money borrowed from them by Catiline, and spent by him in riot and debauchery. The orator stigmatizes them as mere tavern-brawlers, and in no respect dangerous to the state.

11. *Reliquit quos viros,* &c. Cicero means, that the persons left behind by Catiline were much more to be dreaded than those whom he had carried forth with him, since they possessed great influence, were men, in general, of good families, and by reason of the pressure of debt were reckless of consequences.

III. 1. *Præ Gallicanis legionibus.* "In comparison with our Gallic legions." The orator refers to the regular forces in Transalpine Gaul, which, as Muretus thinks, were at that time in winter-quarters. The usual reading is *et Gallicanis legionibus,* but in place of *et* we have adopted *præ,* the emendation of Lambinus — *In agro Piceno et Gallico.* Consult *Geographical Index.* The Gallic territory meant here, is that of Cisalpine Gaul. As regards Q. Metellus, whose full name was Q. Metellus Celer, and who was one of the prætors of this year, consult *Historical Index,* and also chap. xii. of this oration, and Sallust, *Cat.* c. xxx.

2. *Collectum ex senibus desperatis,* &c. "An army composed of desperate old men, of debauched rustics, of bankrupt farmers." The *senes desperati* consisted principally of the veterans of Sylla. By *decoctor* is properly meant one who has run through his property and become bankrupt; or, in other words, a ruined spendthrift.

3. *Vadimonia deserere.* "To abandon their bail." To forfeit their recognisance. *Vadimonium* is the bail-bond, or recognisance, by which a person binds himself to appear in court at a certain day. If one abandoned his bail, he was adjudged infamous, and his creditors were put in possession of his property by an edict of the prætor.

4. *Aciem exercitus nostri.* "The array of our army," *i. e.* our army drawn up in array against them. — *Edictum prætoris.* "The mere edict of the prætor." Cicero ironically asserts, that they will be overcome by the mere sight of the prætor's decree, by which, in consequence of their non-attendance, their creditors had obtained judgment against them. — *Concident.* "They will, to a man, fall prostrate to the ground."

5. *Hos, quos video,* &c. These are thought to be the same whom Sallust (*Cat.* c. xliii.) calls "*filii familiarum.*" — *Volitare in foro.* "Flitting about in the forum," *i. e.* seeking for loans of money, which they may expend in their career of extravagance.

6. *In senatum venire.* There were eleven senators implicated in the conspiracy.

7. *Qui nitent unguentis.* "Who are sleek with perfumes." The Roman, like the Grecian, perfumes, were generally unguents, not oils as with us. Perfuming the hair and person was regarded as a mark of great effeminacy.

8. *Qui fulgent purpura.* Another allusion to the senators who were implicated in the conspiracy. The senatorian tunic, called *latus clavus*, had a broad purple border (*clavus*), whence its name. The tunic of the *equites* had a narrow border, and was called *angustus clavus*, or *tunica angusticlavia*.

9. *Suos milites.* "As his soldiers."

10. *Video, cui Apulia sit attributa.* Compare Sallust (*Cat.* xxvii.), who informs us, that Apulia was "assigned" to Caius Julius, Etruria to Manlius, the Picene district to one Septimius, a Camertian. The name of the individual to whom the Gallic district was assigned, is not given by him.

11. *Superioris noctis.* Not the night which had just gone by, but the one on which the conspirators met at the house of Læca, or, in other words, the last night but two.

12. *Næ illi vehementer errant.* "They are indeed much mistaken." *Næ*, from the Greek *ναί*.

IV. 1. *Nisi vero si quis est.* "Unless in truth there be any one." The use of *si* after *nisi* often occurs. Compare Drakenborch, ad Liv. vi. 26. vol. ii. p. 376. — *Si quis* in general implies the possibility of a fact not existing.

2. *Catilinæ similes.* "Are like Catiline in character." *Catilinæ* is here the genitive. *Similis*, as has already been remarked, is used with a dative of external resemblance, but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 274.)

3. *Desiderio sui tabescere.* "To pine away through regret for their absence." — *Aurelia via.* Compare *Orat. I.* ch. ix. note 16.

4. *Si quidem hanc sentinam*, &c. "If it shall have cast forth this foul crew that are polluting our city." Compare note 1.

5. *Exhausto.* "Being removed." *Exhausto* is here employed figuratively in allusion to *sentina*. So, *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ix. "*Exhaurietur ex urbe*," &c.

6. *Veneficus.* "Poisoner." Secret poisoning was much practised at Rome. Consult Beckmann (*History of Inventions*, vol. i. p. 74. *seqq.*). — There was a special law against this practice, and other modes of assassination, entitled *Lex Cornelia.* (*Pro Cluent.* lvi.)

7. *Quis testamentorum subjector.* "What forger of wills." Literally, one who substitutes a false will, "*testamentum subjicit.*" Such an offender is called by Cicero, *testamentarius* (*Off.* iii. 17.— *Pro Sext.* xvii.); by Sallust, *signator falsus* (*Cat.* c. xvi.); by Suetonius, *falsarius* (*Vit. Ner.* c. xvi.). There was a law against this practice also, entitled *Lex Cornelia Testamentaria.*

8. *Quis circumscriptor.* "What fraudulent person." *Circumcsriptor* is properly one, who, under cover of the law, defrauds another by any artfully worded writing. Compare the words of Seneca (*Excerpt.* 6. *Controv.* 3.): "*Circumscriptio semper crimen sub specie legis involvit.*" It is then taken generally for any fraudulent person, or cheat. The *lex Lætoria* was enacted against such offenders.

9. *Quis nepos.* "What spendthrift." This meaning of *nepos* appears to have arisen from the circumstance of grandchildren, when brought up by their grandparents, being generally spoiled, either from too much indulgence, or else from too little care being taken of them.

10. *Quæ cædes*, &c. "What deed of murder has been committed

during these latter years, without his participation? What act of abandoned lewdness has not been perpetrated by him?

11. *Jam vero.* "Nay, too." Equivalent to *imo vero etiam.* — *Quæ tanta juventutis illecebra.* "What so great talent for alluring the young to their ruin." Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. vi.: "*Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses,* &c.

V. 1. *In dissimili ratione.* "When contrasted with each other."

2. *In ludo gladiatorio.* "In any school of gladiators." These schools were each under the charge of a person called *lanista,* who purchased and trained up slaves for this employment.

3. *Nemo in scena,* &c. "No one on the stage, more worthless and profligate than ordinary." As regards the force of *levior* in this passage, compare the remark of Aulus Gellius (vii. 9.): *Veterum hominum, qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt, leves dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et nullo pretio dignos dicimus."* — Players, unless very eminent, were not much respected among the Romans. The Greeks held them in higher estimation. Among the Athenians, they were not unfrequently sent, as the representatives of the republic, on embassies and delegations. As a body of men, however, they were, even among the Greeks, of loose and dissipated character, and as such were regarded with an unfavourable eye by moralists and philosophers, Aristotle stigmatizes the players of his day as ignorant, intemperate, and unworthly of a respectable man's company. (*Theatre of the Greeks,* p. 123. 3d Edition.)

4. *Stuprorum et scelerum,* &c. "Accustomed to the continual exercise of lewdness and crime." *Assuefactus* occurs, in like manner, with the ablative, in Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 10., and frequently, in Livy Consult Gronovius and Duker, ad Liv. xxiv. 48. and xlviii. 31., and compare the remark of H. Homer, in his *Gloss Liv.* s. v.

5. *Frigore et fame,* &c. Compare Sallust (*Cat.* v.): "*Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est.*"

6. *Cum industriæ subsidia,* &c. "When all this time the aids of honest industry, and the means of virtue, were only wasted by him in debauchery and daring wickedness." The *subsidia industriæ* are those powers of patient endurance, which, if properly directed, would have enabled their possessor to lead a life of active utility; the *instrumenta virtutis* are the means for performing distinguished and praiseworthy actions, which Catiline possessed in abundance, but which, in his case, were only perverted to purposes of a directly opposite nature. — Muretus, Lambinus, Græevius, and Schütz read *consumeret* for *consumerentur.*

7. *O nos beatos,* &c. More expressive than the common form would have been: "*Quam beati nos erimus, quam fortunata erit respublica, quam præclara laus consulatus mei.*"

8. *Libidines.* "The impure desires." — *Audaciæ.* "The daring excesses."

9. *Fortunas suas abligurierunt.* "Have wasted their fortunes in luxurious living." *Ligurire* is said of those who eat nicely, pick out the choicest bits, feed delicately, &c. And hence its general reference to luxurious living. Thus, in Terence, Parmeno, in describing the manners of dissolute females (*Eunuch.* v. 4. 14.), says, "*Quæ cum amatore suo quum cœnant, liguriunt,*" which is the same as if he had said, "*suaviora et delicatiora tantummodo degustant.*" Donatus has the following remark

on this passage of Terence: "*Liguriunt, ἀπὸ τοῦ λιγυροῦ, quod secundum Græcos suave intelligitur.* Ligurire *dicitur, qui eleganter et more senum multo fastidio suaviora quæque degustat.*" The primitive meaning of *ligurio* is well kept up also in the following passage from Cicero (*In Verr.* v. 76.): "*Non reperietis hominem timide, nec leviter hæc improbissima lucra ligurientem: devorare omnem pecuniam publicam non dubitavit.*"

10. *Fides.* "Credit." — *In abundantia.* "In the days of their abundance," *i. e.* while their property still remained.

11. *Comissationes solum quærerent.* "They had merely revellings in view." *Comissatio* properly denotes a making merry after supper, a nocturnal revel. It sometimes refers to the movements of young men, who sally forth into the streets during the night, after being heated with wine, and serenade the objects of their affections. Compare the Greek κῶμος, and the remarks of Spanheim, ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 1040. In the present instance it appears to be confined to in-door revellings.

12. *Ebriosos.* "The intemperate." Some manuscripts give *ebrios*, which Grævius prefers. But the habitually intemperate are here referred to, not merely the intoxicated. — *Dormientes.* "The drowsy." *Dormientes* is here equivalent to *negligentes*, or *incuriosi*.

13. *Mihi.* Elegantly redundant, and indicative of strong contempt. Compare the remark of Manutius: "Mihi, *quod ad sententiam attinet, abundat: set ornatum quemdam, et vim habet, a contemnente pronunciatum.*

14. *Accubantes.* "Lolling." The term refers in strictness to the Roman mode of "reclining" at banquets. Our word "lolling" conveys its meaning better to an English ear. Compare the Greek forms ἀνάκειμαι and κατάκειμαι. — On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of the body reclined on the left arm, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent; the feet of the first behind the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. When they ate they raised themselves on their elbow, and made use of the right hand, sometimes of both hands, for we do not read of their using knives or forks. Consult Ciacconius *de Triclinio*, and Ursinus, *Append. ad Ciacc.*

15. *Confecti cibo.* "Overloaded with food." Compare the explanation of Döring: "Confecti cibo *ita dicuntur, qui tanta ciborum se ingurgitaverunt copia, ut neque mente neque corpore libere uti possint.*" Muretus prefers *conferti*, "gorged," but *confecti* is more forcible.

16. *Sertis redimiti.* The Romans were accustomed, like the Greeks, to wear garlands of flowers at their festive meetings. They were thought to be preventives against intoxication. — *Unguentis obliti.* "Perfumes," in the shape of unguents, were profusely used at the ancient entertainments.

17. *Eructant.* "Belch forth." This term is purposely used in reference to *vino languidi, confecti cibo.*

18. *Fatum aliquod.* "Some dreadful fatality." — *Improbitati, nequitiæ.* "Their worthlessness, their abandonment of all duty."

19. *Sanare.* "Bring back to a sound mind."

20. *Non breve nescio quod, &c.* "It will add, not some short period or other, but many ages of duration, to the republic." *Propagarit* is here equivalent to *prorogaverit, continuaverit.* Thus Liv. xxiii. 25.: "*C. Terentio consuli propagari in annum imperium.*" Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

21. *Unius.* Referring to Cn. Pompeius, who had very recently conquered Mithridates.

22. *Quæ sanari poterunt*, &c. "Whatever shall be capable of being healed, I will heal by all possible means: what ought to be cut off, I will not suffer to remain for the ruin of the state." The body politic is here compared to the human frame. Cicero promises to treat the more dangerous members of the conspiracy as the surgeon does those parts of the body which are diseased, and which, if not amputated, will spread disease throughout the whole system. A similar passage occurs in the Second Philippic, ch. v.: "*In corpore si quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, uri secarique patimur, ut membrorum aliquod potius, quam totum corpus intereat; sic, in reipublicæ corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur.*"

VI. 1. *A me.* "By me individually," *i. e.* by my threats. — *Quod ego si verbo*, &c. "If I could, indeed, effect this by a mere word." *Quod*, beginning the clause, is to be rendered as if written *hoc.*

2. *Homo videlicet*, &c. "The timid and very modest man, to be sure, could not endure the mere accents of the consul." *Videlicet* is ironical. Some editions have *enim* after *homo*, which Ernesti very properly rejects.

3. *Ivit.* This reading is adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and many other editors, instead of the common *quievit*, which is here entirely out of place. The MSS. and early editions vary in this part to a considerable degree. For *ivit* some read *quid*, others *quod* and *quievit.* So also after *hesterno die* Grævius and many other editors insert *Quirites.*

4. *Quo cum Catilina venisset.* Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. vii.

5. *Quis denique*, &c. "Who in fine regarded him as an abandoned citizen, and not rather in the light of a most intolerable enemy?" *Importunissimum* is here equivalent to *minime ferendum.* Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ix.: "*Egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu.*"

6. *Vehemens ille consul.* "That violent consul." So he was called by the partisans of Catiline. — *Verbo.* "By a single word."

7. *Homo audacissimus.* "Although a man of the most consummate effrontery."

8. *Quid ea nocte egisset.* After these words the common text has *ubi fuisset*, which Muretus did not find in his best MS., and which is here not at all needed, as it has already been comprehended under the words "*an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset, necne.*" The expression appears to have crept in from the first oration.

9. *In proximam.* "For the next." Understand *noctem.* This reading is adopted by Ernesti, Beck, Schütz, and others. The common text has *in proxima.* — *Ratio totius belli.* "The plan of the whole war."

10. *Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur.* "On his appearing disconcerted, on his remaining silent." Compare, as regards *teneretur*, the explanation of Döring: "Teneri *eleganter dicuntur, qui tam claris argumentis convicti sunt criminis cujusdam, ut ne verbum quidem contra ea proferre possint.*" Consult also Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

11. *Cum secures, cum fasces.* The *secures* and *fasces* are here badges of military authority, Catiline intending by these to assume the rank of *imperator.* Compare Sallust, *Cat.* xxxvi. — *Aquilam illam argenteam.* Consult *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ix. note 18. — *Cui ille etiam sacrarium*, &c. Consult *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ix. note 19.

12. *In exsilium ejiciebam*, &c. " Did I wish to cast him out into exile, who, I plainly perceived, had already entered upon open war?" The student will mark the elegant use of the imperfect *ejiciebam*, as marking an action begun or contemplated, but not yet completed at the time spoken of. Compare Matthiæ, *G. G.* § 497. *Obs. c.* vol. ii. p. 834.

13. *Qui in agro Fesulano*, &c. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ii. note 14., and consult *Geographical Index*. — *Suo nomine*. " In his own name," and not in that of Catiline.

14. *Massiliam*. The modern *Marseilles*. Consult *Geographical Index*. On his journey, Catiline wrote several letters to persons of distinction, stating that he was the victim of wrongful accusations, and was then proceeding, a voluntary exile, to reside at *Massilia*. (Sall. *Cat.* xxxiv.) — We have rejected *ut aiunt* after *Massiliam*, as a mere gloss; for *credo* precedes, which sufficiently indicates that all this is said in irony. The words in question are suspected by Heumann and Ernesti, and omitted by Schütz.

VII. 1. *Circumclusus ac debilitatus*. " Hemmed in, and crippled in resources." — *Sententiam*. " His purpose," *i. e.* of making war on his country. — *Ex hoc cursu*, &c. " Shall have turned away his steps, from this career of guilt and war, to flight and voluntary exile."

2. *Spoliatus armis audaciæ*. " Stripped of the arms of his audacity," *i. e.* driven back from those daring designs which he had formed against his country. — *Obstupefactus ac perterritus*. " Astounded and dismayed."

3. *Indemnatus*. " Without even the formality of a trial," *i. e.* condemned unheard. Cicero, at a subsequent period, felt the full force of this remark, when Clodius brought in his law, that whoever had condemned unheard a Roman citizen should be interdicted from fire and water, *i. e.* sent into exile. The orator was compelled to bend to the storm and go into banishment. Compare *Or. pro Domo*, xviii. *seqq.* and Vell. Paterc. ii. 45.

4. *Est mihi tanti*, &c. " I am perfectly willing, my countrymen, to encounter the storm of this unmerited and unjust odium," *i. e.* it is worth the sacrifice for me to encounter, &c. — *Falsæ*. Equivalent to *immeritæ*, i. e. *ex falsis causis ortæ*.

5. *Atque in armis volitare*. " And is moving to and fro in arms." *i. e.* is traversing with an armed force the territories of the republic.

6. *Invidiosum*. " A ground of much censure." — *Quod illum emiserim*. " That I allowed him to escape."

7. *Cum profectus sit*. " Now that he has gone forth."

8. *Tam misericors*. " So compassionate on his account." Equivalent to " *Catilinæ, tanquam injuria ejecti, ita affectus misericordia*. — *Malit*. With all their pretended compassion for Catiline, as an injured man, they would be sorry to hear of his going to Massilia, for they know full well how much subsequent trouble they would have to expect from him, were he to take such a step.

9. *Hoc, quod agit*. Alluding to his making war on his country. — *Præter*. " Against." From its general sense of exclusion, this preposition easily comes to signify *beyond* or *above;* and from signifying *beyond*, it obtains the meaning of *contrary to* and *against*.

10. *Vivis nobis*. " Whilst I remain alive." Alluding to the failure

of the intended assassination of Cicero, as well as to that of the numerous other plots formed against him.

VIII. 1. *Interest.* " Intervenes between him and us." — *Dissimulant.* " Dissemble their real intentions." Alluding to those who were secretly implicated in the conspiracy.

2. *Non tam ulcisci studeo,* &c. " Do not so much desire to inflict vengeance upon, as to restore to a better mind, and reconcile to their country." *Placare* is equivalent to "*placato eorum furore reconciliare reipublicæ.*"

3. *Ex quibus generibus hominum.* " Of what classes of persons." — *Comparentur.* " Are made up."

4. *Deinde singulis,* &c. " When I will apply to each the remedy of my advice and exhortation, if I shall be able in fact to offer any such," *i. e.* the remedy of my advice conveyed in the strongest and most persuasive language. Grævius conjectures *rationis* for *orationis,* but Ernesti very satisfactorily defends the latter reading: " *Medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ,* i. e. *Consilii oratione explicandi et ad animum admovendi.*"

5. *Magno in ære alieno,* &c. " Although involved in great debt, have still greater possessions, influenced by the love of which, they can in no way be separated from them." Commentators differ in opinion respecting the meaning of *dissolvi* in this passage. Muretus explains it by *liberari ære alieno,* " be freed from their debts," *i. e.* by the sale of their beloved possessions. This explanation is adopted, and sought to be elucidated, by Ernesti, but with little success. Scheller, on the other hand, condemns this mode of interpreting the word in question, as not in accordance either with the context or the idiom of the Latin tongue. He makes *dissolvi* equivalent merely to *separari.* And in this he is undoubtedly correct. Cicero means, that the individuals alluded to, although deeply involved in debt, and although owners of extensive possessions, are unwilling to sell the latter (*be separated from them, be loosened* from the ties that bind them to these objects) and in this way pay their debts. The following passage of Cicero (*pro Sull.* xx.) will serve to confirm this explanation: he is speaking of this same class of persons: " *Illud erat genus hominum horribile et pertimescendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab his membra divelli citius ac distrahi posse diceres.*"

6. *Horum hominum,* &c. " This in appearance is the most honourable class." Literally, " the appearance of this class of persons is the most honourable," *i. e.* they enjoy by their expensive mode of living, and their rank in society, no small degree of consideration in the eyes of the world.

7. *Voluntas vero,* &c. " Their intention, however, and the cause in which they have embarked, are most shameless in their character."

8. *Tu.* The orator now apostrophizes one of this class. — *Agris.* " In landed property." — *Argento.* " In plate." Understand *cælato.* — *Familia.* " In a retinue of slaves." *Familia* here, as frequently elsewhere, denotes all the household servants of a master.

9. *Detrahere.* " To take away," *i. e.* to sell some portion of. This serves to explain the use of *dissolvi* in the passage which we have just been considering. Consult note 5. — *Acquirere ad fidem.* " To add to thy credit." The full expression would be: " *acquirere pecuniam ex venditis possessionibus ad fidem solvendam.*"

10. *Sacrosanctas.* "Inviolate."

11. *An tabulas novas?* "Or an abolition of debts? By *tabulæ novæ* is meant a compulsory arrangement by law, forcing the creditor either to accept a part of his debt, in full for the whole, or, as in the present case, to receive no part of the debt whatever. This latter measure Catiline had promised to adopt. (Sallust, *Cat.* xxi.) The phrase refers, as far as regards its particular form, to the Roman mode of writing on tablets (*tabulæ*) covered over with wax, the characters being marked on the wax by means of a stylus. Hence, when the old score was obliterated, and the wax smoothed over, the tablets were called *novæ*, and were ready for a *new* score. — An entire abolition of debts was never granted to the people. At one time, however, by a law of Valerius Flaccus, a fourth part of the debt was allowed to be paid for the whole. (Sallust, *Cat.* xxxiii.)

12. *Meo beneficio*, &c. "An abolition of debts shall be brought forward through my kindness, but it shall be the result of sales at auction." Literally, "new tablets shall be brought forward, but they shall be auction-ones," *i. e.* auction-lists, containing an account of their property as offered for sale. Cicero means that their property, or a sufficient portion of it, will be exposed to sale, and their debts paid with the proceeds. — Ernesti objects to the presence of *novæ* in the text, as not proper to be connected with *auctionariæ tabulæ*, remarking, "*auctionariæ tabulæ nullo modo ac sensu* novæ *dici possunt*, *ut opinor*." He appears, however, to forget that Cicero is here indulging in a piece of pleasantry, or what may be denominated a species of pun. The tables, which he promises, are to be *new*, in another sense, and one for which they were not prepared. It is what the grammarians term an unexpected witticism, a "lusus παρὰ προσδοκίαν."

13. *Quod si maturius facere voluissent.* "Had they been willing to pursue this course sooner." *Quod* is here to be rendered by *hoc*, as it commences a clause. (Comp. ch. vi. note 1.)

14. *Neque, (id quod stultissimum est,)* &c. "And not, what is most foolish, struggle against heavy payments of interest by the rents and profits of their estates." Cicero means, that they ought to sell a portion of their landed property, and pay their debts at once, and not adopt the ruinous measure of paying the interest of the large sums they had borrowed with the produce of their estates. This latter course would keep them always poor. In other words, they must not let heavy mortgages eat up their estates.

15. *Et locupletioribus*, &c. "We would find in them both wealthier and better citizens."

16. *Magis mihi videntur*, &c. They appear to Cicero more likely to entertain hostile sentiments against their country, than to carry out those sentiments into action.

IX. 1. *Dominationem exspectant*, &c. "Hope for rule, wish to become possessed of the management of affairs," *i. e.* to get the government in their hands and exercise unlimited authority.

2. *Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur.* "To this class the following piece of warning seems proper to be given." *Quibus* to be rendered as *his.* — *Quod ceteris omnibus.* Supply *præcipiendum est.*

3. *Ut desperent*, &c. "To give over hoping that they can accomplish what they are endeavouring to effect.

4. *Primum omnium me ipsum*, &c. One MS. inserts *sciant* before *me*; but there is no need of this, as the clause depends on the general idea of warning implied in *præcipiendum*.

5. *Magnos animos.* "Great courage." — *Maximam multitudinem.* Understand *eorum.* There appears to be something wrong in this part of the sentence, since neither *maximam multitudinem* nor *magnas copias militum* can well be referred back to *bonis viris.* Schütz suggests the placing of a semicolon after *concordiam*, and the reading *maximam equitum multitudinem*, &c., the *Equites* being numbered by Cicero (*Orat. IV. in Cat.* c. vii.) among the safeguards of the republic.

6. *Tantam vim sceleris.* "Such daring wickedness." — *Præsentes.* "By their immediate interposition." Equivalent to "*præsenti auxilio præsentiam suam declarantes.*" Compare the Greek ἐπιφανεῖς.

7. *Quæ.* "A state of things, which." Literally, "things which." — *Consules se.* We have altered the arrangement of these words with Lambinus. The common text has *se consules.*

8. *Concedi necesse sit?* The orator means, that, if the conspiracy succeeded, the more active partisans would drive into the back ground those who had merely aided them by their wishes and not by their personal co-operation.

9. *Est ætate jam affectum.* "Is by this time somewhat advanced in years." Several MSS. and early editions have *confectum*, which is too strong.

10. *Quas Sulla constituit.* The common text has *Fesulis* inserted after *quas*, but it appears to have crept in from the 6th chapter of the third oration. It is altogether erroneous here, as Fesulæ was only one of the places where Sylla had planted a military colony. Upon the conclusion of the civil contest between his own and the party of Marius, Sylla settled many of his officers and soldiers, in different parts of Italy, on lands which had belonged to the opposite faction. Not a few of these colonists soon squandered away their ill-gotten property, and hence were anxious for another civil war, in which to enrich themselves anew.

11. *Quas ego universas*, &c. "Which, taken collectively, I am well aware contain very excellent citizens and very brave men: and yet these are some of the members of those colonies, who, amid the unexpected and sudden possession of wealth, have ostentatiously indulged in too expensive and extravagant a mode of living." More literally, "have boasted themselves in too expensive and unusual a manner."

12. *Tamquam beati.* "As if they were possessed of opulence." *Beatus* frequently has the signification of *dives* in the Latin writers, especially in Horace and the other poets. Compare the remark of Varro (*L. L.* iv. 17.): "*Beatus, qui multa bona possidet.*"

13. *Dum prædiis*, &c. "While they take delight in extensive domains, in litters, in large households of slaves, in sumptuous entertainments." — The *lectica* was a species of litter, or sedan, supported on the shoulders of slaves. The use of this conveyance is said to have come in from Bithynia. (Comp. Schol. ad Juv. i. 121.) — Muretus, in place of *lecticis*, reads *lectis*, to be joined in construction with *prædiis*; others propose *latis.* The change is altogether unnecessary.

14. *Salvi.* "Saved from ruin." — *Sit excitandus:* "Must be evoked."

15. *Homines tenues atque egentes.* "Indigent and needy men."

16. *Spem rapinarum veterum.* They hoped to see, under Catiline, a revival of those scenes of plunder and misrule, which had prevailed during the ascendancy of the party of Sylla. — *In eodem genere.* "In one and the same class."

17. *Proscriptiones et dictaturas.* Cicero warns them to give up all hopes of ever seeing those scenes renewed which marked the career of Sylla, a proscription namely of the estates of all who had taken the opposite side, and a perpetual dictator and second Sylla appearing once more in the person of Catiline.

18. *Tantus enim illorum temporum,* &c. "For so deep a feeling of indignant grief, at the excesses of those times, has been burnt into the very state." The use of the verb *inuro,* in this passage, is beautifully figurative, and involves an allusion to the process of enamelling, or painting by means of fire, which serves to fix the colours. The ancients called it *Encaustica,* ἐγκαυστική. The horrors of the sanguinary period alluded to were burnt, in living colours, into the very soul of the state.

19. *Ne pecudes quidem.* "Not even the very beasts." Strongly figurative. Weiske offends in a very singular manner against good taste, in supposing, that the orator here refers to some incident during Sylla's proscriptions, where great barbarity was practised towards animals.

X. 1. *Quartum genus est,* &c. "The fourth class is varied, and mixed, and turbulent in its character." *Varium* alludes to the various causes which had reduced them to ruin; and *turbulentum* to their being no better than a mere noisy mob.

2. *Qui jampridem premuntur,* &c. "Who have long since been weighed down by ruin, who will never emerge from it." There is commonly supposed to be an ellipsis here of *ære alieno,* ("by debt,") but we have an allusion to debt immediately after. It is better to make *malo,* or some other equivalent term, understood.

3. *Partim male gerendo negotio.* "Partly through the ill management of their private affairs." *Negotio* is here a general term for business or employment of any kind. Compare the remark of Döring: "Male negotium gerere *dicuntur, qui in re familiari et domestica administranda negligentiores sunt.*"

4. *In vetere ære alieno vacillant.* "Stagger under a load of long-contracted debts."

5. *Vadimoniis, judiciis,* &c. "Wearied out with the giving of bail, with judgments, with confiscations of their property." The regular legal order of proceeding against debtors, in Rome, is here observed. The debtor is arrested and compelled to give bail for his appearance (*vadimonium dare*). The case comes on and judgment (*judicium*) is given against him. The creditor is put in possession of his property as security for the judgment rendered; and after he has thus held possession for thirty days the property is sold and the debt paid from it.

6. *Infitiatores lentos.* "Dilatory and lying debtors." *Infitiator* means one who denies a just debt. — *Lentos* is here equivalent to *tardos.* Compare the explanation of Ern. Antonius: "Lentus *de eo dici, qui non facile possit adigi ut solvat pecuniam debitam, docet Casaubonus.* Infitiatores *vocantur, qui, cum debeant pecuniam, negant hoc tamen, nec volunt*

solvere." — Schütz, without any necessity, recalls the old reading *insidiatores*, for *infitiatores*.

7. *Primum.* We have here an anacoluthon, as Muretus remarks, since, after *primum*, we have not *deinde*, as we would naturally expect to have. — Some editors recommend that *corruant* be changed to *corruent*, and *primum* joined with it in construction: *primum corruent*, "will be the first to fall;" but then the rest of the sentence comes in very tamely.

8. *Si stare non possunt.* Alluding to what has just preceded, "*in vetere ære alieno vacillant.*"

9. *Si vivere honeste non possunt.* "If they cannot life honourably here," *i. e.* by reason of their debts. Compare the explanation of Manutius: "*in urbe, propter æs alienum, quo nunquam emergent.*"

10. *Non revoco.* "I seek not to recall." — *In latrocinio.* "In their career of robbery."

11. *Postremum autem*, &c. "The last class, however, is so, in fact, as regards not only number," &c. Cicero uses the word *postremum* in the first clause, as merely numerical, while in the latter part of the sentence it has the force of lowest, vilest, &c. The last class is the feeblest in number, and the vilest in character and mode of life. The full construction will be "*postremum autem genus est postremum, non solum numero,*" &c.

12. *Quod proprium est Catilinæ.* "These are Catiline's own." Literally, "this is Catiline's own," *i. e.* class. The language in the text reminds us of the modern form of expression, when speaking of a particular regiment or body of troops, "the king's own," though, of course, in a very different sense.

13. *De complexu ejus ac sinu.* "Of his very embrace and bosom," *i. e.* consisting of his most intimate friends, and the companions of his debauchery. The expression, "bosom-friend," is to be explained by the Roman custom of reclining at meals, already alluded to in a previous part of this commentary (chap. v. note 14.). As the guests lay on the couch, the head of the second was in a line with the breast of the first, so that if he wanted to speak with him, especially if the thing was to be secret, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom, or, as Pliny (*Ep.* iv. 22.) expresses it, "*in sinu recumbere.*" The same may be said of the third and second guests on the couch. Hence the figurative allusion of Cicero in the text.

14. *Bene barbatos.* "Well supplied with downy beards." By this expression are to be understood the younger class of persons, who had already a tolerably sized beard, which they were fond of displaying. Until A. U. C. 454, all the Romans wore beards, but from this period, which marks the time when P. Ticinius Menas first brought barbers (*tonsores*) from Sicily, they began to remove the hair from the chin. (Plin. *H. N.* vii. 59. — Varro, *R. R.* ii. 2.) The young, however, still retained their beards until they reached the age of twenty-one (Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* i. 6.), sometimes merely until they assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of seventeen. And the day on which they first shaved was regarded as a festival by the members of the family. (Juv. *Sat.* iii. 186.) The first growth of the beard was consecrated to some god. — We see then from all this, that by *bene barbati* in the text are meant those of the young who had nearly reached the period of manhood, and were supplied with tolerably sized beards, while by the *imberbes*

are meant those who were as yet too young to have any. In other words, the *bene barbati* are they who have a long and curly down, the *imberbes* they who either have none, or on whose chins it is just making its appearance. Hence, too, we see how erroneous it is to translate the words, *bene barbatos*, as some do, "with beards nicely trimmed," or "sprucely fashioned," since this would imply that they had been already partially subjected to the hands of the *tonsor*.

15. *Manicatis et talaribus tunicis.* "With tunics having long sleeves, and reaching to the ankles." Tunics of this kind were deemed effeminate by the Romans, and seemed better suited for women than men. The ordinary tunic had no sleeves, and came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind. Consult Aul. Gell. vii. 12. and compare Virg. *Æn.* ix. 616. Catull. ii. 10. — Salmas. in Hist. Aug. ii. 556.

16. *Velis amictos, non togis.* "Covered with veils not with togas." The allusion is to togas made so full, and of so fine and transparent a texture, as to resemble veils wrapped around the person.

17. *Antelucanis cœnis.* "Suppers protracted till the dawn."

18. *Seminarium Catilinarum.* "A nursery of Catilines." Some read *Catilinarium*, but *seminarium Catilinarium* would rather signify "a nursery etablished by Catiline."

19. *Apenninum*, &c. "The Apennine range, and the frost and snows they will find there." "The student will note the force of *illas*. With *Apenninum* understand *montem*. — This oration was delivered on the sixth day before the ides of November, or the 8th of the month.

20. *Nudi in conviviis*, &c. Dancing itself was deemed dishonourable among the Romans, much more so the dancing in a state of nudity. Compare *Or. pro Deiot.* c. ix.

XI. 1. *Magnopere pertimescendum.* Ironical. — *Hanc scortorum cohortem prætoriam.* "This body-guard of infamous wretches." Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band called *cohors prætoria*. This differs essentially, however, from the prætorian cohort in the history of the empire.

2. *Confecto et saucio.* "Worn out and wounded." The allusion is to Catiline. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. vi. note 19.

3. *Illam naufragorum*, &c. "That outcast and enfeebled band of men, shipwrecked in hope and fortitude." — More literally, "of ship-wrecked wretches." Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. xii.

4. *Jam vero*, &c. "Nay, indeed, the very cities of your colonies, as well as your municipal towns, will prove a sufficient match for the rustic masses of Catiline." The true reading here is very much disputed. The common text has *urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinæ tumulis silvestribus.* For *municipiorum* we have given, on conjecture, *municipia*, and *cumulis* for *tumulis*. The expression *urbes municipiorum* is a manifest solecism, nor, in fact, is *urbes coloniarum* itself free from suspicion. Muretus conjectures *vires*, which makes a harsh alliteration with *vero*. Garaton gives *arces*. They who read *tumulis silvestribus* make the expression refer to the "woody heights," in which alone Catiline's adherents could find shelter. Our own reading *cumulis*, which is found in some MSS., is meant to apply to Catiline's forces as being composed in general of ill-armed rustics, and being, in fact, rude masses or *heaps*, as it were, of men, rather than well-organised and disci-

plined troops. Compare Sallust's account of this same army. (*Cat.* c. lvi.)

5. *Ornamenta, præsidia vestra.* "Your preparations, your defences." *Ornamenta* is here equivalent to *apparatum bellicum.*

6. *Quibus nos suppeditamur,* &c. "With which we are supplied, of which he stands in need." We have adopted *suppeditamur,* the reading of several MSS. and editions, instead of the common lection *suppeditamus.* They who give this latter form make it equivalent to *abundamus,* for which they have no good authority.

7. *Vectigalibus.* "Public revenues."

8. *Contendere.* "To compare." Equivalent to *comparare* or *conferre.* Thus we have (*pro Rosc.* c. xxxiii.): "*Quidquid contra dixeris id cum defensione nostra contendito.*" So also Horace (*Ep.* i. 10. 26.): "*qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum.*" And again, Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 3.): "*Vetera et præsentia contendere.*" And Aulus Gellius (ii. 23.): "*Græca comparare et contendere.*"

9. *Petulantia.* "Effrontery." — *Stuprum.* "Pollution."

10. *Constantia.* "Right reason." Compare the explanation of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "*Est recta ratio ejusque usus, cui opponitur furor, in quo homines capti mente sibi non constant.*" So too (*pro Rosc.* c. xiv.) the *via constans* is opposed to the *amens.*

11. *Continentia.* "Moderation." — *Libido.* "Unbridled licentiousness." — *Denique æquitas,* &c. The four primary Platonic virtues are here enumerated, *temperance, prudence, fortitude,* and *justice,* though in a different order. Compare Cic. *de Off.* i. 5. and Stobæus, *Ecl. Eth.* p. 166. The Greek names are σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, (σοφία, νοῦς,) ἀνδρία, δικαιοσύνη.

12. *Copiæ.* "Abundant resources." Compare *de Inv.* ii. 1.: "*Crotoniatæ quum florerent omnibus copiis,*" and *pro Rosc. Am.* xv.: "*Copiis rei familiaris locupletes et pecuniosi.*"

13. *Bona ratio cum perdita.* "Judgment with folly." With *perdita* supply *ratione.* — *Bona denique spes,* &c. "In fine, well-grounded hope with utter despair."

14. *Hominum studia.* "The zealous efforts of men," *i. e.* their zealous co-operation in the cause of virtue.

XII. 1. *Quemadmodum jam antea.* The common text has *dixi* after *antea,* which is erroneous, as he has nowhere before said so in the course of the oration. Ernesti and others consequently throw it out.

2. *Urbi.* The city collectively (*urbs*) is here opposed to the individual dwellings composing it (*singula tecta*). The latter their respective possessors are to guard, the former will be watched over by the consul himself. The emendation of Grævius is therefore unnecessary, *mihi et urbi.*

3. *Municipesque vestri.* "And the inhabitants of your municipal towns." The *municipes* enjoyed different privileges. Some possessed all the rights of Roman citizens, except such as could not be obtained without residing at Rome. Others had only the right of serving in the Roman legion.

4. *De hac nocturna excursione.* Referring to the departure of Catiline on the previous night.

5. *Quamquam meliore animo sunt,* &c. "Although they are, in fact,

better disposed towards the state than a part of the patricians, still will be kept in check by our power." The very gladiators, according to Cicero, are better affected than some of the nobility. Still no unguarded reliance will be placed even upon these, but, in order to ensure perfect safety, they will, even if employed in the service of the state on this occasion, be subjected themselves to strict watching and control. Ernesti thinks that the reading should be *Quamquam non meliore animo sunt,* the negative being required in his opinion by the presence of *tamen* in the latter clause of the sentence. From the explanation we have given, it will clearly appear that the emendation is unnecessary. The gladiators were distributed by Cicero throughout the municipal towns. (Sall. *Cat.* xxx.)

6. *Q. Metellus.* Mentioned already in the 3d chapter. Consult *Historical Index.* — *Agrum Gallicanum Picenumque.* Consult *Geographical Index.*

7. *Aut opprimet hominem.* "Will either crush the man." *Hominem* refers to Catiline, and is purposely used, instead of *virum,* to denote contempt. — *Prohibebit.* "Will frustrate."

8. *Reliquis autem de rebus,* &c. "While as regards the determining upon, the expediting, the performing of what remains to be done, we are now going to consult the senate, which you see is in the act of being summoned." The senators were seen passing along, at the time, to their place of meeting.

9. *Nunc illos.* "Now, as far as concerns those." Supply *quod ad* or something equivalent. The *eos* after *monitos* has been restored to the text by Beck, from several MSS. and editions. It is added in order to give greater force to the clause. Consult the remarks of Manutius (*Epist. Fam.* xiii. 28.). It is not inserted in the edition of Ernesti, and he is quite silent about it.

10. *Atque adeo.* "Or rather." Equivalent to *sive potius.* Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Atque.*

11. *Monitos eos,* &c. "I wish them again and again to be reminded." Consult note 9.

12. *Solutior.* "Too remiss," *i. e.* to savour too much of remissness. — *Hoc exspectavit.* "It has had this in view," *i. e.* it has been only waiting for this. — *Erumperet.* "Might burst forth into open day."

13. *Quod reliquum est.* "As to what remains." — *Jam non,* &c. "I can no longer forget," &c.

14. *Qui se commoverit.* "Who shall make the least stir." — *Cujus.* "On whose part." — *Factum.* "Any open act." — *Sentiet.* "Shall feel."

15. *Magistratus.* Referring to the inferior magistrates, but especially to the tribunes. — *Fortem senatum.* "A resolute senate." — *Majores nostri.* According to Livy (i. 33.), the first Roman prison was built by Ancus Martius. It was afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* c. lv.

XIII. 1. *Me uno togato,* &c. "By me your only leader and commander arrayed in the robe of peace." When the consuls set out on any military expedition, they changed their gowns or *togas* for the robe of war, or *sagum.* This conspiracy, however, Cicero promises, shall be quelled whilst he wears the garb of peace.

2. *Deduxerit.* This is undoubtedly the true reading, as given by

Schütz and others, instead of the common lection *deduxerint.* — It is advocated also by Goerenz, ad Cic. *Acad.* ii. 1. The rule appears to be as follows: "When several nouns are employed for the purpose of expressing one and the same idea, the verb should be put in the singular number." Or, as Goerenz expresses it, "*Plura substantiva, ad unam velut notionem juncta, simplici verbi numero comprehenduntur.*" Instances of the application of this rule would be more frequent in the ancient writers, were it not for the ill-judged corrections of editors.

3. *Significationibus.* "Declarations." Equivalent to *ominibus*, or *prodigiis.* Broukhusius (ad Tibull. ii. 1. 10.) shows that *significatio* and *significare* are terms borrowed from the language of divination, and peculiar to the *haruspices*, &c. Compare the words of Cicero (*de Harusp. Resp.* ch. xii.): "*Quod igitur ex aliquo .... monstro significatum caveremus*, &c., and those of Ovid (*Met.* xv. 576.): "*Quid sibi significent trepidantia consulit exta.*"

4. *Ab externo hoste.* The common reading is *extero.* We have given *externo* with Ernesti, who remarks, "Hostis exterus *nemo dixit, at* nationes exteræ, regna extera, *recte dicuntur.*" — The allusion in *externo hoste* appears to be particularly to Mithridates.

5. *Præsentes.* "As present deities." — *Suo numine.* "By their express interposition."

6. *Quos.* Equivalent to *Et hos.* "And these." — *Omnibus hostium copiis*, &c. "Now that all," &c. — *A nefario scelere.* "From the execrable wickedness."

THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

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1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Third Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Catiline, delivered before the Roman people." — Catiline having joined the army of Manlius, the conspirators who remained at Rome, consisting of Lentulus, then prætor, Cethegus, and others, prepared to execute the instructions which had been given them. It happened that the Allobroges, a Gallic nation, had some envoys, at this period, in the capital, sent thither to complain of, and obtain redress for, injuries inflicted by Roman commanders. Lentulus tampered with these ambassadors, and solicited them to join the conspiracy, but they revealed to Q. Fabius Sanga the overtures which had been made to them. The letters written to the senate and people of the Allobroges, and to Catiline himself, by the conspirators, were, by a subsequent arrangement of Cicero's, intercepted, and the writers apprehended. They were afterwards confronted with the Gallic delegation before the senate, and committed to safe custody.

Cicero then assembled the Roman people, and, in the following oration, apprises them of the occurrences which had taken place during the twenty-four days that had intervened since the delivery of his last speech, particularly those of the last day and night. He invites them to join in celebrating a thanksgiving which had been decreed by the senate to his honour, for the preservation of his country, and congratulates them on their escape from so dire a calamity as had nearly befallen them.

I. 2. *Bona, fortunas.* "Your property, your fortunes." By *bona* are here meant possessions, by *fortunæ* personal property.

3. *Hoc domicilium,* &c. "This dwelling-place of a most illustrious empire." Compare the language of Nepos (*Attic.* iii.): "*Quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii.*"

4. *Hodierno die.* On the day when this oration was delivered, the disclosures of the Allobroges had been made in the Roman senate, and the conspirators implicated by them consigned to custody.

5. *Et, si,* &c. *Et* is here more of an inceptive than a connective particle. Compare Terence (*Phorm.* i. 3. 19.) and the remark of Donatus (*ad loc.*): "*Et modo non connexiva, sed inceptiva particula est.*"

6. *Illustres.* "Memorable." — *Salutis lætitia.* "The joy attendant upon deliverance."

7. *Sine sensu.* "Without consciousness." — *Cum voluptate.* "With positive pleasure."

8. *Illum.* After the words *urbem condidit,* the common text has *Romulum* inserted, which we have thrown out as a mere gloss. It is not found in several of the best MSS., and is rejected by Manutius and Grævius.

9. *Benevolentia famaque.* "By our grateful feelings, and the voice of tradition," *i. e.* our grateful forefathers deified him, and we their descendants, equally grateful, have confirmed the voice of tradition.

10. *Is.* Alluding to himself. — We have a double comparison: one between the days on which we are born, and those on which we are preserved from danger; and the other between Romulus, the founder of Rome, and Cicero its preserver.

11. *Templis, delubris.* "Its temples, its shrines." *Templum* is properly the whole edifice; *delubrum*, the place where the statue is erected. Compare the words of Noltenius (*Lex. Antibarb.* vol. i. p. 901.): *Delubrum proprie est ædicula, in qua stat dei cujusdam simulacrum. Templum vero est ædificium Deo sacratum. Ita delubrum est parvum templum, vel pars templi: ut Capitolium fuit templum in quo tria delubra communi pariete claudebantur, Jovis, Junonis, et Minervæ.*"

12. *Quæ quoniam,* &c. "And since these things have been made manifest, laid open to view, fully ascertained, in the senate, through my means, I will now proceed, Romans, to unfold them briefly to you." The expressions, *illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt,* form what is called an inverted gradation; for Cicero first ascertained the deadly designs of the conspirators, then laid them open to the view of the senate, and by this means rendered them perfectly apparent and clear.

13. *Quam manifesta.* "How palpable." — *Investigata et comprehensa sint.* "They have been tracked out and completely detected."

14. *Ex actis.* "From what has been done," *i. e.* on the part of the senate, as about to be related by me. Considerable doubt exists with regard to the true reading here. The MSS. vary, some giving *et exspectatis* in place of *ex actis.* We have adopted the latter, however, with all the early editions, and as approved of and received by Ernesti. Weiske also regards *ex actis* as the true lection, but he alters the punctuation, placing a comma after *actis,* and removing the one before *ex,* so that *ignoratis ex actis* will be joined in construction, "you, who have not the means of ascertaining the facts, by reference to the senate's recorded proceedings."

15. *Ut.* "Ever since." Twenty-four days had elapsed since Catiline's departure.

II. 1. *Cum ejiciebam.* "When I was seeking to drive out." The student will note the force of the imperfect. (See *Orat. II. in Cat.* ch. vi. note 12.) — *Hujus verbi invidiam.* "The odium attendant upon this word," *i. e.* the odium into which I may fall with some, for openly avowing that I wished "to drive him out" from Rome.

2. *Illa.* Understand *invidia,* and render the clause as follows: "Since that other is the more to be dreaded by me, because he has gone forth alive," *i. e.* since I deserve more censure, I am afraid, for not having arrested and punished Catiline on the spot.

3. *Exterminari.* "To be expelled from Rome." More literally, "from our borders." Compare, as regards the meaning of this verb,

Phil. xiii. 1.: "*Hunc ex finibus humanæ naturæ exterminandum puto;*" and *N. D.* i. 23.: "*Protagoras . . . . . Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro exterminatus est.*"

4. *At ego.* The common text has *Atque ego,* which we have changed to *at ego,* as required by the sense, and as found in one of his MSS. by Grævius. Ernesti also considers *at ego* preferable, though he retains the common reading. — *Ut vidi.* "When I saw."

5. *Quid agerent, quid molirentur.* "What they were doing, what they were planning."

6. *Rem ita comprehenderem.* "I might get possession of the whole affair so clearly."

7. *Ut comperi.* "When I ascertained." — He received his information from Fabius Sanga, to whom the ambassadors of the Allobroges had communicated it. — *Legatos Allobrogum.* It appears from Sallust (*Cat.* xl.) that these ambassadors had come to Rome to complain of the oppression and exactions of their governors, which had brought upon them a heavy burden of debt. — As regards the Allobroges, consult *Geographical Index.*

8. *Belli Transalpini.* "Of a war beyond the Alps," *i. e.* in Transalpine or Farther Gaul. The country which was afterwards the scene of Julius Cæsar's operations. — *Et tumultus Gallici.* "And also of a Gallic tumult," *i. e.* in Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul lying to the south of the Alps. — The Romans meant by *tumultus* any sudden and dangerous war, when the enemy were near at hand, and the safety of the capital at stake. Strictly speaking, this involved only two cases, a war in Italy, or one with the Gauls, their immediate neighbours. Compare *Phil.* viii. 1.: "*Majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiæ finitimus, præterea nullum tumultum nominabant.*" A tumult was regarded of a far more threatening character than a war, and, therefore, when one occurred, no excuses from serving were allowed to be valid.

9. *A. P. Lentulo.* He employed as his agent, in sounding the Allobroges, one P. Umbrenus before he met them in person. (Sall. *Cat.* xlviii.)

10. *Eodemque itinere.* The ambassadors intended to return home through Etruria, and of course would meet with Catiline, who was with Manlius near Fesulæ. (*Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. ii.)

11. *Cum literis mandatisque.* "With letters and instructions." — *Vulturcium.* Sallust (*Cat.* xliv.) calls him P. Vulturcius, and makes him to have been an inhabitant of Crotona.

12. *Optabam.* Ernesti thinks *optaram* preferable. But *optabam* must be retained, as it expresses the action going on at the time specified, "I was accustomed to hope."

13. *L. Flaccum, et C. Pomtinum.* Consult *Historical Index.*

14. *Qui omnia,* &c. "Inasmuch as they entertained every noble and exalted sentiment respecting their country." The relative pronoun is joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause expresses the reason, or cause, of the action, state, or event.

15. *Cum advesperasceret.* "When it was beginning to draw towards evening." This is not an impersonal verb, but a verb used impersonally. The nominative, in fact, is *dies,* which is understood. Compare Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 49. 3.): "*Vesperascente die, sitim haustu gelidæ aquæ*

sedavit;" and Cornelius Nepos (xvi. 3. 5.): "*Ut vesperascente cœlo, Thebas possent pervenire.*"

16. *Pontem Mulvium.* Now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber, about three miles from Rome. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Æmilius) the appellation of Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia*, which led from Rome to Ariminum. Compare Aurel. Vict. *de Vir. Ill.* c. lxxii., and Arntzenius *ad loc.*

17. *Bipartito.* The common text has *bipartiti*, which is not a Latin word, although *bipartiri* is inadvertently admitted into some dictionaries.

18. *Ex præfectura Reatina.* "From the præfecture of Reate." *Præfecturæ* were those cities and territories in the Roman jurisdiction, which had neither magistrates nor laws of their own, but were governed by a Roman prætor, or, in his stead, by a *præfectus.* They did not enjoy the rights either of free towns or colonies, but differed little from the form of provinces. Their private rights depended on the edicts of the prætor or præfect, and their public rights on the senate, who imposed on them taxes and service in war at pleasure. Some *præfecturæ*, however, possessed greater privileges than others. Towns were commonly reduced to this form, which had been ungrateful to the Romans, as for example Capua, after the second Punic war. — With regard to Reate, consult *Geographical Index.*

19. *Tertia fere vigilia exacta.* "Nearly at the close of the third watch," *i. e.* near three o'clock in the morning. The Romans divided the night into four watches of three hours each, commencing at six o'clock in the evening. The third watch, therefore, would be from twelve to three.

20. *Magno comitatu.* "With a large retinue." We have rejected *cum* with Ernesti and others. Matthiæ, however, adduces, in its support, *pro Mil.* x. 28. Compare Drakenborch, ad Liv. i. 14. 7.

III. 1. *Interventu.* "On the intervention." — *Integris signis.* "With the seals unbroken." Letters, among the Romans, were tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was generally a head of the letter-writer, or of some one of his ancestors, impressed on wax or chalk. Hence the phrases for "to open a letter," are *incidere linum, vinculum solvere, epistolam solvere.*

2. *Ipsi.* "The persons themselves composing it," *i. e.* the retinue, including of course the ambassadors themselves who had been thus escorted.

3. *Cum jam dilucesceret.* "When it was now beginning to be dawn." Compare chap. ii. note 15. and Palairet (*Latin Ellipses*, p. 60. ed. Barker).

4. *Improbissimum machinatorem.* "That most infamous contriver." — *Cimbrum Gabinium.* Consult *Historical Index.*

5. *Lentulus.* He was then prætor, and a man of slothful and luxurious habits. Consult *Historical Index.*

6. *Credo quod literis dandis*, &c. "I suppose, because he had been up late the previous night, contrary to his usual custom, for the purpose of giving the letters," *i. e.* for the purpose of making out and delivering the despatches. Literally, "in giving the letters." By *proxima nocte* is meant the night which had just gone by, and on the morning after which the arrest took place.

7. *Præter consuetudinem.* Cicero speaks, in the seventh chapter of this oration, of the *somnum Lentuli,* "the drowsiness of Lentulus."

8. *Deferri.* The common text has *referri,* which is erroneous. There was no formal reference, but the letters were merely to be laid before the senate. Their opinion respecting them would be asked in a subsequent stage of the proceedings.

9. *Si nihil esset inventum.* Understand *in illis,* referring to the letters. — *Tantus tumultus.* "So great alarm." — *Negavi me esse facturum,* &c. With *facturum* supply *ita.* "I declared that I would not act in such a way as not to lay," &c., *i. e.* I expressed my firm determination of laying, &c.

10. *Quæ erant ad me delata.* "Which had been communicated to me." — *Reperta non essent.* "Had not been found in the letters." — *Nimiam diligentiam.* "That any excess of vigilance," *i. e.* the blame of having been over vigilant.

11. *Coegi.* The senate was convened on this occasion in the temple of Concord. (Sall. *Cat.* xlvi.) This building was situate on the lower slope (*in radicibus*) of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the forum, and was a place of great security from its natural situation. The *Equites,* moreover, stood guard around it. This temple of Concord had been erected by the consul Opimius, after the death of Caius Gracchus. (Plut. *C. Gracch.* xvii.)

12. *Si quid telorum esset.* "Whatever weapons might be there," *i. e.* might be found there on searching the building.

IV. 1. *Fidem ei publicam dedi.* "I pledged unto him the public faith for his safety," *i. e.* "I assured him of impunity in the name of the senate and the people. — *Ea quæ sciret.* "All that he knew."

2. *Recreasset.* Gruter and some other early editors prefer *recepisset,* which occurs in one of the MSS. of Muretus. The present reading, however, is more forcible. *Recreare se* is "to regain courage," *recipere se* merely "to recover one's self."

3. *Mandata et literas.* "A verbal message and a letter."

4. *Uteretur.* "Should avail himself." As regards the circumstance here mentioned, compare the language of Sallust (*Cat.* xliv.): "*Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: Quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quæ jusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.*"

5. *Id autem.* Supply *faceret.* — *Omnibus ex partibus.* According to Sallust, (*Cat.* xliii.) the city was to be fired in twelve different quarters at the same time. Plutarch, however, (*Vit. Cic.* xviii.) states, that the conspirators had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. Others were to intercept the water and kill all that went to seek it.

6. *Præsto esset ille.* "He might be near at hand." Referring to Catiline. — *Qui et fugientes exciperet.* "Both to intercept those who fled," from the city. *Excipere* is here borrowed from the movements of the chase, and is beautifully figurative. Compare the Greek ἐκδέχεσθαι.

7. *Jusjurandum.* This was in writing, and had the seals and signatures of the leading conspirators annexed. (Sall. *Cat.* xliv.)

8. *L. Cassio.* Competitor with Cicero for the consulship. — As

regards the proper names mentioned in this sentence, consult *Historical Index*.

9. *Pedestres sibi copias*, &c. "That foot-forces would not be wanting to them," *i. e.* that they would be joined, when they had crossed the Alps, by a sufficient number of infantry.

10. *Sibi confirmasse*, &c. "Had assured them, that in accordance with the Sibylline predictions, and the answers of the diviners, he was that third member of the Cornelian line, unto whom it was fated for the sovereignty of this city and the whole empire to come." The Sibylline prediction alluded to was as follows, that "C C C would reign at Rome." These three capitals were thought to denote three Cornelii. As regards the Sibylline oracles, consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Sibyl.* — The *haruspices* examined the entrails of the victims, and from the appearance of these, as well as from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances, pretended to draw omens of what was to happen. Roman divination was of Etrurian origin.

11. *Tertium illum Cornelium.* The pronoun *illum* has here the force of the Greek article. — The full name of Lentulus was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. By his *nomen* therefore he belonged to the *gens Cornelia*, the Cornelian line, clan, or house. — There appears to have been no affinity between the different members of a Roman house or *gens*. It bore this latter name only from its union. The Cornelii, as a *gens*, had common religious rites; but we are not, on that account, to assume that an original kindred existed between, for example, the Scipios and the Syllas. The analogy of the Athenian constitution confirms this opinion. (Consult Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 310. *seqq.*)

12. *Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse.* Both Cinna and Sylla were Cornelii. Consult *Historical Index*, and compare the words of Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* xvii.): εἱμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ῥώμῃ τρεῖς τυράννους, ὧν δύο μὲν ἤδη πεπληρωκέναι τὸ χρεὼν, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ λοιπῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ. Consult also Sallust (*Cat.* xlvii.).

13. *Futalem esse.* "Was fated." Compare Tibullus (i. 3. 53.): "*Quod si fatales jam nunc explevimus annos.*" — *Qui esset.* "Since it was." Compare chap. ii. note 14.

14. *Post virginum absolutionem.* The names of the two Vestal virgins here alluded to were Marcia and Licinia. They were accused of having violated the vow by which the members of this order were bound to perpetual chastity; which in the case of Vestals was called *incestus*, or unhallowed intercourse. The whole matter is clearly set forth in the following comment of Asconius on the oration for Milo, (c. xii. § 32.) which Weiske first adduced in illustration of this passage: "*Ob severitatem (quam Cassius in judicio ostenderat) quo tempore Sex. Perducæus, tribunus plebis, criminatus est L. Metellum, pontificem maximum, totumque collegium pontificum male judicasse de incestu virginum vestalium, quod unam modo Æmiliam damnaverat, absolverat autem duas, Marciam et Liciniam, populus hunc Cassium creavit, qui de eisdem virginibus quæreret: isque et utrasque illas et præterea complures alias, nimia, ut existimatio est, asperitate usus, damnavit.*"

15. *Post Capitolii autem incensionem.* The burning of the capitol here alluded to, took place A. U. C. 670, in the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus. The building had stood 415 years. (Sigon. *Fast. Cons.* p. 438. ed. Oxon.) The conflagration was owing to the care-

lessness of the keepers, and was supposed to portend some great evil. The Roman capitol was burnt three several times. First, A. U. C. 670, when it was rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Catulus (A. U. C. 675). A second time, A. D. 70, by the soldiers of Vitellius, when it was rebuilt by Vespasian; and a third time, at the death of the latter. It was restored by Domitian, his son, with greater magnificence than ever.

16. *Saturnalibus.* "During the Saturnalia." The Saturnalia, or festival of Saturn, was the most celebrated in the Roman Calendar. It took place in the month of December, beginning on the 17th and lasting for several days. At first it was for one day, afterwards for three, (which was the case in Cicero's time), and by the order of Caligula for five days. During its continuance, all orders were devoted to mirth and feasting, friends sent presents to one another, and the slaves were entertained, and even waited upon by their masters. All this was done in commemoration, and as emblematic, of the golden age, when men were perfectly equal, and no slavery as yet existed. The licence allowed at this festival seemed to the conspirators to afford a favourable opportunity for executing their murderous design.

17. *Videri.* The construction is here slightly changed, which is not unusual in Cicero. Compare *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. iii. Some editions have *videretur*, to which Ernesti inclines. But the emendation is unnecessary.

V. 1. *Ne longum sit.* "Not to be tedious." — *Tabellas.* "The letters." The term *tabellæ* refers to the peculiar form and nature of these letters, they being written on "tablets" covered with wax. Compare chap. iii. note 1.

2. *Signum.* "His seal." — *Cognovit.* "He acknowledged it to be his." — *Nos linum incidimus.* "We cut the string." Compare chap. iii. note 1.

3. *Quæ eorum legatis confirmasset.* "What he had assured their ambassadors he would." — *Recepissent.* "Had taken upon themselves to promise."

4. *Tamen.* We have recalled this particle with Beck, Döring, and Schütz, as required by the context. It is omitted by Ernesti.

5. *Bonorum ferramentorum studiosum.* "Fond of good arms." *Ferramentum* is properly any instrument of iron, a rod, tool, &c. The use of the term, on this occasion, by Cethegus, may have been intended as a species of witticism, paltry enough it must be confessed, for the purpose of hiding his agitation and assuming an air of composure.

6. *Recitatis literis,* &c. "When the letter had been read, dispirited and confounded, convicted by the force of conscience, became all of a sudden silent."

7. *Cognovit signum et manum suam.* "Acknowledged his seal and hand-writing." — *Tabellæ.* "His letter." — *Sententiam.* "Purport." — *Confessus est.* "He confessed that it was his."

8. *Cognosceretne signum?* "Whether he knew the seal?" — *Annuit.* "He made a sign with his head in the affirmative." — *Est vero.* "It is, indeed." *Vero* is here equivalent to *sane*, or *profecto*.

9. *Clarissimi viri.* The grandfather of Lentulus, here alluded to, had been *princeps senatus* in his day, and had also received a wound, while combating on the side of the patricians against the followers of Caius Gracchus.

10. *Unice.* "Dearly," *i. e.* as the *one sole* object of all his affections. — *Etiam muta.* "Even though mute."

11. *Leguntur eadem ratione,* &c. "The letter itself, which was addressed to the senate and people of the Allobroges, and of the same tenor with the other two, is then read."

12. *Negavit.* "Declined the offer." Equivalent to *negavit se usurum esse facta sibi dicendi potestate.* — *Surrexit.* All who addressed the senate had to rise, unless they merely expressed their assent to a speaker who had preceded them.

13. *Quid sibi esset cum iis.* "What he ever had to do with them." — *Qui cum illi,* &c. "And when they had told him briefly and firmly in reply." — *Per quem.* Namely, Umbrenus. (Sall. *Cat.* xl.)

14. *Nihilne secum,* &c. "Whether he had never spoken with them concerning the Sibylline predictions." Compare chap. iv. note 10.

15. *Scelere demens.* "Deprived of all judgment by a sense of guilt." *Amentia* denotes the total and continued absence of reason; *dementia* the want of judgment on particular occasions.

16. *Ita.* "To such a degree." — *Ingenium illud,* &c. "That ability of his, and that experience in public speaking for which he was always distinguished." Cicero (*Brut.* lxiv.) ranks Lentulus among the equals of Hortensius; and on another occasion (*Ibid.* lxvi.), says of him: "*Neque multo secus P. Lentulus, cujus et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. Sic in hoc nihil præter actionem fuit.*"

17. *Propter vim sceleris,* &c. "From the force of openly detected guilt." *Manifesti atque deprehensi,* by hendiadys for *manifesto deprehensi.* — *Impudentia.* "That effrontery."

18. *Vehementissime perturbatus.* "Though very violently agitated." As if *quamvis* were expressed; and hence the presence of *tamen,* "still," in the succeeding clause.

19. *Erant autem,* &c. "Now it was written without any name, but to the following purport." The terms in this letter do not exactly agree with Sallust (*Cat.* xliv.). The one in the text probably is the more correct transcript.

20. *Quem in locum sis progressus.* "Into what a situation you have advanced," *i. e.* what a step you have taken; how far, by going to the camp of Manlius, you have declared your real intentions. Sallust, in citing this same letter, has *in quanta calamitate sis,* "in how dangerous a situation you are."

21. *Etiam infimorum.* "Even of the lowest." Meaning the slaves. Sallust has, "*auxilium petas ab omnibus etiam ab infimis.*"

22. *Insimulabant.* "Alleged against him." Donatus (ad Terent. *Phorm.* ii. 3. 12.) makes this verb have the meaning of to frame a charge against another, whether it be true or false. Thus, "Insimulare *est crimen ingerere.* Insimulatio *est et falsi et veri criminis incusatio.*" So also Festus: "Insimulare, *crimen in aliquem confingere.*"

23. *Cum illa,* &c. "Although the following appeared to be most manifest indications and proofs of guilt." — *Tum multo,* &c. "Still these seemed far more convincing, their changing colour, the expression of their eyes, their look, their silence."

24. *Sic enim obstupuerant.* "For so astounded were they." — *Sic furtim nonnumquam,* &c. "They from time to time exchanged such

stolen glances with each other, as to appear no longer to be informed against by others, but to be informing against themselves."

VI. 1. *Expositis atque editis.* "Being unfolded and made known." *Expositis* is here used for *explicatis.*

2. *De summa republica.* "For the safety of the republic at large." *Summus* is elegantly joined to nouns for the purpose of denoting that on which the whole thing indicated by the latter depends. Thus, *summa respublica* is the public safety and every thing on which it depends. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. v.: "*Summa salus periclitatur.*"

3. *A principibus.* "Of the leading men." The *princeps senatus* was always asked his opinion first, unless consuls elect were present, who had on such occasions the preference. After these had expressed their sentiments, the *consulares,* or men of consular rank, were asked, and after them the other senators, according to the offices they had filled, or were then filling. Sometimes, with the exception of the *princeps senatus,* and the consuls elect, no regular order was observed. The *principes,* on the present occasion, were they who had the right of expressing their opinion first, and who in that sense might be called leading men.

4. *Acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ.* "Opinions full of spirit and firmness."— *Sine ulla varietate.* "Without a dissenting voice." Literally, "without any diversity of sentiment."

5. *Perscriptum.* "Written out," or engrossed. The decrees of the senate were written, or, more correctly speaking, engraved on tablets of brass. So that *perscriptum* is here in fact equivalent to *ære incisum.*

6. *Mihi gratiæ,* &c. "Thanks are rendered me in the fullest terms." — *Quod eorum opera,* &c. "Because I found in them vigorous and faithful co-operation."

7. *Viro forti.* Referring to C. Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, who had been on friendly terms with Catiline, but was drawn over by Cicero to the cause of the republic. Consult *Historical Index.*

8. *A suis et reipublicæ consiliis.* "From his own and the counsels of the republic." Antonius is here praised for not having aided his former friends, the conspirators, with his private advice, and for not having imparted to them any of the measures secretly taken by his colleague and the senate for the suppression of the conspiracy. — Ernesti makes a difficulty about the meaning of *reipublicæ consiliis,* which we trust our explanation has removed.

9. *Cum se prætura abdicasset.* "After he had abdicated the prætorship." No person at Rome could be punished while holding any office. This seems to have arisen from the sacred character imparted, in a greater or less degree, to all stations of magistracy, by the auspices having been taken, and the pleasure of the gods as it were consulted, before they were conferred. Hence the persons of magistrates were deemed sacred, and they could not be given into custody until they had laid down their office and become private individuals.

10. *In custodiam.* Not to prison, but into what was called *libera custodia.* This was resorted to in the case of individuals of rank when accused of any crime. They were either, as in the present instance, given over to the care of distinguished persons, who thus became responsible for their appearance when it was required, or else were detained in the dwellings of the magistrates. Consult Lipsius, ad Tacit.

Ann. vi. 3., and compare Sallust (*Cat.* xlvii.). The writer last referred to gives us the names of the individuals into whose hands the conspirators were delivered.

11. *Procurationem.* "The task." Cassius and the persons after named had probably not been then apprehended.

12. *Ex his colonis.* "One of the colonists." The MSS. and early editions read *coloniis* for *colonis.* This latter, however, is without any doubt the true lection, and is given as such by Aldus, R. Stephens, Ernesti, Schütz, and others. In adopting it, *quas,* which follows *coloniis,* must of course be changed to *quos.*

13. *In hac Allobrogum sollicitatione.* "In this tampering with the Allobroges."

14. *Libertinum hominem.* "A freedman." The Roman writers use the term *libertinus* when designating a freedman generally, but *libertus* when they name the master to whom he stands in the relation of a freedman: thus *libertus Cæsaris,* but *ille erat libertinus.*

15. *Perductos.* Purposely used instead of *deductos,* to convey the idea of their being brought to Gabinius for corrupt purposes, *i. e.* for the ruin of the state. "*Inest enim verbo* perducere *notio nequitiæ, nam meretrices* perduci *dicuntur.*" (Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.*)

16. *Atque ea lenitate,* &c. "And thus, Romans, the senate exercised such lenity, as to think," &c. *Atque* is here partly intensive.

17. *Novem hominum,* &c. Of these five were put to death. (Sall. *Cat.* lv.) — *Sanari posse.* "Could be brought back to a sound state."

18. *Supplicatio.* "A thanksgiving." This took place, of course, in all the temples. Couches were spread in them for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon them around the altars which were loaded with the richest dishes. This was called a *Lectisternium* (i. e. *lecti sternebantur*). The author of the decree ordaining a *supplicatio* in the present instance was L. Cotta. (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 6. — xiv. 8.)

19. *Togato.* "Arrayed in the robe of peace." A *supplicatio* had never before this been decreed except for some success in war. — The military cloak of the Romans was the *sagum,* short, fastened in front by a clasp, and of a red colour.

20. *Hoc intersit.* "Will be found to differ in this." The use of the subjunctive must be here noted, as indicative of modesty and as less positive than the indicative would have been. Compare the Greek form of expression, τοῦτο διαφέροι ἄν.

21. *Atque illud.* Compare the language of Ernesti: "*Est formæ concludendi loci bene Latina. Sic* atque hæc *dicta sunt, et similia.*"

22. *Factum atque transactum est.* A form borrowed either from the technicalities of the law, or from the language of the Roman sacred rites. — Whenever two verbs are used, nearly if not precisely similar in meaning, they are, generally speaking, to be rendered as one verb, with an adverb or some other term to strengthen the meaning. Thus, in the present instance, the clause may be translated, "was fully attended to."

23. *Patefactus.* "Completely exposed," *i. e.* fully detected. — *Tamen magistratu,* &c. Cicero commends the wise caution of the senate in not punishing an individual while invested with an office of magistracy.

24. *Ut, quæ religio,* &c. "In order that we, in punishing Publius

Lentulus as a mere private individual, might be freed from that religious scruple, which however had not prevented Caius Marius from putting to death Caius Glaucia, concerning whom nothing had been decreed by name, while actually invested with the office of prætor." — As regards the historical allusions in this passage, consult *Index*. The elegant construction of *non fuerat C. Mario quo minus occideret*, &c., must be noted by the student. Literally, "had found no existence unto C. Marius (*i. e.* in the bosom of C. Marius), so that he might the less on that account put to death," &c.

VII. 1. *Captos et comprehensos.* "Arrested and in custody." — *Existimare debetis.* "You ought to rest assured." — *His depulsis*, &c. "These dangers that threatened our city being now warded off."

2. *Quem quidem ego*, &c. "When I was endeavouring to drive that individual from the city." *Quem*, commencing a clause, is here equivalent to *illum*, referring to Catiline.

3. *Somnum.* "The drowsiness." Equivalent to *somnolentiam*. Lentulus, although a man of parts, was remarkable for his indolent and luxurious habits. In principle he was a complete profligate. Consult *Historical Index*.

4. *Nec L. Cassii adipem.* "Nor the lazy corpulence of Lucius Cassius." *Adeps* is literally "fat." It is here equivalent to *corpus obesitate et pinguetudine tardum et stolidum*, conveying the idea of laziness and dulness. The English expression, "fat-headed," (if it be not from the French *fat*,) is somewhat analogous.

5. *Ille.* Referring to Catiline. — *Sed tamdiu.* "But so long only."

6. *Omnium aditus tenebat.* "He was acquainted with the avenues of approach unto all." — *Appellare, tentare*, &c. "He was able, he dared, to address, sound, tamper with." Heumann suspects *audebat* of being superfluous here, but it refers, in fact, to what comes immediately after, "*consilio neque lingua neque manus deerat.*"

7. *Erat ei consilium*, &c. "He had a head well fitted for the planning of crime, while neither was a tongue nor a hand wanting to it." *Lingua* refers to Catiline's powers of persuasion; *manus*, to his laborious perseverance, and his daring execution of what he had planned.

8. *Jam ad certas res*, &c. "Nay, too, he had particular persons selected and assigned for the accomplishment of particular objects," *i. e.* each one had his distinct and allotted sphere of action. *Certos homines* in this passage is commonly rendered "trusty adherents," "men on whom he could rely," and this is certainly more in accordance with the general meaning of *certus*; but the presence of *certas res* in the same sentence seems naturally to call for the meaning we have given. Cicero, besides, elsewhere uses *certus* in the same sense, *i. e.* for the pronoun *quidam*. Thus (*de Clar. Or.* c. xvi.): "*Habet certos sui studiosos, qui*," &c., and (*pro Marcell.* vi.): "*Insolentiam certorum hominum extimescere.*"

9. *Nihil erat, quod*, &c. "There was nothing in which he himself did not engage, lend aid, watch, labour." *Occurro* here has the meaning of to hasten to lend aid, to arrive seasonably or in time, and rises in signification above *obeo*, which is employed in its primitive sense, "to come in contact with," (*ob*, "against," and *ire*,) "to engage in." Compare Plaut. *Pœn.* Prol. 43.: Cic. *Phil.* i. 4. &c. as regards the meaning here assigned to *occurro*.

10. *Frigus, sitim,* &c. Compare the account which Sallust gives of Catiline (ch. v.): "*Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est.*"

11. *Tam acrem.* "So keen," *i. e.* so keen-sighted in what regarded his own interests. Compare the explanation of Döring: "*acrius, quod sibi expediat, perspicientem.*" — *Tam paratum.* "So prepared," *i. e.* prepared to act on every emergency. *Paratus* is often put, as in the present instance, without anything expressed to which it may directly refer. Compare Grævius *ad loc.*

12. *In perditis rebus.* "In a ruinous cause." Literally, "in the midst of ruined affairs." — *Domesticis insidiis.* "Secret plots," *i. e.* plots at home, or in the city, as opposed to the camp.

13. *Non ille nobis Saturnalia,* &c. "He would have fixed upon no festival of Saturn for us," *i. e.* for our destruction. He would not have put off so long the day of execution. Consult chap. iv. note 16.

14. *Neque commisisset,* &c. "Nor have allowed his seal, his letters, in a word, manifest proofs of his guilt, to be seized."

15. *Occurri atque obstiti.* "I met and obstructed." The meaning of *occurri* is here also, as in a previous passage, to arrive seasonably, and in time for action, but this action is now of an opposing character, as is farther denoted by the presence of *obstiti.*

VIII. 1. *Nutu atque consilio.* "By the very will and design." *Nutus* is here equivalent to *voluntas,* and has a figurative reference to the expression of one's assent by *nodding* the head. Compare the well-known passage in Homer (*Il.* i. 528. *seqq.*), and the verb κατανεῦσαι.

2. *Conjectura consequi.* "Conjecture." Literally, "attain to by conjecture." — *Quod vix videtur,* &c. "Because the direction of affairs so important in their character, seems scarcely possible to have fallen within the range of human wisdom." By *tantarum rerum gubernatio* he means the piloting of the vessel of the state amid the dangers by which it had just been surrounded.

3. *Ita præsentes.* "In so manifest a way." So much like present deities. — *His temporibus.* "During the present crisis."

4. *Nam, ut illa omittam,* &c. "For not to dwell upon the following circumstances." Cicero passes over, with only a slight mention, these manifestations of the will of the gods, in order to dwell with more force on the omen afforded by the erection of the statue.

5. *Visas nocturno tempore,* &c. These were meteoric appearances, connected probably with the Aurora Borealis, and resembling burning torches. — *Ardoremque cœli.* "And the blazing of the sky." The phenomena here alluded to by Cicero displayed themselves during his consulship, and were regarded as portending the conspiracy of Catiline. The orator makes mention of them in his poem *de Consulatu,* a fragment of which has come down to us (*de Div.* i. 11.): —

"*Quid vero Phœbi fax tristis nuntia belli,*
"*Quæ magnum ad culmen flammato ardore volabat,*
Præcipites cœli partes, obitusque petisset," &c.

Compare the account of Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 25.): Λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον. So also Julius Obsequens, (c. cxxii. p. 205. *seqq.* ed. Oudend.), in enumerating the prodigies that made their appearance at this period, speaks of a "*trabs ardens ab occasu ad cœlum extenta,*" which suits very well one of the aspects of the Aurora

Borealis. (Compare Senec. *Quæst. Nat.* vii. 5. and Hardouin ad Plin. *H. N.* ii. 26.) As regards the Aurora Borealis in ancient times, consult the work of Ideler (*Meteorologia Vet. Græc. et Rom.* c. x. p. 49.): "*Auroræ Borealis apud veteres vestigia.*"

6. *Ut fulminum jactus.* "Not to dwell upon the thunderbolts hurled from on high." Supply *omittam.* — The allusion is to thunder heard from a serene sky, which the ancients always regarded as a very special omen. Compare Cic. *de Div.* l. c.: —

"*Aut cum terribili perculsus fulmine civis*
Luce serenanti vitalia lumina linquit."

So Dio Cassius (l. c.), in alluding to this same occasion, remarks: Κεραυνοὶ ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον; and Julius Obsequens (l. c.): "*Fulmine pleraque decussa. Sereno Vargunteius Pompeius de cœlo exanimatus.*" Compare Horace, *Od.* i. 34. 5.

7. *Ut terræ motus.* So Dio Cassius (l. c.) remarks, Καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς ἐσείσθη, and Julius Obsequens (l. c.), "*Terræ motu Spoletum totum concussum, et quædam corruerunt.*"

8. *Canere.* "To foretell;" a term borrowed from the language of prophecy, and deriving its meaning in the present instance from the early custom of predicting in verse.

9. *Cotta et Torquato consulibus.* Two years previously.

10. *Complures res.* The common text has *turres* in place of *res*, but this latter reading is adopted by Ernesti, Schütz, and others. Among the objects afterwards enumerated as struck with lightning, towers are not named. Neither is any mention made of them in the verses of Cicero, where he describes the events of his consulship. There were, in fact, no towers in the Capitol. Böttiger also assents to the propriety of Ernesti's emendation, (which is sanctioned besides by several MSS.), in the *Magazin für öffentlichen Schulen und Schullehrer*, vol. ii. p. 2.

11. *De cœlo.* "With lightning."

12. *Simulacra deorum*, &c. Compare Cic. (l. c.) "*Et divum simulacra peremit fulminis ardor.*" Not only the statue of Jupiter, but the images also of other deities were struck on this occasion. Compare Dio Cassius: Καὶ ἀγάλματα τα ἄλλα τε, καὶ Διὸς, ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένον.

13. *Depulsa sunt.* "Were dislodged from their pedestals." — *Statuæ veterum hominum.* Cicero, in the verses already alluded to, makes mention of the statue of Natta, one of the Pinarii, a priest of Hercules.

14. *Legum æra liquefacta.* "The brazen tables of the laws were melted." The laws were engraven on brazen tablets, which were kept in the Capitol.

15. *Quem inauratum*, &c. "A gilded image of whom you remember was in the Capitol, small of size, and in the act of being suckled, opening wide its lips to receive the dugs of the she-wolf." This group was thrown down from its base. Compare the language of Cicero (l. c.): —

"*Hic silvestris erat, Romani nominis altrix,*
Martia, quæ parvos Mavortis semine natos
Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;
Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia liquit."

The term *inauratum* very probably refers to a statue or image of bronze gilt. As regards the mode of representing Romulus and Remus, here referred to, consult Rasche, *Lex. Rei Num.* (vol. ii. p. 1886-1890.).

16. *Ex tota Etruria.* The Romans derived all their knowledge of

divination from Etruria. This became, of course, a very useful engine of state with the patricians, as it augmented the subservience of the multitude to those who claimed the exclusive knowledge of the methods by which the gods might be propitiated. Compare Cic. *de Div.* i. 41.

17. *Suo numine prope fata*, &c. " Should by their express interposition almost bend the fates themselves." According to the pagan creed, the decrees of fate were either conditional or unconditional. The former could be altered and softened down, the latter could not be changed (Virg. *Æn.* iii. 76.), but merely delayed or put off for a season. (*Æn.* x. 622. and vii. 315.)

18. *Ludi.* Public games and scenic exhibitions were the usual modes of propitiating the gods. Compare Livy, vii. 2.: " *Ludi quoque scenici inter alia cœlestis iræ placamina instituti dicuntur.*"

19. *Ad placandum deos.* Most MSS. have *placandos* for *placandum*, and Ernesti inclines to give it the preference. The gerund, however, is well defended by Beck, and is more direct than the passive participle, or gerundive, would have been.

20. *Majus.* " Larger than the former one." — *Quod videtis.* " Which you now see erected."

21. *Illustrarentur.* " Would be brought so clearly to light." — *Atque illud*, &c. " Now the consuls of that year made arrangements to have this statue placed in the manner directed." *Locare* is " to bargain," or, " make arrangements," to have a thing done ; *conducere*, " to contract to do a thing." The persons who undertook any such task or employment were called *redemptores*. The verbs *suscipere* and *redimere* are also employed in the sense of *conducere*, especially the latter.

22. *Locaverunt.* Some MSS. read *collocaverunt*, but incorrectly. The true lection was first suggested by Gruter, and adopted by Grævius, whom Ernesti and others follow.

23. *Superioribus consulibus.* L. Cæsar and C. Figulus. — *A nobis.* Referring to himself and C. Antonius his colleague in the consulship.

IX. 1. *Tam aversus a vero.* " So great an enemy to the truth." An expression borrowed from the custom of showing aversion by turning away from an object. — *Tam præceps.* " So inconsiderate." — *Tam mente captus.* " So blind." So deprived of all mental vision.

2. *Et ea.* " And that too." The Greek usage is similar in καὶ ταῦτα. — *A perditis civibus.* This is the reading adopted by Ernesti. Gruter recommends *per cives*, which Grævius admits into the text. Ernesti is very probably correct in suspecting the words *et ea a perditis civibus* of being a mere gloss, the idea of which was taken from *a nefariis civibus* towards the latter part of the sentence.

3. *Illud vero*, &c. " Is not the following circumstance, however, so manifest in its character as to seem," &c. The repetition of *ut* in this sentence is extremely inelegant, and was never written so by Cicero. Ernesti makes the first *ut* equivalent in some degree to *quod*, but it is more than probable, as Döring remarks, that some words have fallen out between *videatur* and the second *ut*.

4. *Mane per forum*, &c. This of course was all a matter of previous arrangements on the part of Cicero, and intended to produce an impression upon the superstitious feelings of the populace. It appears to have answered its end admirably.

5. *Eorum indices.* The Allobroges and Vulturcius. — *In ædem Concordiæ.* This temple stood in the immediate vicinity of the forum, at the foot of the Capitoline hill. (Donat. *de Rom. vet.* lib. ii. c. 8. p. 103.)

6. *Templis atque delubris.* Consult chap. i. note 11. — *Funestos ac nefarios ignes.* "Destructive and unhallowed fires."

7. *Quibus ego,* &c. "Were I to say that it was I who successfully resisted them," *i. e.* who defeated their attempts.

8. *Ille, ille Jupiter restitit.* "Yon Jupiter, yon Jupiter defeated their attempts." *Ille* denotes the gesture of the orator, pointing to the newly erected statue. The pronoun *ille,* in the rest of the sentence, is to be rendered by the simple pronoun "he," with an emphasis resting upon it.

9. *Hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi.* "Have I formed this design and wish," *i. e.* of exposing to view the plans of wicked men.

10. *Jam vero,* &c. The true reading of this passage is extremely doubtful. We have inserted *suscepta* after *hostibus,* on the suggestion of Ernesti, since otherwise *sollicitatio* will have no verb to which it can be referred. With *suscepta* and *credita* respectively, we must supply *nunquam esset.* The whole may be rendered as follows: "Still farther, too, that tampering with the Allobroges would never have been undertaken, in the way that it has, by Lentulus, and the rest of our domestic foes; a secret of so much importance would never have been so rashly confided to strangers and barbarians; nor most assuredly would any letters have ever been entrusted to their hands; had not all judgment been taken away by the immortal gods from this so audacious a conspiracy."

11. *Ut homines Galli,* &c. Supply before *ut* the words *anne putandum est,* or something equivalent. "Is it to be imagined that Gauls," &c. — *Male pacata.* "Hardly brought to subjection."

12. *Spem imperii,* &c. "The hope of dominion and of the most extensive aggrandizement." — *A patriciis hominibus.* Alluding to Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators.

13. *Suis opibus.* "To their own interest." — *Id non,* &c. The common text has *nonne.* We have given *non* with Grævius, on MSS. authority. — *Divinitus.* "By the interposition of Heaven."

14. *Præsertim qui nos,* &c. "Especially since they might have overcome us, not by fighting, but by remaining silent," *i. e.* by keeping the secret of the conspiracy. *Superarent* is here equivalent to *superare potuissent,* and the subjunctive mood is required by the peculiar force of the relative, which is here the same as *quum illi.* The common text has *superare potuerunt.*

X. 1. *Ad omnia pulvinaria.* "At all the shrines." The primitive meaning of this term is a cushion, or pillow, for a couch. It is then taken to denote the couch itself; and finally it signifies, from the operation of a peculiar custom among the Romans, a temple or shrine of the gods. When a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate, what was called a *Lectisternium* took place, couches being spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their statues being taken down from their pedestals and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Hence the meaning attached to *pulvinaria* in the text. Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v., and Schütz, *Ind. Lat.* s. v.

2. *Celebratote.* Boys crowned with garlands, virgins, and matrons, moved in procession through the streets singing hymns in honour of the

gods. — *Illos dies.* A thanksgiving often, as in the present instance, lasted for several days.

3. *Togati, me uno togato,* &c. "Wearing the toga, with me alone, likewise wearing it, for your leader and commander." More freely, "arrayed in the gown of peace, with me alone, similarly arrayed, for your leader," &c. Consult chap. vi. note 19.

4. *L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit.* When Sylla had set out to join the legions which he had levied in Italy for the Mithridatic war, P. Sulpicius, a tribune of the commons, and a violent partisan of Marius's, strove to have Sylla's command abrogated and Marius appointed in his stead. Sylla, in consequence of this, returned with his troops to Rome, put to death Sulpicius, and drove Marius into exile. (Flor. iii. 21. — Vell. Pat. ii. 18, 19.)

5. *Custodem hujus urbis.* "The preserver of the same." Alluding to his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones.

6. *Cn. Octavius.* Octavius, a partisan of Sylla's when consul, drove out Cinna his colleague, because he would not allow certain laws to be passed. The latter having collected an armed force, returned along with Marius to Rome, and the scenes of slaughter were renewed.

7. *Omnis hic locus.* The forum, where the contending factions had met in conflict, and much blood had been spilt. — *Redundavit.* This verb has here two meanings, one for *acervis corporum* ("was filled"), and another for *sanguine civium* ("flowed"). Grammarians call this construction a zeugma.

8. *Clarissimis viris.* Referring to Q. Catulus, Scævola, and the orators Crassus, Antonius, and C. Cæsar. Consult *Historical Index*.

9. *Quanta deminutione civium.* If we may credit so declamatory a writer as Florus (iii. 21. 24.), the number slain on this occasion exceeded seventy thousand.

10. *M. Lepidus.* Lepidus and his colleague Catulus had at first a warm contest about the interment of Sylla, the former endeavouring to prevent his being buried in the Campus Martius. Afterwards, placing himself at the head of the Marian faction, he strove to procure the abolition of all Sylla's public acts, and was driven out in consequence by Catulus, after the two parties had come into open and violent collision.

11. *Atque illæ dissensiones,* &c. We have adopted, with Matthiæ, the emendation proposed by Ernesti, throwing out the words *erant hujusmodi* before *Quirites,* where they appear in the common text, introducing a parenthesis from *non illi* to *voluerunt,* and making *atque illæ tamen* a repetition from the first clause. *Tamen,* in such constructions, after a parenthesis, has the force of *inquam,* or *igitur.* Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

12. *Pertinerent.* The subjunctive is here employed after the relative, as stating, not an assertion of Cicero's, but of the individual actors themselves, as it had come down to his times. Hence *quæ pertinerent* may be rendered, "which tended as was alleged." After this comes the declaration of the orator himself, based upon this allegation, when the indicative is employed.

13. *Illi.* "The actors in those scenes." — *Esse principes.* "To be the leading men." — *Hanc urbem conflagrare.* "That this city should be wrapt in flames." — *Florere.* "Should rule." This meaning is derived from the intermediate one of excelling, which *floreo* often has in Cicero and other writers.

14. *Quæsivit.* "Had in view." — *Ut non reconciliatione concordiæ,* &c. "That they were terminated, not by the reconciliation which concord is wont to bring with it, but by the massacre of citizens," *i. e.* not by reconciliation and concord, but by the loss of many lives. — Cicero's meaning, as it is carried out in the succeeding clause, is this: that the evil dissensions enumerated by him, though they had in view merely a change of affairs, were nevertheless only terminated after much bloodshed; whereas the conspiracy of Catiline, which aimed at the total subversion of the government, and the destruction of all, had been brought to an end by him without the loss of any lives on the part of his fellow-citizens.

15. *Nulla barbaria.* "No barbarian land." *Barbaria* means any territory inhabited by barbarians. The Romans employed the term in general to denote any country except Greece and Italy. Compare Cic. (*de Fin.* ii. 25.): "*A quo non solum Græcia et Italia, sed etiam omnis Barbaria commotus est.*"

16. *Cum sua gente.* "With its own race."

17. *Fuit constituta.* "Was laid down." — *Salva urbe.* "In case the city were safe."

18. *Tantum civium,* &c. "That only so many citizens would survive, as many as should remain after boundless massacre." Literally, "as many as should have withstood boundless massacre." Burmann (*Anthol. Lat.* vol. ii. p. 180.) suggests *infinita e cæde* in place of *infinitæ cædi.* In this case, *restitisset* would come from *restare,* and the literal meaning would be the same with what we have first given, "should remain after," &c. The common reading, however, conveys the same sense, and is better in point of Latinity.

19. *Obire non potuisset.* "Might not have been able to reach."

XI. 1. *Pro.* "In return for." — *Rebus.* "Services." — *Insigne honoris.* "Mark of honour." As, for example, a triumph. Thus, a little after, he remarks, "*in animis vestris omnes triumphos meos,*" &c.

2. *Ornamenta honoris.* "Badges of honour." — *Laudis insignia.* "The trophies of my renown."

3. *Nihil mutum.* "No mute memorial." As, for example, a statue.

4. *Nostræ res alentur.* "My actions will be fostered." — *Sermonibus.* "In your daily converse." — *Literarum monumentis,* &c. "They will become identified, through lapse of time, with, and will be rendered more and more enduring by, your national annals." *Inveterasco* means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c. Compare, as regards the force of *monumentis* in this passage, (*pro Sext.* xlviii.): "*Hæc monumentis annalium mandantur, posteritati propagantur.*"

5. *Eandemque diem,* &c. "And I feel convinced, that this same day will be perpetuated," &c., *i. e.* will ever be celebrated as a day of festival by posterity. We have adopted the reading given by Beck with the aid of MSS. The common text is altogether erroneous and unintelligible, viz.: "*Eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatum.*" Even, however, in Beck's reading there is something in *intelligo* that appears suspicious, and to stand in need of emendation. But the MSS. afford no aid.

6. *Duos cives.* Himself and Pompey, who had brought the piratical war to a close, and also conquered Mithridates.

7. *Quorum alter.* Pompey. — *Non terræ, sed cœli regionibus.* An oratorical hyperbole, by which Pompey is described as having carried the Roman arms to the very limits of earth and sky, *i. e.* to have filled even the distant horizon with the fame of Roman power. Render "not by the regions of earth, but by the very horizon itself."

XII. 1. *Est eadem fortuna atque conditio.* The verb is in the singular, as the two nouns express merely different shades of the same idea. — *Quæ illorum.* "As is that of those."

2. *Isti.* This pronoun does not denote any contempt here, but is used in strict accordance with its primitive meaning. Render, "those commanders of yours." In the previous clause, *illorum* is applied to them with reference to their distant operations. Consult *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. i. note 4.

3. *Si ceteris,* &c. The indicative mood is here employed as denoting certainty, and referring to what has actually taken place. By *ceteris* are meant the Roman commanders who have been engaged in foreign wars.

4. *Mentes.* "Designs."

5. *Ab istis.* The pronoun now denotes contempt. "By those men," *i. e.* by those poor wretches.

6. *In bonis.* Understand *civibus.* — *Dignitas.* "Majesty." Referring to the authority of the senate and the power of the laws.

7. *Se ipsi indicabunt.* "Will only be exposing themselves," *i. e.* will only be turning informers against themselves, and exposing to view their secret sentiments. They will be driven by the force of conscience to make the same disclosures and to act in the same way as Lentulus did before the Roman senate.

8. *Is animus.* "Such a determination." *Is* elegantly used for *talis.*

9. *Converterit.* We have here given the reading of Manutius, Grævius, and Beck, which Schütz also adopts. The common text has *converterint,* and for *omnis* and *depulsus* reads *omnes* and *depulsi,* making *impetus* plural of course. There is less spirit, however, in this.

10. *Qua conditione,* &c. "In what situation you may wish those to be in future days," &c., *i. e.* what effect your action in the premises may have upon the situation of those in after days, who shall stand forth as the asserters of your freedom, and the defenders of your lives and fortunes. — The meaning of Cicero is this: that if any attack be made upon him by his private foes, for the part he has taken in crushing the conspiracy, he looks to the people for their prompt interference in his behalf; not because he actually stands in need of this, since the high honours thus far conferred upon him by his countrymen will always be a sufficient defence against such opponents, but in order that a bad effect may not be produced upon others, by his being exposed unaided to the onsets of the wicked, and that those who may wish, hereafter, to serve their country, may not be discouraged from doing so by seeing what has happened to himself.

11. *Ad vitæ fructum.* "For the enjoyment of existence." — *In honore vestro.* "Amid the honours in your gift."

12. *Quidquam altius.* Cicero had now attained to the summit of a true Roman's ambition, the consulship. He had saved his country, and a thanksgiving had been declared in his name, although he was arrayed at the time in the robe of peace, or, in other words, acting merely as a

civil magistrate. The office of dictator alone he had not obtained and did not desire.

13. *Ea quæ gessi in consulatu.* "The principles on which I acted during my consulship." — *Privatus.* "In private life."

14. *Mihi valeat ad gloriam.* "May but advance my glory," *i. e.* may only redound the more to my own fame, by making my public services, if possible, more conspicuous.

15. *Ut meminerim,* &c. "As ever to be mindful of my past actions." — *Virtute.* "From patriotic motives." From the dictates of public virtue. Compare (*Ep. ad Fam.* v. 2.): "*Hujus ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitissem, quis esset qui me non casu potius existimaret, quam consilio fortem fuisse?*"

16. *Illum Jovem.* "Yon Jove." Pointing in the direction of the temple of Jupiter Stator, in which he had delivered his first oration against Catiline. — *Providebo.* Whatever the decree of the senate shall be, he will, as consul, see it fully executed, and will place the safety of his fellow-citizens beyond the reach of the wicked, by inflicting on the latter a well-merited punishment.

FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Fourth Oration of M. T. Cicero against L. Catiline, delivered in the Senate." This oration was pronounced in the course of the debate concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the conspirators. Silanus had proposed the infliction of instant death, while Cæsar had spoken in favour of the more lenient sentence of perpetual imprisonment. Cicero does not precisely declare for any particular punishment, but he shows that his mind evidently inclined to the severest, by dwelling on the enormity of the conspirators' guilt, and aggravating all their crimes with much acrimony and art. His sentiments finally prevailed; and the conspirators were strangled under his immediate superintendence.

I. 2. *Ora atque oculos.* Every eye was fixed upon Cicero in anxious expectation to see whether he would advocate the opinion of Silanus. The senate was convened, on this occasion, in the temple of Jupiter Stator.

3. *Si id depulsum sit.* "If that be warded off," *i. e.* by the punishment of those in custody. — *De meo periculo.* Especially if Cicero should have adopted the opinion of Silanus.

4. *Vestra erga me voluntas.* "Your kind wishes in my behalf." The generous interest you take in my welfare. *Voluntas* is here used for *favor, benevolentia,* or *caritas.* Compare Cic. *Ep. ad Q. Fratr.* iii. 11. 6.; *ad Fam.* v. 12.: *pro Lig.* ii. *fin.*

5. *Deponite.* He is afraid lest, prompted by a wish to relieve him from the burden of public odium, for the summary steps he may have taken against the accused, the senate pursue some course prejudicial to the state.

6. *Hæc conditio consulatus.* "This condition of enjoying the consulship." — *Omnes acerbitates.* "Every bitter infliction."

7. *Dignitas salusque.* "Dignity and safety." By *dignitas* is here meant that exercise of authority which is *worthy* of a people enjoying a regular form of government. Compare Cicero's definition (*de Inv.* ii. 55.): "*Dignitas est alicujus honesta auctoritas, et cultu, et honore, et verecundia digna.*

8. *Non forum.* He had been in danger from Catiline even in the forum. — *In quo omnis æquitas continetur.* In the forum the courts of law were held, and justice, according to Cicero, had here her abode.

As regards the distinction between *justitia* and *æquitas*, it may be remarked, that the latter is the generic term including what we owe to God and man. Cicero considers it, in its principle or foundation, as *tripartita*, divisible into three parts (*Topica*, c. xxiii.): "*Una pars legitima est*," "what is founded in law;" — "*altera æquitati conveniens*," "what is consonant with equity, or founded on our own natural perceptions of what is right and wrong;" — "*tertia moris vestustate confirmata*," "what is founded in long and established usage."

9. *Non campus.* Cicero has appeared in the Campus Martius, during the consular election, when Silanus and Murena were chosen, with a coat of mail under his robe, to guard against the risk of assassination from Catiline. (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. xiv.)

10. *Consularibus auspiciis consecratus.* At the *comitia centuriata*, the auspices were always first taken before they proceeded to the election of the consuls and the higher magistrates. Hence the Campus Martius is said to be "hallowed" by the "consular auspices" taken in it.

11. *Summum auxilium.* "The chief refuge."

12. *Non domus, commune perfugium.* "Not my own home, a man's common asylum." According to the principles of the Roman law, it was unlawful to enter any man's dwelling for the purpose of forcing him to court; because his house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any one lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the prætor; and if still he did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects. (Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 6. 16. p. 671. ed. Haubold.) As regards the sanctity of a man's home, compare the eloquent language of Cicero (*pro Dom.* c. 41.): "*Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quàm domus uniuscujusque civium? hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dei Penates, hic sacra, religiones, cærimoniæ continentur, hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.*"

13. *Non lectus.* Alluding to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own home, early in the morning, and before he had yet risen. Compare Sallust (*Cat.* c. xxix.); and *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. iv.

14. *Hæc sedes honoris.* After these words follow *sella curulis*, which though found in all MSS. are nevertheless rejected with great propriety by Ernesti, as a mere gloss. Neither is it a very correct interpretation itself of the expression *hæc sedes honoris*, since by this latter is meant not so much the curule chair, as the place in the senate where he sat as consul, and which was somewhat elevated above the other seats.

15. *Multa tacui.* Muretus very correctly surposes, that this prudent silence, on Cicero's part, might be dictated by the suspicion that many persons of rank, such as Cæsar and Crassus, for example, were implicated in the conspiracy.

16. *In vestro timore.* "In the midst of alarm on your part," *i. e.* whilst your alarm prevailed. Lipsius (*V. L.* iii. 22.) conjectures, *sine vestro timore*, of which Heumannus approves.

17. *Miserrima.* We have given this, on the authority of some MSS. in place of the common reading *misera.* The emendation is approved of by Goerenz (ad Cic. *de Fin.* i. 4.).

18. *Ex acerbissima vexatione.* "From the most cruel outrages." — *Templa atque delubra.* Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. i. note 11.

19. *Quæcunque fortuna.* "Whatever lot."

20. *Inductus a vatibus.* Referring to the Sibylline books and the interpretation of the aruspices. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. iv.

21. *Fatale.* "Fated." The fated name was Cornelius, which was the *nomen* of Lentulus, his full appellation being Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. Consult *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. iv. note 11.

II. 1. *Prospicite patriæ.* "Provide for the welfare of your country."

2. *Omnes deos,* &c. Every city, in ancient times, had its peculiar deity or deities, who presided over it, and under whose special protection it was considered to be. Hence, when a town was beseiged, and on the point of being taken, the beseigers always used to call out (*evocare*) in solemn form the god or gods who exercised a guardianship over it, while the beseiged on their part, in order to prevent this, were wont to chain the statue or statues to the pedestal. (Consult Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 9.)

3. *Pro eo mihi,* &c. "Will reward me according to my deserts." In point of Latinity, *ut* would be better here than *ac,* and perhaps we ought to read so.

4. *Si quid obtigerit.* "If any thing adverse shall befall me." An euphemism for *si moriar.* The preposition *ob* here denotes literally "against," and the strict meaning of the phrase is, "if any thing shall happen against, or adverse to, my wishes." Compare Plautus (*Menæchm.* v. 5. 1.): "*Ædepol næ hic mihi dies pervorsus atque adversus obtigit.*" — Ernesti regards *obtigerit,* in the text, as of doubtful authority, the more usual form being *acciderit.* But our explanation of *obtigerit* is a sufficient answer to the objection, and besides all the MSS. give this latter form.

5. *Neque enim,* &c. Death can bring with it no disgrace to a brave man, since even in death he will find only additional glory. Some, on the authority of Quintilian (vi. 3. 109.), read *gravis* instead of *turpis,* but it is too general an epithet.

6. *Neque immatura consulari.* "Nor a premature one to a man who has been gifted with the office of consul." The consulship was the highest of all the offices in the gift of the people, and hence one who enjoyed it, might be said to descend to the grave ripe in public honours.

7. *Sapienti.* "To one acquainted with the lessons of philosophy," *i. e.* those lessons which teach us to regard death as the road merely to a better and happier land. This idea is beautifully followed out in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations.*

8. *Ille ferreus, qui.* "So iron hearted as," *i. e.* with a heart so steeled against every gentle emotion. *Ille* is here used for *talis* or *ejusmodi,* which is more commonly the case with the pronoun *is.*

9. *Fratris.* His brother Quintus. — *Amantissimi.* "Most affectionate."

10. *Circumsessum.* The reference here is to some of the *Equites* and other friends of Cicero, who stood round his chair, and in fact, encompassed the whole senate both within the temple as well as without, for the sake of their personal safety, while debating on the punishment of the conspirators.

11. *Exanimata uxor.* "My wife half dead with terror." The al-

lusion is to Terentia, whom he subsequently divorced for infidelity during his banishment, and who married the historian Sallust.

12. *Abjecta metu filia.* "My daughter dismayed by fearful apprehensions." Alluding to Tullia.

13. *Parvulus filius.* Marcus Cicero, then two years old. He was born in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus. (*Ep. ad Att.* i. 3.)

14. *Amplecti.* "To hold in its arms." The term is beautifully applied to the case of a young child, and is used for the common *tenere.* — *Tamquam obsidem,* &c. "As the pledge of my consulship," *i. e.* as a pledge, that I will do every thing in my power for preserving the public safety, if not on my own, yet on my son's account.

15. *Gener.* C. Calpurnius Piso. He had been united to Tullia two years before, and was the first of three husbands whom she married.

16. *Moveor his rebus omnibus,* &c. "I *am* moved by all these things, but it is to this effect merely, that they whom I have mentioned may all be saved along with you, even though some act of violence may have crushed me," &c.

17. *Incumbite.* "Bend all your energies." — *Circumspicite.* "Look around and behold."

18. *Non Tib. Gracchus,* &c. "It is no Tiberius Gracchus, who has wished to become a second time tribune of the commons; no Caius Gracchus, who has endeavoured to excite the partisans of his Agrarian law; no Lucius Saturninus, who has slain a Caius Memmius; that is now exposed to the risk of a prosecution, and to the sentence which you in your just severity may inflict." — For an account of the individuals here alluded to consult *Historical Index.*

19. *Tenentur ii.* "*They* are held in custody." — *Tenentur literæ,* &c. "Their letters, their seals, &c. are in our possession."

20. *Sollicitantur Allobroges,* &c. "The Allobroges are tampered with, our very slaves are excited to insurrection.

III. 1. *Rei confessi sunt.* "The accused have themselves confessed." — *Vos multis,* &c. "You yourselves have already decided upon by many expressions of opinion." We have adopted *indiciis,* the reading of Badius, and which is approved of by Bynkershoek (*Obs. Jur. Rom.* i. 6.), and Vonk (*Lect. Lat.* i. 7.). The common text has *judiciis,* referring to the "determinations" of the senate on the several occasions enumerated immediately after. But Cicero had too nice an ear to say *judiciis judicastis.*

2. *Singularibus verbis.* "In language singularly honourable." Alluding to the *supplicatio* decreed in his name, "*Quod urbem incendiis, cæde cives; Italiam bello liberasset.*" (*In Cat.* iii. 6.)

3. *Mea virtute atque diligentia.* "By my public spirit and vigilance."

4. *Deinde quod P. Lentulum,* &c. A very dangerous assumption of authority on the part of the senate, and only to be resorted to in extreme cases like the present.

5. *De quibus judicastis.* "On whose cases you have pronounced an opinion."

6. *Togato.* Consult *Orat. III. in Cat.* c. vi. note 19.

7. *Damnati esse videantur.* Compare Sallust (*Cat.* ch. 50.): "*Eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rempublicam fecisse.*"

8. *Sed ego institui,* &c. "I have resolved, however, Conscript Fathers, as if the matter were still untouched, to consult you in relation both to the affair itself, what you may determine respecting it, and the punishment to be inflicted, what you may think that ought to be."

9. *Illa prædicam, quæ sunt consulis.* "But before I do this, I will state what it is the duty of a consul to mention." The student will observe the force of *præ* in composition with *dico.*

10. *Versari.* "To be prevalent." — *Et nova quædam,* &c. "And that certain evils, before unknown, were aroused and called into action." He alludes to the prevalence of disaffection and the introduction of principles of insubordination hostile to the well-being of the state.

11. *Quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant,* &c. Ernesti thinks that *quocumque* is here put for *quo,* and that for *inclinant* we ought to read *inclinent.* It is much simpler, however, to consider the words *quocumque vestræ,* &c. as merely explanatory of *quidquid est,* and requiring of course the indicative *inclinant.*

12. *Statuendum vobis ante noctem est.* Both because no decree of the senate was legal if pronounced before sunrise or after sunset (Aul. Gell. xiv. 7.), and because the risk was also greater of a forcible rescue, or of an escape of the prisoners, by night than by day.

13. *Huic si paucos,* &c. "If you imagine that only a few are implicated in this." For other instances of *affinis* with the dative, compare *Orat. pro Cluent.* xlv., "*affinis turpitudini;*" *de Inv.* ii. 10., "*honestæ rationi affinis.*"

14. *Manavit non solum,* &c. "It has not only spread slowly throughout Italy." *Manavit* beautifully expresses the slow but steady progress of the conspiracy, like a slowly rolling stream.

15. *Obscure serpens.* "Creeping onward unperceived."

16. *Sustentando ac prolatando.* "By delay and irresolution." Literally, "by still enduring it, and still putting off (the moment of action)."

IV. 1. *Esse.* "Are before you," *i. e.* have been proposed. — *Unam D. Silani.* "The one, that of Decimus Silanus. Consult *Historical Index.*

2. *Qui hæc delere,* &c. "Who have endeavoured to blot out this fair state of thing from existence." *Hæc* refers to the Roman city and state, and the gesture of the orator corresponds, as he points slowly around. Ernesti is in favour of *conati sint,* and Beck has adopted the emendation; but the true reading is undoubtedly *conati sunt,* since there was no longer any doubt respecting the crime itself or its intended perpetrators. Compare Heusinger, Præf. ad Cic. *de Off.* p. 53. *seqq.*

3. *C. Cæsaris.* Julius Cæsar.

4. *Qui mortis pœnam removet,* &c. "Who puts aside the punishment of death, but embraces all the severities of remaining punishments," *i. e.* who is against the punishment of death, but in favour of the severest one that remains after this is excluded.

5. *Pro sua dignitate.* "Consistently with his own high rank, and the importance of the crisis." — *Versatur.* "Insists."

6. *Alter.* Silanus. — *Conati sunt.* Ernesti here again recommends *conati sint.* But consult note 2.

7. *Hoc communi spiritu.* "This air that we all breathe." — *Recordatur.* "He reminds us."

8. *Alter intelligit.* "The other is clearly of opinion." Julius Cæsar maintained, in his remarks before the senate on this occasion, that the soul was mortal, and death an eternal sleep; consequently, that loss of life was a blessing rather than a punishment, since it freed us from all the evils of existence. Compare the speech which Sallust assigns him in the debate on the same question relative to the conspirators.

9. *Necessitatem naturæ.* "As a necessary law of nature."

10. *Sapientes.* By the "wise" are here meant those imbued with what Cæsar regards as the true principles of philosophy. The Stoics especially, although they believed in a future state, regarded death as any thing rather than a source of terror. According to them, a wise man might justly and reasonably withdraw from life whenever he found it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent, but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death. Cæsar, who was an Epicurean, if he was any thing at all, artfully avails himself of the fact of many of the Stoic sect having actually put an end to their existence, and applies it to the establishment of his peculiar doctrine.

11. *Oppetiverunt.* "Have courted it." Among the "*fortes*" may be enumerated Codrus, the Athenian, the Roman Decii, Curtius, &c.

12 *Vincula vero,* &c. "Imprisonment, however, and that too for life, was invented in his opinion for the express punishment of abandoned guilt."

13. *Municipiis.* "Throughout the municipal towns." Equivalent to *in municipia.* Cæsar's proposition was, that the conspirators who had been arrested should be "distributed" throughout these towns, and there confined for life. His true object was to save their lives, and trust to some future chance for their pardon.

14. *Habere videtur,* &c. The use of *ista* in this sentence shows the gesture of the orator, who in making the remark turns towards Cæsar: "That proposition of yours seems to carry with it an unjust burden, if you wish to demand it of them; a difficulty, if you are only inclined to ask it as a favour. However, let a decree be passed to this effect, if such be your pleasure." Cicero's meaning is this: if you exercise your power and demand of the free towns, that they receive these prisoners and keep them in confinement, you will be imposing an unjust burden upon them; while, on the other hand, if you only request it as a favour, you may meet with a difficulty in their declining to accede to your request.

15. *Ego enim suscipiam,* &c. "For I will take it upon myself to see, that what you wish shall be accomplished, and I will find, as I hope, those who will not think it unsuitable to their dignity to refuse," *i. e.* I will find municipal towns that will have no objection, I trust, to receive them. —With *suscipiam* understand *rem,* so that the literal translation will be, "I will undertake the affair," alluding to the execution of the decree which shall be passed.

16. *Adjungit.* The orator returns to Cæsar, and gives the rest of his opinion: "He is for adding a heavy penalty on the inhabitants of the municipal towns."—*Eorum.* "Of the criminals." Referring to the conspirators.

17. *Horribiles custodias circumdat.* "He is for throwing around them a frightful imprisonment, for decreeing in solemn form whatever is worthy of the guilt of abandoned wretches, in order that no one may

hereafter be able, either through the senate or people, to mitigate the punishment of those whom he is in favour of condemning."

18. *Eripit etiam spem.* "He even deprives them of hope," *i. e.* by making their confinement one for life. — *Quæ sola hominum,* &c. Compare the beautiful language of Tibullus (ii. 6. 25.): —

> "*Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum,*
> *Crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus.*"

11. *Bona præterea,* &c. As regards Cicero's account of the opinion held by Cæsar, on this occasion, before the Roman senate, compare the language of Sallust (*Cat.* c. li.): "*Sed illa censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent, ne quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat,*" &c.

20. *Quam si eripuisset.* "For had he taken away this." — *Multos, uno dolore,* &c. "He would have ended, by a single pang, many sufferings of mind and body, and all the punishments due to their crimes." There is some doubt as to the true reading of this passage. Ernesti gives *multas* in place of *multos,* making the genitives *animi* and *corporis* depend upon *pœnas* understood, in the sense of "sufferings." This, however, appears extremely harsh. The MSS. in general give *multos,* which induced Grævius to suggest, as an emendation, *multos, uno dolore, dolores animi atque corporis, et,* &c. This correction has been received by Matthiæ, Schütz, Orellius, and others; but in truth the juxtaposition of *dolore dolores* sounds like any thing rather than Ciceronian Latinity. We have adopted, therefore, a middle course, and have supposed *dolores* to be understood with *animi atque corporis,* as may easily be implied from *multos,* and the presence of *dolore.*

21. *Itaque, ut aliqua,* &c. "Hence, on this account, that there might be some fear remaining for the wicked in life, the men of earlier times favoured the idea, that certain punishments, of a nature calculated to produce this effect, were appointed for the wicked in the lower world." We have given *ejusmodi* ("of that kind") a free translation, as more directly explanatory of the meaning of the orator. It is evident, from what we see here, that Cicero himself gave no credit to the popular belief respecting the nature of the punishments in another world. And this is apparent also from many other parts of his writings. He was a believer, however, in a future state; and, without directly attacking the scepticism of Cæsar, he here in fact censures it, by expressing his opinion, that a belief in the punishments of a future world had the advantage at least of curbing in this life the evil passions of the wicked. It is this which will give us the true connection between *Itaque,* &c., and the close of the last sentence.

22. *Videlicet.* "No doubt." There is a slight tinge of irony in the use of this word, on the present occasion; but it is an irony directed against the fables of the vulgar respecting the punishments of another world, not against a future state itself.

V. 1. *Mea quid intersit.* "How my interests are concerned." More freely, "on which side my true interest lies," *i. e.* as regards the conflicting opinions of Silanus and Cæsar.

2. *Hanc in republica viam.* "Such a career in public affairs." — *Popularis.* "A popular one," *i. e.* calculated to gain the favour of the people. There is here a lurking sarcasm against Cæsar's love of popularity.

3. *Hoc auctore et cognitore*, &c. "With him as the author and supporter of this opinion." By *auctore sententiæ* is meant the original proposer of a measure; by *cognitor*, one who acknowledges it to be his, and exerts himself to defend and substantiate it.

4. *Populares impetus.* "Any onsets of the people," *i. e.* any outbreakings of popular violence, through sympathy for the condemned. Cicero's meaning is, that Cæsar's popularity will shield him from this risk, and that on this side his true interest lies.

5. *Illam alteram.* "The other." *Ille* here answers to our definite article. Literally, "that other one," *i. e.* the opinion of Silanus.

6. *Nescio, an*, &c. "I know not whether additional trouble will not in that event be incurred by me." *Amplius negotii*, literally "more trouble." It is a very rare thing for *amplius* to have after it a genitive case. A similar construction occurs in Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 9.): "*Amplius obsidum.*" — Cicero apprehends some trouble on the part of the lower orders, if the opinion of Silanus be adopted, but still he is in favour of it. — As regards the expression *nescio an* (otherwise and more commonly written *haud scio an*), it may be remarked, that the *usus loquendi* among the Romans made it equivalent to *nescio an non*. It is employed to express a modest degree of doubt, &c., and may often be rendered by our English term "perhaps." Ernesti goes too far when he makes it equivalent to a simple affirmation (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Haud*). The more correct doctrine is laid down by Scheller (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 490.).

7. *Sed tamen meorum periculorum*, &c. "Still, however, let the interests of the state overcome all considerations of my own individual danger," *i. e.* let the welfare of the state triumph over every personal consideration. The common expression would be, "*attamen salus reipublicæ anteponenda est meis periculis.*"

8. *Habemus enim*, &c. The connection in the train of ideas is as follows: Cicero has just been remarking, that considerations of personal safety, on his part, must yield to the public good. Now, as his personal safety would have been in a great measure secured by adopting the opinion of Cæsar, it might be inferred by some, although very erroneously, that he regarded Cæsar's opinion as clashing, in some degree, with the public welfare. In order, therefore, to avoid such an inference, he immediately adds, that the opinion expressed by Cæsar, although the public interests will not allow him, peculiarly situated as he is, to embrace it, yet seems to him worthy in every way of the high rank of its author, and a sure proof of his sincere attachment to the state. The compliment is very artfully turned, and shows great policy on the part of Cicero.

9. *Ipsius dignitas.* "His own high rank." — *Amplitudo.* "The illustrious character." — *Tamquam obsidem*, &c. "As a pledge of his lasting attachment to the state."

10. *Intellectum est*, &c. "By this has it been rendered fully apparent, what difference there is between the insincerity of mere public declaimers, and a bosom truly attached to the people, and consulting for their welfare." Another artful compliment. Cicero remarks, that Cæsar's opinion shows the true friend of the people, and not the hollowness of the demagogue, who is merely seeking their favour for his own private ends. It will readily be perceived that Cicero's object is to avoid irritating Cæsar, and thereby to prevent fresh difficulties. The

praise bestowed, however, is of a very peculiar character; since, to us at least, a vein of sarcasm appears to run beneath, and yet it is one so artfully managed that Cæsar could not make it a cause of offence.

11. *Istis.* The pronoun here denotes contempt. — *Populares.* In the wrong sense of the term.

12. *Non neminem.* "A certain person." He means some senator, who, in order not to vote upon the capital punishment of Roman citizens, and from the wish of becoming popular with the lower orders, had absented himself from this meeting of the senate. To him he opposes Cæsar, as a true friend of the people, and anxious for their welfare and the safety of the state. The name of the senator in question is unknown; some make him to have been Q. Metellus.

13. *Nudiustertius.* "The day before yesterday." A contraction for *nunc dies tertius* (i. e. *est*).

14. *Dedit.* "Consigned," *i. e.* was in favour of consigning; voted to that effect. — *Cives Romanos.* The conspirators who had been arrested.

15. *Indices.* The Allobroges and Vulturcius. — *Affecit.* "Recompensed," *i. e.* voted for recompensing.

16. *Jam.* Marking the conclusion to which Cicero fairly arrives, that one who had gone as far as this particular senator had already expressed his opinion, in fact, on the merits of the case at large, and ought, therefore, to have been present, since he gained nothing by absence.

17. *Quæsitori gratulationem.* "A vote of thanks to the individual who first instituted an inquiry," *i. e.* who first inquired into, and ascertained, the existence of a conspiracy. Cicero uses the term *quæsitor,* here, in an unusual sense. It generally signifies, when applied to a public officer, a person appointed by the senate or people to preside at public trials of a capital nature.

18. *At vero,* &c. "Caius Cæsar, however, plainly perceives, that the Sempronian law was enacted for the benefit of the Roman citizens," &c. Cicero sets the conduct and sentiments of Cæsar, on the present occasion, in opposition to those of the senator just mentioned, and, in so doing, very artfully turns a part of Cæsar's oration against the speaker himself. Cæsar had laid great stress upon the Porcian and Sempronian laws, the latter of which ordered that no Roman citizen should be capitally punished without the command of the people, and the former, that no citizen should be put to death at all, but that the alternative of exile should be allowed him. This part of Cæsar's speech becomes completely refuted, if the latter can be made to confess, that a public enemy is no longer a citizen, and Cicero, therefore, brings forward this proposition in so artful a way that Cæsar cannot possibly contradict it.

19. *Ipsum latorem,* &c. "That the very proposer himself of the Sempronian law rendered atonement to the state by the order of the people." The meaning of Cicero is this, that even Caius Gracchus himself, who brought in the Sempronian law, was not allowed to avail himself of the provisions of that law, but suffered the punishment due to the violation of public order, on the ground of his being a public enemy, and that too by an express decree of the state. The principal force of the remark lies in the expression *jussu populi,* the people themselves having, according to Cicero, sanctioned by their order, in the case of

Caius Gracchus, the distinction drawn by him between a citizen and a public foe. — All the MSS., and all the early editions, without a single exception, read *jussu*, and so the text remained until Ernesti thought fit, on mere conjecture, to substitute *injussu*. His argument is, that Gracchus, the proposer of the Sempronian law, was not put to death by the order of the people, but by an act of violence on the part of the nobility headed by Scipio Nasica. In this remark, however, there is an historical error, since Caius Gracchus was slain by the party of the consul Opimius, after a decree of the senate had been passed, entrusting the republic to his care. The only difficulty is, to ascertain in what way the sentence of the senate may be said to have been ratified by the people, or how their assent was in any form obtained. Cicero appears to have inferred this assent from their not having interfered to preserve the life of Gracchus, and perhaps from other circumstances to us unknown. At all events, it is too bold a proceeding to alter what has thus far been regarded as the established text, and make it speak a directly opposite meaning. The best editors, since Ernesti's time, namely, Schütz, Weiske, Matthiæ, Wetzel, &c., have rejected the emendation.

20. *Idem ipsum*, &c. "The same individual is of opinion, that Lentulus himself, though lavish and prodigal in his expenditures upon the people, cannot be called their true friend, when he has with such bitter cruelty been plotting the destruction of the Roman people, the ruin of this city." The reference in *largitorem* and *prodigum* is to public shows, and other entertainments given for the purpose of securing popularity. Compare, as regards the force of *prodigus*, the definition of Cicero, *de Off.* ii. 16.

21. *Homo mitissimus atque lenissimus.* "Although a very mild and merciful man." Referring to Cæsar. — *Non dubitat.* "He hesitates not."

22. *Et sancit in posterum.* "And he is in favour of guarding, by an express decree against the time to come." — *Se jactare.* "To exert himself." More literally, "to busy himself." Equivalent here to *commovere se.* Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.*, and Schütz, *Index Lat.* s. v.

23. *In pernicie populi Romani.* "In a matter that involves the ruin of the Roman people."

24. *Adjungit etiam*, &c. Cicero purposely lays great stress on the severity of Cæsar. The latter had said that he was in favour of the most rigorous punishment. The consul understood him well, and takes him at his word. Cæsar cannot retract, and if a still more severe punishment can be discovered than that already thought of, the senate may decree to that effect, and Cæsar must of course approve. Cicero adroitly manages to draw this inference from the words of Cæsar, and involves the latter in his own subtleties.

VI. 1. *Quamobrem cive hoc*, &c. "Either then, if you shall have decreed what Cæsar recommends, you will have given me, in him, a companion for the public assembly, dear and acceptable to the people," *i. e.* you will have adopted an opinion, which will find a zealous and successful advocate, before the assembled people, in the person of the one who proposed it.

2. *Atque obtinebo*, &c. "And I will make it appear to have been the far milder opinion of the two."

3. *Ego enim de meo sensu judico.* " For I judge from my own feelings," *i. e.* in what, I am going to say, I will give utterance frankly to my real and honest feelings.

4. *Nam ita mihi,* &c. " For so may it be allowed me to enjoy, along with you the republic in a state of safety, as I am now, because I show more severity than usual in the present affair, not influenced by any cruelty of spirit, (for who is in fact milder than myself?) but by a peculiar feeling as it were of humanity and pity: " *i. e.* may I never enjoy, in common with you, the benefits resulting from my country's safety, if the eagerness which I display in this affair proceeds from any cruel spirit (for no one has less of that than myself), but from a feeling of humanity and pity towards my countrymen.

5. *Videor mihi videre.* " Methinks I see." The orator is here entering on the figure which grammarians call *diatyposis.*

6. *Arcem omnium gentium.* " The capital of all nations." *Arcem* is here equivalent to *caput.* — *Subito uno incendio concidentem.* " On a sudden sinking amid one universal conflagration."

7. *Sepulta in patria.* " In my ruined country." *Sepulta* is here equivalent to *eversa* or *vastata.* — *Miseros atque insepultos.* No article of popular belief was more strongly established in the ancient world, than that the soul wandered for a hundred years around the banks of the Styx, or the dead body itself, whenever the latter was deprived of the rites of burial. Hence the peculiarly mournful ideas attached to the circumstance of a corpse remaining neglected and unburied, and of which Cicero here happily avails himself, in order to heighten the effect of the gloomy picture which he draws.

8. *Versatur mihi ante oculos.* " Is often present before my view." — *Et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis.* " And his wild fury as he revels amid your blood."

9. *Mihi proposui.* " I have pictured to myself."—*Ex fatis.* " From the Sibylline predictions."

10. *Purpuratum esse,* &c. " That this Gabinius here is arrayed in purple." *Hunc* refers to Gabinius as having been before them on a recent occasion, not as actually present at the time. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. iii. init. — Gabinius is called *purpuratus,* as one of the titled attendants in the future royal court of Lentulus. Compare Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* i. 43. ; Flor. i. 10. ; Liv. xxx. 42.

11. *Vexationem virginum Vestalium.* " The outrages offered to the Vestal Virgins."

12. *Vehementer misera atque miseranda.* " In the highest degree deplorable and worthy of compassion."—*Ea perficere.* " To bring them to pass."

13. *Præbebo.* We have here given the reading which Grævius adopted from some of his MSS. and which Gruter found in three of his. It imparts a more sonorous and Ciceronian ending to the sentence. The common text has *præbeo.*

14. *De servis.* We should naturally expect here *de servo,* since the singular *servo* precedes. But the allusion here is to the Roman law, by which it was ordained, that if the master of the house, or any member of his family, were murdered, and the murderer not discovered, all the slaves composing the household should be put to death. Hence we find in Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 43.), no less than 400 in one family punished on this account.

15. *Mihi vero*, &c. What Cicero here justifies, viz. to seek to lessen the smart of anguish by the sufferings and torture of him who has occasioned it, he would on another occasion, where greatness of soul was the theme, have openly condemned. Here, however, it suits his purpose to assert what he has in the text.

16. *Nocentis.* This would appear at first view to clash with *de servis.* But it in fact confirms that reading, since " the guilty one" would be sure of being punished, if all the slaves composing the household were put to the torture.

17. *Hoc universum*, &c. " And this common dwelling-place of the republic," *i. e.* this city, the dwelling-place of a whole people.

18. *Qui id egerunt ut collocarent.* " Who have aimed at establishing." — *Si.* " Even if." — *Misericordes.* Because no punishment is adequate to their crime, and any infliction of it therefore will only appear mercy.

19. *In patriæ*, &c. " In a case that involves the ruin of our country and fellow-citizens." — *Fama.* " The imputation."

20. *L. Cæsar.* L. Julius Cæsar, who was consul with C. Marcius Figulus, A. U. C. 689. He was uncle to Julius Cæsar.

21. *Crudelior.* " Too cruel."

22. *Sororis suæ.* Julia, who had married Lentulus, after having been the widow of M. Antonius Creticus. By her first marriage she had become the mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir. The punishment of her second husband, Lentulus, was the origin, according to Plutarch, of the enmity that prevailed between Antony and Cicero. (*Vit. Anton.* c. ii.)

23. *Virum.* Lentulus.

24. *Cum avum*, &c. L. Cæsar, in his remarks before the senate, on the occasion alluded to by Cicero, in order to shield himself from the imputation of undue severity in voting for the punishment of Lentulus, had observed, that " his own grandfather " was once put to death by order of a Roman consul, and the son of the former, although sent to sue for peace, was imprisoned and slain. Cæsar alluded to M. Fulvius Flaccus, who was his grandfather on the mother's side, and who was slain by order of the consul Opimius, together with his son, during the affair of Caius Gracchus. Consult Vell. Paterc. ii. 7. 2.; Val. Max. ix. 12. 6.; Plut. *Vit. C. Gracch.* c. xvi. *seqq.*

25. *Quorum quod simile factum?* " And yet what act on their part was at all like the conduct of these conspirators?" Literally, " Of whom what act was similar?" *i. e.* what comparison will the offence of Fulvius Flaccus and his son bear with that of Lentulus and his colleagues?

26. *Initum.* " Was formed by them." Referring to Flaccus and his son.

27. *Largitionis voluntas*, &c. " A desire to gratify the people by largesses, and a certain violence of parties, were then prevalent in the state." The allusion in *largitionis voluntas* is to the movements of the Gracchi, in conciliating the favour of the people. C. Gracchus, for example, was the author of a *lex frumentaria*, for a distribution of corn among the people, and he and his elder brother Tiberius were the well-known advocates of the Agrarian law. Consult *Legal Index.*

28. *Hujus avus Lentuli.* Alluding to P. Lentulus, whose image was on the seal of his grandson, and to whom Cicero also refers in the

third oration (ch. v.): "*Est vero, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui,*" &c. As regards the occurrence mentioned in the text, compare the words of Valerius Maximus (v. 3. 2.): "*P. Lentulus, clarissimus et amantissimus reipublicæ civis, cum in Aventino C. Gracchi nefarios conatus, et aciem, pia et forti pugna, magnis vulneribus exceptis, fugasset,*" &c.

29. *Ne quid de summa*, &c. "That no portion of the public safety might be impaired." *Summa republica* is here equivalent to what is elsewhere given as *summa reipublicæ*, and this latter phrase is the same as "*res a qua salus universæ reipublicæ pendet.*" Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. vi. note 2. The common text has *de summa reipublicæ dignitate.* Our reading is that of Grævius, Ernesti, Beck, and Schütz, supported by good manuscripts.

30. *Hic.* "This his descendant." — *Attribuit nos.* "Gives us over."

31. *Veremini, censeo.* "You are afraid, I suppose." The common text has *vereamini.* Our reading is that of Ernesti, who found the words *vere enim censeo* in one of the MSS., from which he conjectured *veremini.* This would be rather feeble authority, it is true, for the emendation, did not the sense require the indicative.

32. *Aliquid severius.* The common text has *nimis aliquid severe*, for which we have adopted one of the emendations of Ernesti.

33. *Remissione pœnæ.* "By any relaxation of punishment." — *Severitate animadversionis.* "By any severity of infliction."

VII. 1. *Quæ exaudio.* Ernesti remarks, that *exaudio* is rarely employed when speaking of rumour or mere report. Cicero, however, expressly uses the compound form on the present occasion to impart additional strength to the clause. It is the same as saying, that he hears the reports alluded to so distinctly as to be incapable of any longer misunderstanding them.

2. *Jaciuntur enim voces.* "Remarks are thrown out. Some editions have *jactantur*, but Grævius altered this to *jaciuntur*, on the authority of many MSS., and as required by the context. *Jactantur* would denote a frequent and active circulation of rumours, such as would suit the enemies, not the friends, of Cicero; *jaciuntur*, on the contrary, refers to what is said by the well-disposed but timid.

3. *Eorum, qui*, &c. "On the part of those, who seem to be apprehensive that I have not a sufficient force," &c. After the verbs *metuo, timeo, vereor, ne* is used when we are afraid lest a thing may take place which we do not want to happen, and *ut* when we wish it to happen, but are afraid it will not. Thus, *metuo ne facias* is, "I am afraid lest you will do it," but *metuo ut facias*, "I am afraid you will not do it." The solution of this apparent anomaly is as follows: *metuo ne facias* is the same as *metuo ut non facias*, "I am afraid *in order that* you may not do it," *i. e.* I do not wish you to do the thing in question, but fear lest you will; whereas *metuo ut facias* is literally, "I am afraid *in order that* you may do it," *i. e.* I wish it done, but am afraid you will not do it.

4. *Et provisa*, &c. "Have been both provided for, and prepared, and fully settled." — *Cum.* "As well." — *Diligentia.* "Vigilance."

5. *Tum multo etiam*, &c. "As by the still greater zeal, displayed on the part of the Roman people, for," &c.

6. *Hujus loci ac templi.* The senate was assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator.

7. *Præter ecs, qui,* &c. He refers to those whom in the 10th chapter of the second oration he comprehended in the fourth class of disaffected persons, men who are weighed down by debt, and who see but too clearly that these debts will prove their ruin.

8. *Qua virtute.* "With what courage." — *Consentiunt.* "Do they all unite!"

9. *Qui vobis ita,* &c. "Who yield to you the precedence in rank and counsel, only to vie with you in love for the republic." *Consilii* refers to the administration of public affairs. — The use of *summam,* in this passage, in the sense of superiority, or taking the lead, is of very rare occurrence. Hence Scheller suspects, that perhaps *auctoritatem* has been dropped from the text.

10. *Ex multorum annorum dissensione.* Judges were first selected from the senate. In consequence, however, of the venality of that order, the right of judging was taken from them by the Sempronian law, and given to the equites. It was restored to the senate by a law of Sylla's, and subsequently, by a law of Cotta, the prætor: in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, it was shared between the senate, equites, and tribunes of the treasury. This latter ordinance produced a very powerful effect in healing the differences which the others had caused between the two orders, and Cicero exerted himself very zealously in completing the reconciliation. On the present occasion, the two orders appear once more united, and that too in the best of causes, the preservation of their country. Consult *Legal I dex,* s. v. *Lex Aurelia;* and also Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 18. 16. (p. 754. ed. Haubold.)

11. *Ad hujus ordinis,* &c. "To an alliance and union with this order." Alluding to the change of feeling which had been produced by the Aurelian law of Cotta.

12. *Hæc causa.* Alluding to the conspiracy. — *Conjungit.* "Reconciles."

13. *Confirmatam.* "Placed on a sure basis." — *Confirmo vobis.* "I confidently declare to you."

14. *Nullum posthac malum,* &c. Cicero imagined that he had placed the authority of the senate on a solid basis, by uniting it with the equestrian order, thus constituting what he calls "*optima respublica,*" and he ascribes the ruin of the republic to that coalition not being preserved. The cause of the rupture, which was a very speedy one, was the senate's refusing to release the equites from a disadvantageous contract concerning the Asiatic revenues. (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* i. 17.)

15. *Tribunos ærarios.* These were of plebeian origin, and through them the pay passed to the army. (*pro Planc.* viii.) Compare Varro (*L. L.* iv. 5. p. 180.): "*Tribuni quoque quibus attributa erat pecunia, ut militi redderent, Tribuni ærarii dicti.*"

16. *Scribas item universos.* "And likewise the whole body of scribes." Among the Romans there were two kinds of scribes, private and public: the former were the slaves of private individuals; the latter were free, but of plebeian rank, and generally freedmen. These last were divided into *decuriæ,* and received pay from the public treasury. They were distributed by lot among the different magistrates, and hence were called *consulares, prætorii, ædilitii, quæstorii,* &c.

17. *Cum casu hæc dies*, &c. "When this day had by chance, assembled them in great numbers," *i. e.* at the public treasury. *Frequentare* is here employed in an unusual sense, for *frequentes convocare*. Compare *pro Dom.* c. xxxiii. — The scribes were assembled on this day, the nones of December, or 5th of the month, at the public treasury, to divide among themselves, by lot, the offices of the ensuing year, that is, to determine who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the prætors, &c. This was done annually. While thus employed, they saw the prisoners led by to the senate-house, and immediately, abandoning all their private concerns, they came and made an offer of their assistance, for securing the public safety.

18. *Ab exspectatione sortis*. "From all expectation of the offices to be allotted to them." Consult preceding note.

19. *Omnis ingenuorum*, &c. "The whole body of freeborn citizens is here, even those of the humblest degree." By *ingenui* the Romans meant those who were born of parents that had always been free. Such at least seems to have been the case originally. In the Institutes of Justinian, however, the strictness of the ancient rule on this subject is very considerably modified (*Inst.* i. tit. 4.): "*Ingenuus est is, qui, statim ut natus est, liber est; sive ex duobus ingenuis matrimonio editus est, sive ex libertinis duobus, sive ex altero libertino, et altero ingenuo. Sed et si quis ex matre nascitur libera, patre vero servo, ingenuus nihilominus nascitur: quemadmodum qui ex matre libera et incerto patre natus est, quoniam vulgo conceptus est. Sufficit autem liberam fuisse matrem eo tempore quo nascitur, licet ancilla conceperit*," &c.

VIII. 1. *Libertinorum hominum*, &c. The Romans distinguished between the terms *libertus* and *libertinus* as follows: when referring to the patron or former master, they used *libertus*, thus *libertus Cæsaris*, "Cæsar's freedman," *libertus Ciceronis*, &c.; but when they meant to designate a freedman generally, they employed *libertinus*, as *libertinus erat*, "he was a freedman," *libertinum vidi*, &c. Compare the remarks of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.); and Taylor (*Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 430.).

2. *Qui, virtute sua*, &c. "Who having by their merit attained to the condition which the right of citizenship bestows." By *virtute* is meant their fidelity and attachment to their masters. There is great variation here in the MSS. We have adopted the reading of Gruter, Grævius, and Ernesti. Muretus prefers "*qui fortuna sua hujus civitatis jus consecuti*," which is supported by some MSS. Lambinus gives "*qui sua virtute ac fortuna hujus civitatis jus consecuti*."

3. *Quidam*. Referring not only to Lentulus, Cethegus, and their colleagues; but to other and more secret partisans of the conspiracy, whose names he could mention if he felt inclined. — *Quidam* differs from *aliquis*, by implying that the object designated is definitely known, though indefinitely described. This indefinite description is sometimes resorted to for the purposes of oblique sarcasm. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 252.)

4. *Quid commemorem*. "Why need I mention," *i. e.* why waste time in speaking of. — Matthiæ, Weiske, Schütz, &c. read *commemoro*, on the authority of some MSS.

5. *Qui modo tolerabili*, &c. "Provided he enjoy only a tolerable condition of servitude." Cicero means, that no slave, whose burden of

servitude is in any way tolerable, will feel inclined to abandon his present state, and obtain freedom under the auspices of Catiline, since universal ruin must result from the success of his daring schemes.

6. *Voluntatis.* The choice of words here is extremely appropriate. It belongs not to slaves to intermeddle in the affairs of citizens; they can, therefore, only indulge in good-will (*voluntatis*) for the preservation of the state. And they dare not even indulge in this feeling, without bearing in mind, at the same time, their real condition (*quantam audet*), for they well know how little they can effect by their own unaided resources (*quantum potest*).

7. *Forte commovet.* "Happens to alarm." — *Lenonem quendam.* "That a certain worthless tool."

8. *Concursare,* &c. "Is running around among the shops of the artisans." Compare Sallust (*Cat.* c. 50.): "*Liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices et servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant,*" &c.

9. *Nulli sunt inventi,* &c. Appian, on the contrary, states, that the slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, having been joined by a large number of working people (χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες), endeavoured to break into the houses of the prætors, by the rear, and rescue their masters who were confined within. The moment Cicero was informed of this, he hastened from the senate-house, stationed guards in the different quarters of the city where any attack was to be apprehended, and then returned to the senate and expedited the debate. (Appian, *B. C.* ii. 5.)

10. *Ipsum illum,* &c. "That same spot where his seat is fixed, and his labours are performed, and his daily bread is earned." — *Cubile ac lectulum suum.* "His dormitory and humble couch." *Cubile* is here equivalent to *cubiculum dormitorium.*

11. *Cursum hunc,* &c. "The peaceful life which he at present leads." More literally, "this his peaceful course of life."

12. *Omne eorum instrumentum,* &c. "Every thing with which they pursue their daily employment, all their industry and daily gains, are supported by a crowded population, are fostered by a state of public repose." For *sustinetur* some editions have *sustentatur,* which amounts to the same thing.

13. *Occlusis tabernis.* "When their shops are closed." The shops at Rome were closed during times of public confusion and alarm, and also of public sorrow, by an edict of the consul. Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Taberna.*

14. *Quid tandem,* &c. "What then will be the result when they are burnt?" If Catiline succeed, the whole city will be wrapped in flames, and the shops of the artisans, even though they favour his cause, will share the common ruin. Some MSS. and editions have *futurum fuit.* Ernesti prefers *futurum esset,* but retains *futurum est.* Beck thinks that Cicero wrote merely *futurum,* and hence he incloses *est* in brackets. The form *futurum est* is undoubtedly preferable, and is used for the purpose of strengthening what is said, as if the fire were now actually about to be applied.

IX. 1. *Consulem.* Meaning himself. — *Atque ex media,* &c. Alluding in particular to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own house.

2. *Mente, voluntate*, &c. "In sentiment, in inclination, in zeal, in courage, in open declarations of attachment."

3. *Vobis supplex*, &c. To produce a stronger impression on the minds of his hearers, the orator has recourse to a most beautiful and striking personification.

4. *Aras Penatium.* The *Lares* were the ordinary household deities, the *Penates* were gods of a higher class. The latter were of two kinds, public and private; but in fact the same deities, that is, the same gods, were worshipped as *Penates* by both an entire city, with public honours, and by the individual families in that city, with private or domestic offerings. The *Lares* were worshipped in the *atrium*, or hall, the *Penates* in an inner part of the dwelling, called *impluvium*, and for the most part, open to the upper air.

5. *Illum ignem*, &c. A sacred fire was always kept burning in the temple of Vesta, and it was one of the offices of the Vestal virgins to watch this fire day and night. Whoever allowed it to go out was scourged by the Pontifex Maximus. This accident was always esteemed unlucky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire was lighted up again, not from another fire, but from the rays of the sun. Consult Lipsius, *De Vesta et Vestalibus*, c. viii. *seqq.*

6. *Sempiternum.* Many MSS. have merely this word, omitting *perpetuum ac* which precede, and Lambinus and Græviús have adopted the reading. But *perpetuus* and *sempiternus* are not here synonymous. *Ignis perpetuus* denotes a fire that is fed by a constant succession of fresh fuel; whereas by *ignis sempiternus* is meant one which is to be continued to future ages. We may therefore render the two epithets in question by "ever-burning and ever-abiding."

7. *De focis.* By *focus* is here meant the domestic hearth, that is, the hearth in the *atrium*, or place where the family generally assembled, and around which stood the images of the *Lares*. When *focus* and *ara* are joined in the same sentence, as in the phrase "*pro aris et focis pugnare*," then *ara* denotes the altar of the *Penates*, while *focus* still refers to the *Lares*.

8. *Ducem.* Referring to himself.

9. *Quæ non semper*, &c. "A privilege that is not always afforded." Compare the explanation of Heumannus, "*cujus generis ducem non semper habere contingit.*"

10. *In civili causa.* "In a case of a public nature," *i. e.* in which all *citizens* are more or less concerned.

11. *Auctas exaggeratasque.* "Increased, ay, and even heaped up."

12. *Una nox.* That of the Saturnalia. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. iv. — *Pæne delerit.* Cicero uses *delerit* not *delevisset*, because if he had employed the direct form of expression, — what the grammarians call the *oratio directa*, — he would have said *delevit*, not *deleverat*.

13. *Esse princeps.* "To be the first heard," *i. e.* to take the lead. — *Officio consulari.* It being the duty of a consul to watch over the public safety, and to be the first to give the alarm when that safety threatened.

X. 1. *Ego video.* "I am well aware." — *Quam videtis*, &c. "Which you see in fact is very great."

2. *Turpem.* "Base." Alluding to their flagitious course of life.

3. *Quod si aliquando.* The grammarians lay it down as a rule, that the syllables *ali* should never follow the word *si.* The reason of the rule they do not give us. It appears, however, to be a good one, with this exception added to it, that whenever emphasis is required we are to write *si aliquid,* for example, but to adhere to the main rule on other occasions.

4. *Concitata.* "Aroused into action." — *Ista.* Denoting contempt. — *Plus valuerit, quam.* "Shall triumph over."

5. *Vitæ tantam laudem.* "So glorious an existence."

6. *Semper.* Gruter thinks that this word ought to be rejected, and Grævius actually omits it. Ernesti, however, successfully defends its presence in the text, by showing that it stands opposed to *uni.*

7. *Gestæ.* Gruter recommends *gesta* and *conservata republica,* which Grævius adopts. But the ablative, as Ernesti correctly remarks, would only be proper here, if Cicero were expressing his own sentiments. He avoids this species of vain boasting, and uses the genitive as conveying merely the sentiments of the senate, respecting the result alluded to, not his own.

8. *Scipio.* The elder Africanus, who defeated Hannibal in the battle of Zama. — *Atque ex Italia decedere.* Hannibal had maintained a footing in Italy for nearly sixteen years. The invasion of Africa by Scipio compelled him to return home.

9. *Alter Africanus.* The younger Scipio, or Africanus Minor. He was the son of Paullus Æmilius, and was adopted into the Scipio family by the son of the elder Africanus.

10. *L. Paullus.* Referring to Paullus Æmilius, who reduced Macedonia to a Roman province, after having conquered Perses, the last king of that country, in the battle of Pydna.

11. *Cujus currum,* &c. An account of this triumph is given by Livy, xlv. 35. *seqq.*

12. *Bis Italiam,* &c. By his two victories, one over the Teutones and Ambrones, at Aquæ Sextiæ in Gallia Narbonensis, and the other over the Cimbri, at the Raudii Campi, in Cisalpine Gaul. Consult Vell. Paterc. ii. 12., Flor. iii. 3.

13. *Pompeius.* The exploits of Pompey are enlarged upon in the Oration for the Manilian Law.

14. *Iisdem quibus solis,* &c. Equivalent to "*per totum terrarum orbem celebrantur.*"

15. *Aliquid loci.* "Some room."

16. *Quo victores revertantur.* In illustration of what is here said we may cite the remark of Cicero, in the treatise *de Officiis* (i. 22.): "*Mihi quidem Pompeius hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rempublicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.*"

17. *Uno loco.* "In one respect." — *Externæ.* "In foreign lands." — *Domesticæ.* "At home."

18. *Aut oppressi serviunt,* &c. "Either have been completely crushed and are become slâves, or have been admitted to favourable terms of surrender, and consider themselves bound to us by the kindness thus conferred."

19. *Tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium.* "So great unanimity on the part of all good men." *Conspiratio* is used by Cicero in both a good and a bad sense. In the former meaning, it occurs, besides the

present instance, *Ep. ad Fam.* xii. 15.: *de Off.* ii. 16.: *de Fin.* i. 20.: in the latter, *Ep. ad Fam.* i. 11.: "*Sceleratissima conspiratio.*"

XI. 1. *Pro imperio,* &c. Alluding to the province of Macedonia, to the government of which he was entitled on the expiration of his consulship; but which he had surrendered to his colleague Antonius, in order to keep him firm in his attachment to the state. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* c. xxvi. Cisalpine Gaul had fallen to the lot of Antonius, but Macedonia was by far the richer province of the two. Cicero afterwards laid down the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which he had thus received in exchange, and Q. Metellus Celer, at that time prætor, was chosen in his place. (*Ep. ad Fam.* xv. 4.: *Orat. in Pis.* xi.)

2. *Pro exercitu.* The army which he would have commanded in the province of Macedonia.

3. *Pro provincia,* &c. Alluding, not to Cisalpine Gaul, as Manutius remarks, but to Macedonia.

4. *Pro triumpho.* He means the public chances of a triumph for operations abroad.

5. *Pro clientelis,* &c. "In return for the numerous clientships and connections of friendship which I might have formed in my province, and which, notwithstanding, I here support with no less labour, by means of those resources which the city affords me." To prove the value of the sacrifice, he confesses how eager he is to establish clientships and connections of friendship at home, by every means which his standing and influence in the city enable him to employ.

6. *Pro meis in vos singularibus studiis.* "In return for my conspicuous proofs of zeal in your behalf."

7. *Quæ dum erit infixa.* "For as long as it shall be firmly fixed." — *Firmissimo muro.* "By one of the strongest of ramparts."

8. *Fefellerit atque superaverit.* "Shall have disappointed and triumphed over." — *Parvum meum filium.* His son Marcus.

9. *Cui profecto,* &c. "Who will find in you assuredly sufficient aid, not only as regards his personal safety, but also his future advancement, if you shall bear in mind that he is the son of that man, who preserved from ruin, at his own individual risk, all these things by which you are now surrounded."

10. *De summa salute vestra.* "In a case that concerns your very existence." Literally, "your highest safety."

11. *De aris ac focis.* "That concerns your homes." Ernesti correctly remarks, that, in the expression *aræ ac foci* both terms have a united reference to private dwellings, the *ara* referring to the altar of the *Penates,* and the *focus* to the hearth of the *Lares,* in each dwelling. Our English phrase, "altars and homes," is altogether inapplicable, in the sence that we attach to it, by "altars" being meant public places of worship. Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Ara.*

12. *Universa republica.* "Your country at large."

13. *Diligenter, ut instituistis,* &c. "Promptly and firmly, as you have already begun to do." The expression *ut instituistis* refers as well to the promptness and energy displayed by Silanus and other senators in the course of the present debate, as to the opinions of certain members of that body during their deliberations at the previous meeting. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. vi.: "*Dictæ sunt a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ,*" &c.

14. *Per se ipsum præstare.* "Take on himself and execute." *Quoad* is introduced before *possit* in some MSS., and Grævius and Ernesti both approve of it, on the ground of its being more modest than the ordinary reading, and displaying more of the "*concinnitas Ciceroniana.*" Both reasons are weak. The language of Cicero, as we have given it, shows the firm resolve and conviction of an undaunted and patriotic mind, sure of accomplishing its object, and encouraging others by this very appearance of decision. And as for the "*concinnitas Ciceroniana,*" it may be merely remarked, that there is no direct relation whatever between *quoad vivet* and *quoad possit;* the connection is between *dubitet* and *possit.*

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cicero, in this oration, to have prompt and vigorous measures taken against the conspirators who were in custody, a large majority of the senators, and among them Cicero's own brother, Quintus, were disposed to side with Cæsar probably from the fear, that severe measures might prove injurious afterwards to Cicero himself. At last, Lutatius Catulus, Cæsar's inveterate foe, and Cato, who was then tribune of the commons elect, interposed their efforts. The eloquence of the latter proved triumphant, and the course he recommended was almost unanimously adopted. (Consult Plutarch, *Vit. Cic.* c. xx. *seq.* — Id. *Vit. Cæs.* c. vii. *seq.* — Id. *Vit. Cat. Min.* c. xxii. — Suet. *Cæs.* xiv. — Appian, *B. C.* ii. 5. *seqq.*)

ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Oration of M. Tullius Cicero in defence of the poet Archias." — This is one of the orations of Cicero on which he has succeeded in bestowing the finest polish, and it is perhaps the most pleasing of all his harangues.

Archias, a native of Antioch, came to Rome when about eighteen or twenty years of age. He was rewarded for his learning and genius, with the friendship of the first men in the state; and under the patronage of Lucullus, with whom he travelled, he obtained the rights of citizenship at Heraclea, a confederate and enfranchised town of Lucania. He assumed upon this, as was customary, his patron's family-name of Licinius. A few years afterwards, a law was enacted, conferring the rights of Roman citizens on all who had been admitted to the freedom of federate states, provided they had a settlement in Italy at the time when the law was passed, and had asserted the privilege, before the prætor, within sixty days from the period at which it was promulgated. With this form Archias complied, and for more than twenty years his claims were never called in question.

At length, a certain individual, named Gratius, accused him of not having any just title to the character of a Roman citizen, and attempted to drive him out of the city, under the enactment expelling all foreigners who usurped, without due right, the name and attributes of Roman citizens.

The records of Heraclea having been destroyed during the Social War, and the name of Archias not appearing in any census of Roman citizens, certain doubts were thrown on the legal rights of his client. Cicero, therefore, enlarges on the dignity of literature and poetry, and the various accomplishments of Archias, which gave him so just a claim to the privileges he enjoyed. He beautifully describes the influence which study and a love of letters had exercised on his own character and conduct. He had thence imbibed the principle, that glory and virtue should be the darling objects of life, and that to attain these, all difficulties and dangers were to be despised.

The prætor who presided on this occasion has been supposed to be Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator: the ancient commentary on this oration, discovered by Maio, fully establishes this point. — The date of the speech is A. U. C. 692, B. C. 62, and Cicero was then in the forty-sixth year of his age.

I. 2. *Si quid est in me ingenii*, &c. "If there be aught of talent in me, O Judges, and I am well aware how scanty that is; or if any experience

in public speaking, in which I do not deny that I am moderately versed; or if any acquaintance with the theory of this same art, resulting from the zealous cultivation and disciplining influence of the most liberal studies, from which I acknowledge that no portion of my life has ever been estranged," &c. Ménage (in *Menagiana*, i. 19.) tells a curious story, that the first sentence of this oration cost Patru four years to translate, and that, after all, he omitted "*quod sentio quam sit exiguum.*"

3. *In qua*, &c. Cicero, as Hottoman remarks, has here accidentally fallen upon an hexameter, from *in qua* to *esse* inclusive.

4. *Hujusce rei ratio aliqua.* The expression *hujusce rei* refers to public speaking; while by *ratio* is meant theoretical and critical skill. Compare the definition of the latter term, as given by I. C. Ernesti (*Lex. Tech. Lat. Rhet.* p. 320.): *Ratio dicendi, omnium earum rerum, quæ ad artem dicendi vel eloquentiam tradendam pertinent, accuratam doctamque institutionem complectitur.*"

5. *Hic A. Licinius.* "My friend Aulus Licinius here." The student will note the force of the pronoun *hic* in this clause. Two MSS. subjoin *Archias*, but the one which we have given is undoubtedly the true reading, since Cicero would purposely, at the commencement of his speech, employ only the Roman part of his client's name.

6. *Repetere.* "To claim in return." As the farmer seeks a return of produce, for the labour of cultivation. — *Prope suo jure.* "By a right almost peculiarly his own."

7. *Nam quoad longissime*, &c. "For as far back as my mind can possibly look over the period of the past, and recall the most distant reminiscences of boyhood, reviewing my career even from that early day, I see this one to have been my chief adviser and guide for attempting and for entering on the path of these oratorical studies." The meaning of *principem* here is best given by the two English terms, "adviser and guide." By *rationem studiorum* is meant the theoretical pursuit of private studies.

8. *Pueritiæ.* Cicero was about five years old, when he was first placed under the care of Archias.

9. *Ad ingrediendam*, &c. Cicero here alludes to his earlier studies, since his later ones were pursued under other instructors.

10. *Conformata.* "Moulded." Compare Ernesti (*Lex. Tech.* p. 82.): "*Conformatio dicitur, cum res informis fit elegans et formata.*"

11. *A quo id accepimus*, &c. "From whom we received that, by which we might be enabled to lend aid to the rest of our fellow-creatures, and preserve others from injury."

12. *Ac, ne quis a nobis*, &c. "And lest any one may chance to wonder, that such a remark as this is made by me, because there is in this individual a different kind of genius, and not that theoretical or practical acquaintance with public speaking to which we aspire, not even we ourselves have ever been exclusively devoted to this one pursuit." Since Archias was a poet and not an orator, Cicero thought it might perhaps appear strange to some of his auditors, to hear him assert that he had derived so much benefit from the former.

13. *Hæc dicendi ratio*, &c. Observe the peculiar force of *hæc*, and consult, as regards the meaning of *ratio*, what is remarked under note 4.

14. *Ne nos quidem huic uni*, &c. The MSS. and early editions have *cuncti* in the place of *uni*. This latter reading is an emendation of

Ernesti's, and has been very generally adopted by subsequent editors. It is evidently required by the context, and stands opposed to *penitus.* — By *huic uni studio* is meant oratory.

15. *Etenim omnes artes,* &c. "For all those arts, that have relation to liberal knowledge, possess a kind of common bond of union, and are connected together by a species of natural affinity." The liberal arts are meant.

16. *Humanitatem.* The term *humanitas* is applied by the Latin writers to liberal and polite studies, from their humanising influence on the mind. Compare the language of Aulus Gellius, xiii. 16.: "*Qui verba Latina fecerunt, quique his probe usi sunt,* humanitatem *appellaverunt id propemodum quod Græci παιδείαν vocant, nos eruditionem institutionemque in bonas artes dicimus; quas qui sinceriter cupiunt appetuntque, hi sunt vel maxime humanissimi.*"

II. 1. *In quæstione legitima.* "In the discussion of a mere legal question." The point involved in the present case, respecting the citizenship of Archias, was a strictly legal one. — *In judicio publico.* It was in fact only a case about the private right of citizenship, but then the question turned on the interpretation of a public law, which consequently gave the trial a public aspect.

2. *Cum res agatur,* &c. "When a case is pleaded before a prætor of the Roman people, a most accomplished individual, and before judges of the gravest character." *Severissimos,* in this sentence, is regarded by some commentators as referring to the strict impartiality of the bench whom Cicero is addressing. It certainly has this meaning elsewhere, but in the present instance the one which we have assigned to it is undoubtedly preferable. Cicero means that the mode of defence which he is going to adopt, may perhaps, at first view, seem unsuited to the grave character of the judges before whom he is to speak, who would expect merely a formal and technical discussion of a dry legal point, and not a flight of oratory about the beneficial effects of liberal studies.

3. *Prætorem.* It used to be a warmly contested point who the prætor was that presided on this occasion. The old commentary discovered by Maio settles the question. The prætor was Cicero's brother, Q. Cicero, himself an epic and tragic poet. The words of the commentary are: "*Hanc enim causam, lege Papia, de civitate Romana, apud Quintum Ciceronem dixit,*" &c.

4. *Judices.* In conformity with the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, passed during the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, the judges on public trial were selected, at the time this case was pleaded, from the senators, equites, and tribunes of the treasury. (Consult *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 10.) These *judices* formed a select council, who assisted the prætor with their advice. They sat by him on *subsellia,* or benches, and are hence often called his *assessores.*

5. *Quod non modo,* &c. "Which is at variance with not only the custom of public trials, but even with the mode of pleading that is usual at the bar." Hence he fears, lest it may not seem to comport with the grave character of the court before which he is speaking.

6. *Ut in hac causa,* &c. "To grant me this indulgence in the present case, an indulgence well suited to the character of the accused, and, as I nope, not disagreeable to yourselves; that you permit me, namely, when pleading in behalf of," &c.

7. *Hac vestra humanitate*, &c. "Before a bench as distinguished as yourselves for liberal knowledge, and while such a prætor, in fine, as the present one, presides at this trial." *Hoc prætore* suits well the language of one brother to another; a higher strain of compliment would have been out of place.

8. *De studiis humanitatis*, &c. "To enlarge, with somewhat more freedom than is usual here, on liberal studies and literature in general, and, in the case of such an individual as this, who, on account of his retired and studious mode of life, has been by no means conversant with public trials, and the risks that attend them, to employ a novel and unusual mode of speaking."— *Tractata est* is here equivalent to *exercitata est.* Compare the explanation of Döring: "*Tractamus rem, quam attingimus, vel in qua nos exercemus; et sic ipsæ res, sive personæ, quæ in aliqua re exercentur in ea tractari dicuntur.* Consult also Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Tractare.*

9. *In ejusmodi persona.* Referring to Archias. Passeratius makes the allusion to be to the orator himself, of which explanation Burmann (Ovid. *Rem. Am.* 381.) approves. Both, however, are wrong. Consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Tractare.*

10. *Novo quodam*, &c. The novel kind of speaking to which Cicero alludes, is the introduction of literary topics into the discussion of a legal point.

11. *Perficiam profecto*, &c. "I will assuredly cause you to entertain the conviction, that my friend Aulus Licinius here, not only ought not, as he is a citizen, to be excluded from their number, but even ought, if he were not a citizen, to be admitted among them."

III. 1. *Nam ut primum*, &c. From his being subsequently called *prætextatus*, Archias must at the time here alluded to have been about 14 or 15 years of age.

2. *Ad humanitatem informari.* "To be trained up to liberal knowledge." More literally, "to be moulded." Compare the explanation of Manutius: "*Quasi formæ initium a literis accipiat puerilis ætas, quæ per se informis esset.*"

3. *Ad scribendi studium.* "To poetic composition." More literally, "to the study of composition." Some of the epigrams of Archias are preserved in the Anthology, vol. ii. p. 80. *seqq.* ed. Jacobs. His poetical merits are evidently overrated by Cicero.

4. *Loco nobili.* "Of a distinguished family." —*Celebri quondam urbe.* "A city once populous and flourishing." As regards the force of *celeber* compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "*Abundans incolis et frequens.*" So *ad Herenn.* ii. 4.: "*Locus celebris an desertus.*" — The words *urbs, oppidum, locus*, when in apposition to names of towns, as the place where any thing occurs, may be in the ablative without *in*, though the name of the place be in the genitive.

5. *Eruditissimis hominibus*, &c. "Abounding in the most learned men, and conspicuous for an attachment to the most liberal studies." What the grammarians call a zeugma operates in *affluenti*, that is, our idiom requires a different meaning for each clause.

6. *Ei.* We have inserted this pronoun into the text on the suggestion of Lambinus and Ernesti. It is also given by Schütz.

7. *Sic ejus adventus celebrabantur*, &c. "His arrivals were attended with so much éclat, that the expectation formed of the individual exceeded

the fame of his talents; his arrival itself, and the admiration it excited, surpassed the expectation to which he himself had given rise."

8. *Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum.* "Of Grecian arts and culture." — *Studiaque hæc.* Referring to liberal studies in general. *Vehementius.* "With more ardour."

9. *Iisdem in oppidis.* He uses the term *oppidis* purposely, as indicating places of inferior rank to the capital, Rome, which was properly called *urbs.*

10. *Non negligebantur.* A litotes, for *maxime florebant.*

11. *Qui aliquid de ingeniis,* &c. "Who were able to form any estimate of talents," *i. e.* who were intelligent enough to mark the existence of talent in another.

12. *Hac tanta celebritate famæ.* "Amid this so brilliant a reputation." —*Absentibus.* Referring to those who were absent at the time, and, of course, personally unacquainted with him.

13. *Mario consule et Catulo.* C. Marius was seven times consul; this was his fourth consulship, A. U. C. 650. Of Catulus Cicero speaks in high terms, *Orat. pro Lege Man.* c. xvii. and elsewhere.

14. *Nactus est primum,* &c. "He found, in the first place, those individuals in the consulship, of whom the one could furnish the noblest subjects for poetic composition, the other both memorable actions, and also an attachment to liberal studies, and a practised ear." By the first of these is meant Marius, whose exploits over the Teutones and Cimbri were celebrated in verse by Archias: the other is Catulus, who shared with Marius the glory of the Cimbrian victory, and was also, as Cicero styles him (*Brutus,* c. xxxv.), "*vir doctus et disertus.*" He wrote the history of his consulship, after the mannér of Xenophon, and dedicated it to A. Furius, the poet. Cicero, elsewhere, (*de Off.* i. 37.) ascribes to the Catuli, father and son, "*exquisitum literarum judicium.*"

15. *Aures.* Referring, not merely to his listening with attention to the recitations of Archias, but also to his being enabled, by good taste and a practised ear, to pass an accurate opinion on the productions of the bard. Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Aures: Quæ, quod audirent judicare possent;*" and also that of Döring: "*Aures adhibere,* h. e. *percipere et dijudicare carminum pulchritudinem.*"

16. *Adhibere.* We have rendered this verb by our English term "to furnish," *i. e.* exhibit or display, rather than have recourse to an awkward zeugma, as recommended by Döring.

17. *Luculli.* The two brothers, L. Licinius and Marcus Lucullus. The former was the eminent commander, whose biography is given by Plutarch.

18. *Prætextatus.* "A mere youth." A Roman term applied to a foreigner. Among the Romans, young persons wore the *toga prætexta* until they were seventeen years of age, when they assumed the *toga virilis.* Cicero, most probably, does not mean to designate very closely the age of Archias, and the latter perhaps may, at the time here alluded to, have actually passed the period of seventeen: he only means to speak of him as possessing attainments the more remarkable on account of his extreme youth.

19. *Non solum ingenii,* &c. "Was owing, not only to his genius and literary acquirements, but also to his amiable temper and virtuous disposition." — *Domus.* Referring to the family of the Luculli.

20. *Illi Numidico.* "The celebrated Numidicus." The pronoun

ille has here the force of the Greek article when used emphatically. Metellus received the title of *Numidicus,* from his having defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and made himself master of nearly all Numidia. Jugurtha, however, was finally taken captive and the war ended by Marius. Still Metellus was, in fact, the true victor, having been recalled when on the eve of terminating the contest.

21. *Et ejus filio Pio.* "And to his son Pius." The son of Q. Metellus Numidicus received the cognomen of *Pius,* from his having obtained, by his entreaties, from the Roman people, the recall of his father from exile. Compare Cic. *Or. in Senat. post Red.* c. xv. : "*Pro me non . . . . . ut pro Q. Metello, summo et clarissimo viro, spectata jam adolescentia filius deprecatus est.*" — Among the Romans, the terms *pius* and *pietas* indicated not only duty towards the gods, but also to one's country, parents, relations, friends, &c. Hence, in the present instance, the appellation *Pius* conveys the idea of filial duty. Compare Cicero (*de Off.* iii. 23.) : "*Ipsi patriæ conducit pios habere cives in parentes.*"

22. *Audiebatur a M. Æmilio.* "He found a hearer in M. Æmilius," *i. e.* M. Æmilius was one of his hearers. The allusion is to the poet's recitations in private circles. The Æmilius here meant is the famous M. Æmilius Scaurus. Consult *Historical Index.*

23. *Vivebat.* "He lived on terms of intimacy."

24. *Colebatur.* "He was highly esteemed."

25. *Lucullus vero,* &c. "While holding as he did the Luculli, and Drusus, and the Octavii, and Cato, and the whole family of the Hortensii, attached to himself by habits of intimacy, he was honoured by them with marks of the highest regard.

26. *Drusum.* M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, who had promised the people a law to admit the Italian allies to the rights of citizenship. He was slain at his own home by Q. Varius. Consult *Historical Index.*

27. *Octavios.* The two Octavii, Cneius and Lucius. — *Catonem.* Probably, M. Cato, the father of Cato Uticensis. Compare Manutius, *ad loc.*

28. *Colebant.* "Courted his acquaintance." — *Qui aliquid,* &c. "Who were really desirous of making some literary acquisitions and becoming his hearers," *i. e.* of improving themselves by becoming his auditors. — *Si qui forte simulabant.* "Whoever chanced to affect this desire."

IV. 1. *Interim satis longo intervallo.* "Some considerable time after this."

2. *In Siciliam.* Some of the early editors have *Ciliciam,* and Ilgen attempts to defend it as the true reading. Most of the MSS., however, give *Siciliam.* This journey of Lucullus does not appear to have been made in any public capacity. Ilgen, in attempting to prove *Ciciliam* the true reading, thinks it probable that Lucullus, in order to qualify himself for public affairs, followed in the train of Sylla, when the latter was sent as proprætor to that country. This is all, however, a purely gratuitous supposition. (Ilgen, *Animadv. Hist. et Crit. in Orat. pro Arch.* p. 12. *seqq.*)

3. *Heracleam.* In Lucania, between the rivers Aciris and Siris. Consult *Geographical Index.*

4. *Quæ cum esset,* &c. "And since this state enjoyed very favourable privileges, and a very advantageous alliance with us," *i. e.* very favourable

privileges by reason of an advantageous alliance with us. The alliance here referred to was made with Rome, at the time that Pyrrhus was in Italy, A. U. C. 475. — A zeugma, as will be perceived, operates in *æquissimo.*

5. *Data est civitas,* &c. "By the law of Silvanus and Carbo, the rights of Roman citizenship were granted to strangers, in case any of them had been enrolled as citizens by the states in alliance with Rome, provided they had a domicil in Italy at the time when the law was passed, and provided also they made their claim under the law, before the prætor, within sixty days after the passing of the same." Cicero quotes here, in part, the very language of the law, with the change merely from the present to the past tense on account of *data est* which precedes. The two quotations are commonly printed in capitals, but incorrectly, since the change of tense precludes, of course, the idea of their being the *ipsissima verba* of the law.

6. *Silvani lege et Carbonis.* The individuals here meant were M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. They were tribunes of the commons when the law in question was proposed by them, A. U. C. 664. It is sometimes called *Lex Plautia,* from the *nomen* of Silvanus. Consult *Legal Index.*

7. *Multos jam annos.* "Many years before this." He came to Rome A. U. C. 652, and hence had been residing there twelve years before the passing of the law. — *Q. Metellum.* Manutius thinks that Q. Metellus Creticus is here meant, but Ferratius, with more probability, Metellus Pius.

8. *Si nihil aliud,* &c. "If we are to treat, on the present occasion, of nothing else except of his citizenship at Heraclea, and the application of the law in that case, I have nothing farther to say; my cause is pleaded," *i. e.* if I am to confine my remarks, on the present occasion, to the fact of his being an admitted citizen of Heraclea, &c. — The law referred to is that of Silvanus and Carbo.

9. *Grati.* Some editions read *Gracche,* but *Grati* rests on better MSS. authority, and is given by Ernesti, Orellius, &c. Ilgen thinks, that as the *gens Gratia* is unknown to us, the individual here meant was most probably Numerius Quinctius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 697. But does it follow, as a matter of course, that the accuser, in a case like the present, must be a member of a family that is known to us?

10. *Tum.* "At the time already mentioned," *i. e.* the period of his visit to Heraclea in company with Lucullus.

11. *Summa auctoritate,* &c. "Of the highest credit, the most scrupulous regard for truth, and the strictest integrity." *Religio* here refers to the scrupulous caution that ought to be observed in giving testimony, so that the whole truth may be told, but nothing beyond. Compare the general definition of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "*Religio est summa in quacunque re diligentia, ne quid minus recte fiat.*"

12. *Qui se non opinari,* &c. "Who states, that he does not think it was so, but knows it as a fact; that he did not hear it from others, but saw it with his own eyes; that he was not present merely, but was himself an actor in the affair," *i. e.* aided Archias in obtaining the rights of citizenship at Heraclea, by his personal interference.

13. *Cum mandatis,* &c. "With written documents and public testimony." The deputies from Heraclea brought with them such written documents and proofs as might, in the absence of the original registers,

tend to furnish the next best means for substantiating the claims of Archias.

14. *Heracleensem.* " As a citizen of Heraclea," *i. e.* the freedom of the city had been conferred on him, not being a citizen by birth. Lambinus and Ernesti propose *Heracleæ esse,* considering *adscriptum* as a mere gloss.

15. *Tabulas publicas.* " The public registers." The lists containing the names of the citizens.

16. *Italico bello.* The war made by the Italian allies (hence called likewise the Social War) upon the Roman republic, in order to extort from it by force of arms, the rights of citizenship. From the Marsi having begun it, this war is sometimes denominated the Marsic.

17. *Tabulario.* " The registry." The office where the public records were kept. Compare note 15.

18. *Ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere.* " To say nothing with regard to the evidence that we have." — *Quæ habere non possumus.* The public register which had been destroyed.

19. *De hominum memoria tacere.* " To be silent as to the testimony of men," *i. e.* as to what is testified, in the present case, by Lucullus and the Heracleans.

20. *Literarum memoriam flagitare.* " To insist on that of records."

21. *Cum habeas.* " Although you have." — *Integerrimi municipii.* " Of a free city of the strictest honour." When this oration was delivered Heraclea was a *municipium;* when Archias obtained from it the rights of citizenship, it was a *civitas fœderata.*

22. *Quas idem dicis,* &c. " Which even you yourself confess are accustomed to be falsified."

23. *At domicilium,* &c. " But, you will say, he had not his domicil in Italy." Cicero here anticipates a frivolous objection of Gratius, that Archias had not fulfilled the first requisite of the law. The common text has *Romæ,* for which we have substituted *in Italia,* a conjecture of Lambinus, which Ernesti and others adopt. The law required a domicil in Italy, not at Rome: this latter provision would have been absurd. Cicero's argument, therefore, is briefly this: if Archias lived at Rome many years before he was enrolled as a citizen of Heraclea, he must necessarily have had a domicil in Italy. Now that he so dwelt at Rome is well ascertained; consequently he fulfilled, as regarded a domicil, all the provisions of the enactment.

24. *Ante civitatem datam.* Namely, at Heraclea. — *Sedem omnium rerum,* &c. " The seat of all his efforts and all his fortunes."

25. *At non est professus.* " But he did not make his claim under the law." Anticipating a second objection from his opponent.

26. *Immo vero,* &c. " Nay, indeed, he did do so, in those very registers, which are the only ones connected with that claiming of the rights of citizenship, and with the college of prætors, that possess the authority of public documents." Cicero means, that Archias not only claimed in due season the rights of citizenship, but had his name enrolled in those registers which were considered the most accurately kept. These were the registers of Metellus, those of Appius and Gabinius being regarded for the reasons which he specifies, as of little or no authority.

V. 1. *Nam cum,* &c. " For, whereas the registers of Appius were said to have been kept in too careless a manner, while the corruption of

Gabinius, as long as he escaped impeachment, and the ruin that overtook him after condemnation, deprived his registers of all credit; Metellus, on the other hand, of all men the most scrupulous and the most observant of the laws, displayed so much exactness in his own, as to have come before Lucius Lentulus the prætor, and the judges who were sitting with him, and to have declared that he was rendered uneasy by the erasure of a single name." — Cicero here places the registers of Metellus in direct opposition to those of Appius and Gabinius, and cites a little anecdote to show how careful and scrupulous a man the former was. His argument then becomes a very strong one. If the name of Archias be found in the registers of a prætor so famed for his exactness as Metellus was, this circumstance furnishes the best possible proof in support of the poet's claim.

2. *Appii.* Appius Claudius and P. Gabinius Capito were prætors along with Metellus, in the year when Archias was registered. Gabinius, after returning from his government of Achaia, was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned, and hence his disgraceful fall destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had already greatly impaired.

3. *Modestissimus.* Equivalent here to *legum observantissimus.* Compare the remark of Döring: "*homo enim modestus vel maxime modestiam suam probat diligenter observando ea, quæ eum observare decet.*" Hence, (*Or. post Red. in Sen.* c. ii.) the expression *modesti consules* is applied to magistrates who shrink from the idea of doing any thing in violation of the laws. (Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.)

4. *Judices.* The *assessores* of the prætor. Consult chap. ii. note 4.

5. *His igitur tabulis.* The student will observe the force of the pronoun *his* in this clause, referring to the great care and diligence with which the register of Metellus was kept.

6. *Nullam lituram,* &c. "You see no erasure in the name of Aulus Licinius." We have considered *in nomen,* with Ernesti, as equivalent here to *in nomine.* It may also be differently construed by supplying *inductam.* Cicero's argument is a simple but conclusive one. If the name of Archias was contained in the register of Metellus; if there was no erasure about this name; and if Metellus was so scrupulous a man as to have been rendered uneasy, on one occasion, by an actual erasure, and to have openly stated this in court before the prætor and his associate judges; all this forms the strongest possible argument in favour of Archias.

7. *Mediocribus multis,* &c. "On many individuals of merely moderate abilities, and having either no profession at all, or else some humble one."

8. *In Græcia.* Referring to Magna Græcia, in southern Italy, as appears at once from the names immediately after subjoined, *Rheginos, Locrenses,* &c., denoting communities in that quarter.

9. *Rheginos credo,* &c. "I am to take it for granted, that the inhabitants of Rhegium, or of Locri, or of Neapolis, or Tarentum, were unwilling to bestow that favour on this individual, though enjoying at the same time the highest reputation for talents, which they were accustomed to lavish on mere actors." The whole sentence is ironical, of which *credo* is the index. The favour alluded to is the right of citizenship.

10. *Scenicis artificibus.* Equivalent to *histrionibus.* So the Greeks

sometimes denominated actors, οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται and Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται. Compare Wesseling, ad Diod. Sic. iv. 5. vol. iii. p. 452. ed. Bip.

11. *Quid ! cum ceteri*, &c. Cicero asks, whether Archias can, with any justice, be deprived of his citizenship, who was actually enrolled in several cities of Magna Græcia, but preferred being regarded as a citizen of Heraclea, when so many foreigners have surreptitiously had themselves registered in these same cities not only subsequent to the Plautian, but also to the Papian law. They escape with impunity, whereas he who acted with perfect good faith is sought to be injured.

12. *Legem Papiam.* By the Papian law, named from its proposer, the tribune C. Papius, A. U. C. 688, in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, it was ordained that all foreigners should be expelled from the city: "*ut peregrini urbe pellerentur.*" In consequence of this enactment, many foreigners managed to have their names surreptitiously inserted in the registers of the free towns of Italy, as citizens of the same, by which means they evaded the law.

13. *In eorum municipiorum*, &c. Alluding to Rhegium, Locri, &c. These were now *municipia*, under the Julian law, but had been *civitates fœderatæ* when Archias obtained from them the rights of citizenship. Consult *Legal Index.*

14. *Irrepserint.* By clandestine means. Alluding most probably to the corruption of the magistrates who had charge of these registers.

15. *Census nostros*, &c. "You ask, forsooth, for the lists of our censors," *i. e.* you demand that the census lists be produced. Gratius maintained that the name of Archias was not upon the books of the censors. Cicero replies, that, at those times when the census was taken, Archias was absent from Rome with Lucullus, and that when he was present in Rome, no census for the year was made.

16. *Est enim obscurum.* "For it is, it seems, a fact not generally known." Ironical. — *Proximis censoribus.* "That, under the last censors." The censors referred to were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, A. U. C. 683.

17. *Hunc.* Referring to Archias.

18. *Superioribus.* "That under the censors immediately preceding the last." These were L. Marcius Philippus and M. Perperna, A. U. C. 667, after whom the census was for a long time intermitted.

19. *Cum eodem quæstore.* "With the same individual, then filling the office of quæstor."

20. *Primis*, &c. "That, under the first censors after he received the rights of citizenship." These were L. Julius Cæsar, and P. Licinius Crassus, A. U. C. 664.

21. *Nullam populi partem*, &c. "No part of the people was rated," *i. e.* no census was taken of any portion of the people. In consequence of no census having been taken on this occasion, Philippus and Perperna were chosen censors three years after, instead of five, the usual interval, in order to remedy the omission. The census had not been held, because the censors were too much occupied with the arrangement of eight new tribes, composed of foreigners who had just been admitted to the rights of Roman citizens. Archias, residing in Rome at the time, was consequently not rated.

22. *Sed quoniam census*, &c. "But still farther, since the mere entry on the books of the censors does not, of itself, establish the right of citizenship."

23. *Ita se jam tum*, &c. "Conducted himself, at that period, so much like a citizen, as to be able to have his name enrolled among them." After *ita* supply *ut censeri posset.*

24. *Iis temporibus*, &c. "At those very times when, as you allege, he was not, even in his own opinion, in the enjoyment of the rights of Roman citizens." More literally, "at those times, with reference to which (quoad *quæ*) you allege that he," &c. This construction of *quæ* as depending on *quoad*, or something equivalent understood, will save us the necessity of reading *queis* with Grævius, in place of *quæ*, or of supplying, with Ernesti, after *criminaris*, some such expression as *dicendo*, or *cum dicis.*

25. *Testamentum fecit*, &c. Cicero shows, that Archias, at the time alluded to, was actually a Roman citizen, from the three following circumstances: 1. From his making a will according to the Roman laws, which none but a Roman citizen could do. 2. From his succeeding to inheritances left by Roman citizens, which a foreigner could not do. 3. From his having obtained a recommendation to the state for good conduct.

26. *Et in beneficiis*, &c. "And his name was carried to the public treasury, in the list of the beneficiaries, by L. Lucullus the proconsul." Whenever any individual had distinguished himself in the public service, he was recommended by the magistrate, or governor, under whom he acted, to the government at home. A list, containing the names of such persons, was made out by the one who recommended them, and was deposited by him in the public treasury, or archives of the state. The persons thus noticed were called *beneficia* (i. e. *beneficiarii*), because *advantages* of some kind or other were always sure to be reaped by them. This honour, however, could of course only be enjoyed by Roman citizens, and hence Archias must have been one of the latter. (Consult, as regards the *beneficia* of the Romans, the remarks of Gronovius *de Pecun. Vet.* iii. 17., and Manutius *ad loc.*)

27. *Proconsule.* The common text has *prætore et consule*, for which we have given *proconsule* with Grævius. The reason of the change is simply this; the lists referred to in the text were made almost always by the provincial magistrates, and as one of the MSS. collated by Grævius has *P. R. consule* instead of *prætore et consule*, the change to *proconsule* seems a very rational one. Ernesti observes of it, "*Verissime Grævius corrigit Proconsule.*"

VI. 1. *Quære argumenta*, &c. "Seek for other proofs of Archias's not being a citizen, if you can find any. For never will he be refuted by any thing appearing either in his own conduct or that of his friends." The common text has *judicio*, for which we have given *indicio*, on the conjecture of Ilgen. — *Suo* refers to Archia's having fulfilled all the requisitions of the law, and *amicorum* to the conduct of Lucullus in particular, in having added the name of the poet to the list of the public beneficiaries. Nothing, argues Cicero, can be derived from these two sources unfavourable to the claim of Archias; but, on the contrary, every thing in support of it.

2. *Quia suppeditat nobis*, &c. "It is because he supplies us with that, by which both our minds can be refreshed after emerging from this din of the forum, and amid which our ears, stunned by the wrangling of ligitation, may begin to taste of repose." A beautiful allusion to the charms of literary society and leisure, after laborious

professional duties have been brought to their daily close. — *Ubi* is to be repeated with *et aures*, and takes a new meaning in this latter clause, being here equivalent to *in quo*, whereas in the beginning of the sentence it has the force of *a quo*, or rather the simple case of the instrument, *quo*.

3. *Suppetere nobis posse*, &c. "That we can have what to say," &c. — *Rerum*. "Of matters that present themselves," *i. e.* cases, subjects for pleading.

4. *Nisi excolamus*. "Unless we assiduously cultivate." — *Tantam contentionem*. "So long-continued exertion." More literally, "to be kept so long upon the stretch." A metaphor taken from the bending of a bow, or any thing of a pliable nature, which loses its pliability in some degree by being too long bent.

5. *Nisi relaxemus*. "Unless we unbend them." *Relaxo* is here directly opposed to *contentio*, and is elegantly employed for *reficio* or *recreo*. The cramping and narrowing effect of mere professional studies is very pithily alluded to in the well known saying, οἱ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτά, as well as in the δὶς κράμβη θάνατος.

6. *His studiis*. Referring to literary "pursuits." — *Ita se literis abdiderunt*. "Have buried themselves to such a degree amid literary studies." Cicero means, that they only are to be censured for their attachment to literary pursuits, who allow the world to reap no benefit from their labours; that in his case they form a source of advantage to his fellow-men, and one of the truest and purest delight to himself, calling off his mind from all the blandishments of pleasure.

7. *Ut nihil possint*, &c. "As to have been able neither to contribute any thing from these same studies to the common good, nor to bring forth any thing into the view of their fellow-men and the open light of day." *Adspectum* and *lucem* are here opposed to the retirement and comparative obscurity of the study.

8. *Ab nullius tempore aut commodo*. "From no man's danger or interests." *Tempus* is here elegantly used in the sense of *periculum*. Cicero uses the latter, a little farther on, in this very chapter, "*numquam amicorum periculis defuit*." The meaning here assigned to *tempus* is derived from another elegant usage in Cicero, by which the word in question is employed to signify the state or condition of an individual at any particular time, whether favourable or unfavourable. Hence arises its second meaning in Cicero, which is always controlled by the context, denoting in the present instance "danger," while in others it has the force of "interests," "advantage," &c. — Some editions have *commodum*, connecting it with what follows. This seems quite inferior.

9. *Otium meum*. "A regard for my own leisure," *i. e.* the wish to devote my moments of leisure to literary relaxation and repose.

10. *Ad suas res obeundas*. "For attending to their private affairs." — *Ad festos dies*, &c. "For celebrating festal days, and enjoying the public spectacles connected with them." Public spectacles, such as games, theatrical exhibitions, &c. formed an important part of festal celebrations.

11. *Tempestivis conviviis*. "To the revelries of the table." By *convivium tempestivum*, the Romans meant an entertainment which commenced before the usual time, and was continued late into the night, or prolonged till morning. The ordinary time for beginning the *cœna*

was the ninth hour or three o'clock in the afternoon in summer, and the tenth hour in winter. — In the expression *tempestivum convivium* some prefer *intempestivum*, as according better with the sense; the opposite, however, is successfully maintained by Grævius, Gronovius, Cellarius, Salmasius, and other critics.

12. *Aleæ.* "To gaming." All games of chance went under the general denomination of *alea*, and were forbidden by the Cornelian, Publician, and Titian laws, except at the Saturnalia in December. These laws, however, were not strictly observed.

13. *Pilæ.* "To ball-playing." This was a favourite exercise with the Romans, and their most distinguished men engaged in it.

14. *Ad hæc studia recolenda.* "For reviewing these studies of my earlier years." The allusion is to literary studies.

15. *Quod ex his studiis*, &c. "Because it is from these same studies, that this faculty of public speaking, which I cultivate, is estimated by others." Cicero means that eloquence receives its truest lustre from literary studies, and that the more one is attached to the latter, the more completely will he be regarded as having attained to the former. *Oratio et facultas* is here equivalent to *facultas orationis*. Some read *crescit* for *censetur*, but *censetur* is more elegant.

16. *Quantacumque est in me.* "In whatsoever degree it exists in me."

17. *Quæ si cui levior*, &c. "And if this appears to any one too trifling in its nature to be here alluded to by me, I certainly know from what fountain-head to derive those qualifications that are most important in their character." Cicero, fearing lest his previous remark might savour too much of vanity, subjoins this modest observation. If the faculty of public speaking which I possess appears to any, as no doubt it does, of too trifling and limited a nature for me to make any boast of it, still I know in what studies to find those aids to oratory which will enable me to attain to the truest eminence.

18. *Nam.* Cicero now proceeds to show, in most beautiful language, what are those aids, furnished by literary studies, which lead to eminence in oratory. They are, according to him, those principles of true wisdom, and that love for friends and country, which never fail to lead him who is governed by them to the fairest honours of eloquence.

19. *Multorum præceptis*, &c. The term *præceptis*, refers to the lessons of philosophy, and *literis* to the perusal of the poets, historians, &c.

20. *Magno opere expetendum.* "Deserving of being earnestly sought after." — *Honestatem.* "An honourable name."

21. *In ea autem persequenda.* "And that in its attainment." — *Parvi esse ducenda.* "Are to be regarded as comparatively trifling." *Parvi* is what the grammarians call the genitive of price or estimation.

22. *Dimicationes.* Referring here, and in what immediately follows, to the conspiracy of Catiline.

23. *Sed pleni omnes sunt libri*, &c. "Full, however, are all the books, full are the words of the wise, full is antiquity of great examples; examples that would all lie hid in obscurity, did not the light of letters approach to illumine them." The love of country, argues Cicero, is fostered by the love of literature, for it is the latter that has rescued from oblivion those fair examples of devotion to country and to friends, with which all antiquity abounds.

24. *Sapientium voces.* Analogous to our English expression, "the voice of the wise," and referring to the writings of the philosophers.

25. *Nisi literarum lumen accederet.* This same idea is very beautifully touched upon by Horace, *Ode* iv. 8. 13. *seqq.*

26. *Quam multas imagines,* &c. "How many delineations of the bravest of men, wrought out not only for our contemplation, but also for us to imitate, have both the Greek and Latin writers left behind them!" *Imagines* refers to the delineations of moral character.

27. *Mihi proponens.* "Placing before my view." — *Animum et mentem meam,* &c. "Strove to mould my feelings, and my thoughts, by reflecting on the characters of those illustrious men."

VII. 1. *Illi ipsi summi viri,* &c. "Were those great men themselves, whose merits have been handed down to remembrance by the aid of letters, versed in that learning which you extol by your encomiums?" Literally, "learned in that learning." The allusion is to liberal and polite acquirements.

2. *Difficile est hoc,* &c. Cicero will not undertake to say, that all the eminent men alluded to by him were trained up in the paths of literature. On the contrary, he acknowledges, that many of them were self-taught men, and owed their success, in a great degree, to the unaided force of natural talents. Yet he is convinced, that these native powers would have produced still fairer results under the fostering influence of liberal studies.

3. *Sed tamen est certum,* &c. "And yet what I am going to answer may be relied upon with certainty," *i. e.* is most certain.

4. *Excellenti animo ac virtute.* "Of superior ability and merit." — *Et sine doctrina,* &c. "And that without the aid of learning, by the almost divine influence of nature itself, they have become, by their own exertions, discreet and influential men."

5. *Naturæ.* Referring to natural abilities. — *Moderatos.* Compare the explanation of Döring: "*Moderatos,* h. e. *temperantes, continentes, qui animum ad normam recti moderari et temperare possunt.*"

6. *Ad laudem atque virtutem,* &c. "That natural abilities, without the aid of learning, have oftener availed more for the purposes of fame and of virtue," *i. e.* for establishing a reputation for what is honourable and virtuous.

7. *Atque idem ego contendo,* &c. "And yet I at the same time contend, that when to natural abilities of an exalted and brilliant character there are added the directing influence, as it were, and moulding power of learning, then something or other great and extraordinary is accustomed to result." — *Ratio* refers to the method which learning generally imparts, and by which our mental movements become systematised. — *Illud nescio quid.* Literally, "That I know not what." Something or other. Compare, as regards the meaning of Cicero in this passage, the remarks in note 2.

8. *Ex hoc esse,* &c. "That of this number was." *Contendo* extends its force to this and the succeeding clauses.

9. *Africanum.* The younger Africanus. Consult *Historical Index,* and compare Cicero (*de Off.* i. 32.): "*Hic idem Africanus eloquentia cumulavit bellicam gloriam.*"

10. *C. Lælium.* Well known from Cicero's treatise *de Amicitia.* — *L. Furium.* L. Furius was consul A. U. C. 617, and, according to Cicero (*Brut.* xxviii.), "*perbene Latine locutus est, et literatius quam ceteri.*"

11. *Moderatissimos homines*, &c. " The most discreet and continent of men." Consult note 5.

12. *Et illis temporibus doctissimum.* " And a very learned man for those times."

13. *M. Catonem illum senem.* " Marcus Cato, the elder." More commonly known as Cato the censor, and the great grandfather of Cato Uticensis.

14. *Ad percipiendam*, &c. " As regarded the knowledge and practice of virtue." — *Adjuvarentur.* For *adjuti fuissent.*

15. *Quod si*, &c. " But even if so great advantages as these were shown not to result." — *Hanc animi adversionem*, &c. " You would regard this employment of the mind as most worthy the dignity of a thinking being, and most liberal in its character." Compare, as regards *humanissimam*, chap. i. note 16., and also the explanation of Döring: " *Humanissimam*, h. e. *homine dignissimam et honestissimam.*"

16. *Nam ceteræ*, &c. " For other mental employments are not suited either to every period, or to every age or place; these studies, however, foster our earlier years, afford delight to our declining ones." — The MSS. all agree in reading *agunt* for *alunt*, but we have given *alunt* with Lambinus, Manutius, Orellius, and others as more in accordance with the spirit of the passage. Ernesti has *agunt*, and explains it by *acuunt*, i. e. *excitant.*

17. *Delectant domi*, &c. " They impart gratification at home, they embarrass not abroad, they are with us during the vigils of the night, they roam with us in foreign lands, they are our companions amid the retirement of rural scenes." — *Non impediunt foris.* Literary studies form no impediment to the successful discharge of public duties, but rather an aid. — *Rusticantur.* The attachment of the Romans to a country life, and their resorting to their villas during the heats of summer, are too well known to need comment.

VIII. 1. *Quod si ipsi*, &c. " And even if we could neither ourselves prosecute them, nor taste the pleasures they afford by our own perceptions." *Attingere* is here used in the sense of *tractare.*

2. *Tam animo agresti ac duro fuit.* " Was possessed of a bosom so rude and so devoid of all feeling." *Agresti* is here equivalent to *inhumano, i. e.* if the term be allowed, " unhumanised."

3. *Roscii.* Roscius, the celebrated actor. Consult *Historical Index.*

4. *Qui cum esset*, &c. " Who, although he died advanced in years, yet seemed, on account of his surpassing skill and grace, to have been altogether undeserving of death," *i. e.* to have been worthy of living for ever. *Venustatem* is here equivalent to " *elegantem corporis agilitatem, concinnos corporis motus.*"

5. *Corporis motu.* " By the mere movements of his person." — *Nos animorum*, &c. " Shall we treat with neglect the movements of the mind, surpassing all belief, and the rapid play of talent ?" *i. e.* shall we praise Roscius for the mere movements of his person, and neglect Archias when so much more conspicuous for the movements of the mind? — Ernesti thinks that we ought to read *hos* for *nos*; but the latter is far more emphatic.

6. *Utar enim vestra benignitate.* " For I will avail myself a little farther of your indulgence," *i. e.* I will trespass a little longer upon your attention. — *In hoc novo genere dicendi.* Compare chap. ii. note 2.

7. *Cum literam scripsisset nullam.* "Although he had not committed a single character to writing." *i. e.* without using his pen.

8. *Dicere ex tempore.* "Uttering on the spur of the moment." Archias, in this, resembled the Italian improvisatori. —*Revocatum.* "When requested to repeat." Literally, "when recalled," a metaphor borrowed from the custom of theatres, when an actor is recalled by the audience, and requested to repeat his part.

9. *Commutatis verbis atque sententiis.* "With a total change of words and ideas."

10. *Accurate cogitateque.* "With care and on reflection." — *Ut ad veterum*, &c. "As to have attained to the praise bestowed on the writers of old," *i. e.* to have equalled the productions of the best days of Grecian literature.

11. *Atqui sic accepimus.* "Why, we have received this, *i. e.* have learnt this. Ilgen reads *atque* on conjecture. But *atqui* suits better what precedes, and is more spirited.

12. *Ceterarum rerum studia*, &c. "That the successful pursuit of other matters depends on acquirements, and precepts, and art; that the poet, on the contrary, derives his power from nature herself, and is roused into action by the energies of the mind, and breathed into, as it were, by a kind of sacred influence."

13. *Inflari.* Compare the Greek ἐνθουσιάζω, ἐμπνέω, &c., as applied to poets, and also the language of Ovid (*Fast.* vi. 5.): —

"*Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo;*
Impetus hic sacræ semina mentis habet."

14. *Suo jure.* "By a right peculiarly his own," *i. e.* on account of his own eminence as a votary of the muse.

15. *Sanctos.* "A hallowed race."

16. *Quod quasi*, &c. "Because they seem to come recommended to us in the light as it were of a rich favour from the gods." The Latin writers, in order to convey an emphatic meaning, frequently join two words, that are exactly or nearly synonymous, in the compass of the same sentence, as, in the present instance, *donum* and *munus*. Some writers, indeed, on Latin style, endeavour to draw a distinction between these two terms, making *donum* a pure gift, no obligation being implied on the part of the giver, and *munus*, a present which usage or obligation requires. (Crombie, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 112.) But no such distinction operates in the present case, and certainly none in the following passage of Ovid (*A. A.* iii. 653.): —

"*Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque Deosque.*
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis."

In the Pandects, also, *donum* and *munus* are frequently joined with each other, as, for example, lib. xxxviii. tit. 1. leg. 7. 37. 47. Ulpian (*L.* 194. *D. de Verb. Signif.*), however, insists, that *donum* is the generic term, and *munus* the special.

17. *Humanissimos homines.* "Men most conspicuous for the culture of liberal knowledge." — *Nulla barbaria.* "No barbarous nation."

18. *Saxa et solitudines*, &c. "Rocks and deserts respond to the voice of the bard." A beautiful allusion to echo, as the applause of inanimate nature. — *Bestiæ sæpe immanes*, &c. "Savage beasts are often swayed by the influence of song, and stop in their career." An allusion to the fable of Orpheus. Compare Horace (*Od.* iii. 11. 13.): "*Tu potes tigres comitesque silvas*," &c.

19. *Instituti rebus optimis.* "Trained up by the best systems of instruction," *i. e.* who have enjoyed the best educations.

20. *Colophonii.* "The inhabitants of Colophon." One of the Greek cities of Ionia. For this and the other names that occur in the sentence, consult *Geographical Index.*

21. *Chii suum vindicant.* "The Chians claim him for their own." The inhabitants of the island of Chios, now *Scio.*

22. *Salaminii repetunt,* &c. "The people of Salamis demand him back, the Smyrneans, however, assure us that he is theirs." The verb *repeto,* as here employed, is remarkably lively and striking. The common line, respecting the cities that claimed the honour of being Homer's natal place, is as follows: "*Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ.*" There is no agreement, however, among writers, as regards these names. Some for Salamis substitute Cumæ, others for Salamis and Rhodes have Pylos and Ithaca. Antipater of Sidon has left the following epigram in the Anthology:—

"Ἑπτὰ πόλεις μάρναντο σοφὴν διὰ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφὼν, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι."

Leo Allatius, himself a native of Chios, in a work written on the subject of Homer's native country, argues strongly in favour of Chios. One of the main supports, however, of this theory, namely the line in the Hymn to Apollo, where mention is made of the "blind man" who "dwells in rocky Chios," is now removed, that poem not being Homer's. Of all the places referred to, Smyrna appears to have the best claim.

23. *Delubrum ejus,* &c. "They have dedicated a temple to him." Literally, "a shrine of his." Consult the learned work of Gisbert Cuper (Amst. 1683. 4to.), on a marble which has come down to us with a representation on it of Homer's Apotheosis.

24. *Contendunt.* Weiske thinks that *de eo,* or some similar words have been dropped from this clause. This supposition seems hardly necessary, considering all that precedes.

IX. 1. *Alienum.* "A mere stranger." Referring to Homer. — *Hunc vivum.* "This one while still alive." Alluding to Archias.

2. *Et voluntate et legibus.* "Both from inclination and by the laws." The laws of Rome respecting citizenship. — *Repudiamus.* "Are we rejecting." Some editions have *repudiabimus,* but the present is more emphatic, and is sanctioned by the greater number of manuscripts.

3. *Omne studium atque omne ingenium.* "All his zeal and all his talent."

4. *Et Cimbricas res,* &c. "He both, when a young man, treated of the operations against the Cimbri," *i. e.* the war with that invading host. — *Attigit.* The verb *attingo* means, to touch slightly upon, to engage in a thing in part, and hence it has been supposed that Archias merely commenced a poem on the Cimbric war, especially as Cicero, in the 11th chapter of this oration, uses *attigit* and *inchoavit* together.

5. *Ipsi illi C. Mario.* "To the celebrated Caius Marius himself." The conqueror of the Cimbri. The pronoun *ille* has here the force of the Greek article when emphatic.

6. *Qui durior,* &c. "Who seemed cast in too rugged a mould to favour these studies," *i. e.* to patronise or take any interest in literary men.

7. *Tam aversus a Musis.* "So averse to the society of the Muses."

i. e. so great a foe to literary pursuits; possessing a mind so uncongenial to literary studies. Compare the Greek ἄμουσος.

8. *Qui non mandari*, &c. "As not readily to allow the eternal heralding of his labours to be consigned to verse," *i. e.* as not readily to allow the poet to consign his fame to the immortality of verse.

9. *Themistoclem illum.* "That the well-known Themistocles."

10. *Quod acroama.* "What performer." *Acroama* properly denotes any thing agreeable to hear (from the Greek ἀκροάμαι), a musical symphony of players, &c. It is then, as in the present instance, taken to signify a musician or performer. Compare Cicero (*pro Sext.* c. liv.): "*Ipse ille maximus ludius, non solum spectator, sed actor et acroama.*" So Suetonius (*Aug.* lxxiv.): "*Et aut acroamata aut histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat.*" Ernesti, in an excursus to this latter passage, even goes so far as to assert, that, among Latin writers, *acroama* is always used of persons and never of things. This position, however, is an erroneous one. Still his explanation of the word itself may not be amiss in this place: "*Acroamata, qui sive in theatris, sive in convivio, voluptatis causa audiuntur; musici omnes qui cantu nervorum, tibiarum, et vocum, delectant aures.*"

11. *A quo sua virtus*, &c. "By whom his merits might be best celebrated." The love of glory was the ruling passion of this illustrious Athenian. Compare, as regards the anecdote here related of him, the language of Valerius Maximus (viii. 14. 5.): *Themistocles, theatrum petens, cum interrogaretur, cujus vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima, dixit; ejus a quo artes meæ canentur optime.*"

12. *Item eximie*, &c. "Was, for a like reason, strongly attached to Lucius Plotius." Ernesti regards Plotius as a poet; but Weiske, with less probability, makes him a rhetorician, and identical with the one named in Suetonius (*de Clar. Rhet.* c. ii.)

13. *Mithridaticum vero bellum*, &c. "The whole Mithridatic war, however, a great and a difficult contest, and one carried on with very varied success by land and sea, has been described in verse by this my friend." The particle *vero* is here employed as denoting opposition to what precedes. The exploits just alluded to were great and splendid, it is true, but the muse of Archias selected a still nobler theme. — The Mithridatic war was carried on by the Romans, against Mithridates the 7th, surnamed Eupator, king of Pontus. It was an important and difficult contest, owing to the great talents and varied resources of Mithridates. The war was entered upon by Sylla, who was followed by Lucullus, and it was brought to a close by Pompey.

14. *Qui libri.* "And this poem." The term *libri* refers literally to the "books" of which the poem in question was composed. — *Illustrant.* "Sheds lustre upon."

15. *Populus enim Romanus*, &c. "For the Roman people, with Lucullus for their commander, laid open Pontus, although hitherto strongly defended by both the resources of its monarch and the nature itself of the country." Of the merits of Lucullus, in this war, Cicero treats at large in the 8th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law. — As regards the force of *aperuit* in the present passage, compare the oration just referred to (l. c.): "*Patefactumque nostris legionibus Pontum, qui ante Populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset.*"

16. *Non maxima manu.* "With no very large force." The Roman infantry, on this occasion, consisted of about 10,000 men. There were

also about a thousand slingers. The whole cavalry were likewise present, which Appian makes 500 in number. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. xxvii. — Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* c. lxxxv.)

17. *Armeniorum.* The battle was fought with Tigranes, king of Armenia, and son-in-law of Mithridates. His army is said to have been 250,000 infantry, and 50,000 cavalry. (Appian, *l. c.*) According to the ancient writers, Tigranes ridiculed the small number of the Roman troops, remarking, "if they come as ambassadors, there are too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* l. c. — Appian, *ubi supra.* — Memnon. *Hist.* c. lvii. p. 85. ed. Orell.)

18. *Populi Romani,* &c. "To the Roman people belongs the praise, that the very friendly city of the Cyziceni was rescued," &c. *i. e.* the praise of having rescued. Compare the 8th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law; and consult *Geographical Index* for an account of Cyzicus.

19. *Ex omni impetu regio,* &c. "From every attack on the part of the monarch with whom we were warring, and from the devouring jaws of the old war," *i. e.* from the fury of a formidable monarch, and from all the disasters of a merciless war. The king referred to is Mithridates. — *Ore ac faucibus.* A metaphor borrowed from the appearance presented by a furious monster about to spring upon its prey.

20. *Nostra semper feretur,* &c. "The fleet of the enemy sunk and its leaders slain, Lucius Lucullus contending on our side, and that incredible naval conflict off Tenedos, will always be spoken of and celebrated as our own peculiar source of praise," *i. e.* as a memorable source of praise to the Roman arms. With *nostra* repeat *laus* from the previous sentence. We have preferred this to the very harsh construction of Ernesti: "Nostra *maxime cum* pugna navalis: *per συζυγίαν cum* classis *jungitur.*"

21. *Nostra sunt tropæa,* &c. "These are *our* trophies, *our* monuments, *our* triumphs," *i. e.* peculiarly our own; peculiarly glorious to the Roman name.

22. *Feruntur.* "Are spread abroad." Equivalent to *differuntur,* or *dissipantur.*

23. *Africano superiori.* "To the elder Africanus." Commonly called Africanus Major (*scil.* natu). — *Noster Ennius.* Ennius, although a native of Rudiæ in Calabria, yet obtained by his merits the freedom of Rome, and became, in the strictest sense, by his metrical annals, the national poet of the Roman people. Hence the expression *noster,* "our own," in the text.

24. *Itaque etiam,* &c. "And hence he is even thought to be placed of marble on the sepulchre of the Scipios," *i. e.* the marble statue, which we see along with others on the tomb of the Scipios, is thought to be that of Ennius. Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "*Quod simulacrum marmoreum est in monumento Africani, id putant vulgo esse Ennii.*" For *Africani,* however, Ernesti ought to have written *Scipionum,* as will appear from the next note.

25. *In sepulchro Scipionum.* We must not render this, "*in* the sepulchre of the Scipios," but "on the sepulchre," &c. Compare Livy, xxxviii. 56.: *Nam et Literni monumentum* (Africani) *monumentoque statua superimposita fuit, quam tempestate dejectam nuper vidimus ipsi. Et Romæ extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuæ sunt:*

quarum duæ P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse, tertia poetæ Q. Ennii." Consult also Plin. *H. N.* vii. 30. Solin. c. vii. Val. Max. viii. 14. Visconti thought he had discovered this tomb not far from the Capenian gate, for the particulars of which discovery Maio refers to the *Antologia Romana*, vol. vii. p. 377.

26. *Ejus.* We have adopted the very neat emendation of Ilgen, as referring to Ennius. The common text has *iis*, which had already before been suspected by Guilielmius and Ernesti, who thought that something had been dropped from the text. There is nothing in the previous sentence to which *iis* can refer.

27. *Ipsi.* Referring as well to Africanus, as to the individuals mentioned immediately after, Cato, the Maximi, &c., all of whom were lauded in the poetry of Ennius. — By "the Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, are meant in fact only three individuals, Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Claudius Marcellus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, all of whom distinguished themselves in the second Punic war. The plural form is adopted for emphasis. Consult *Historical Index*.

28. *Hujus proavus Cato.* "Cato the great-grandfather of him who now hears me," or "of him who is here present." The reference in *proavus* is to Cato the censor. *Hujus* refers to *Cato Uticensis*, or, as he is more correctly called, Cato the younger, who was present in court, and perhaps one of the *judices*.

29. *Adjungitur.* "Is thereby imparted."

X. 1. *Illum.* Referring to Ennius. — *Rudinum hominem.* "Although a native of Rudiæ." Rudiæ, the natal place of Ennius, was a city of Calabria, in Magna Græcia. Consult *Geographical Index*.

2. *Hunc Heracleensem.* "This Heraclean." Referring to Archias. Cicero means to contrast the comparative insignificance of Rudiæ with the splendour of Heraclea, whence Archias derived his claim of citizenship.

3. *Multis civitatibus.* Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Tarentum.

4. *In hac.* "In this one of ours." — *Legibus.* Referring, in particular, to the law of Silvanus and Carbo.

5. *Nam si quis,* &c. Cicero here meets an objection, if it deserves the name, which some might perhaps urge, that Ennius was honoured because he wrote in Latin verse, whereas Archias composed in Greek.

6. *Minorem gloriæ fructum percipi.* "That a less abundant harvest of glory is reaped." — *Græca.* "Grecian productions."

7. *Latina suis finibus,* &c. "Whereas Latin works are confined within their natural limits, and these contracted indeed." By the natural limits of Latin works Cicero means the confines of Latium, where the Latin language was spoken. In Upper Italy the Etruscan and Gallic dialects prevailed; in Lower Italy, Greek. In a later age, Roman literature became of course more widely disseminated.

8. *Orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur.* "Are only bounded by the limits of the world," *i. e.* have reached the farthest limits of earth, have had the whole world for their theatre.

9. *Quo manuum,* &c. "That, whither the weapons wielded by our hands have reached, thither also our glory and our fame may penetrate."

10. *Quod cum,* &c. "Because, while these things are full of glory for the people themselves," &c. — *Tum iis certe,* &c. "So does all this assuredly form the strongest incitement," &c.

11. *Quam multos scriptores*, &c. "How many historians of his exploits is Alexander the Great said to have had in his train." Fabricius (*Bibl. Græc.* iii. 18.) gives a long list of writers who treated of the history and exploits of Alexander, of whom only a few have come down to us.

12. *In Sigeo.* "On the promontory of Sigeum." Sigeum and Rhœteum were the two famous promontories of the Troad. Consult *Geographical Index.*

13. *Ad Achillis tumulum.* According to Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* c. xv.), as soon as Alexander landed at the Troad, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon the tomb of Achilles with oil, and ran round it naked with his friends; after which he placed a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely fortunate in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to proclaim his praise."

14. *O fortunate adolescens*, &c. "Ah! youthful warrior, favourite of fortune, in having found a Homer as the herald of thy fame." — *Qui* is joined with the subjunctive *inveneris*, as referring to the reason, &c. Literally, "since thou didst find." Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. ii. note 14.

15. *Ilias illa.* "That Iliad." *Illa* here takes the place of the article in Greek, and is strongly emphatical.

16. *Noster hic Magnus*, &c. "Did not our own Pompey the Great." Literally, "this Pompey the Great of ours."

17. *Theophanem.* Theophanes was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos. We have only a few epigrams of his remaining. He is mentioned in *Or. pro Balb.* c. xxv., *Ep. ad Att.* v. 11., and elsewhere.

18. *Et nostri illi*, &c. "And did not those countrymen of ours, brave men it is true, yet of rustic habits, and mere soldiers, animated by a certain secret charm of glory, approve of that act by loud shouts, as if they were sharers of the same praise with their commander?" The Roman armies were generally recruited from the country. Hence the epithet *rustici* here applied to them, which carries with it the idea of something rude and unpolished. For the more general meaning of the term, consult Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

19. *Itaque, credo*, &c. "Wherefore, Archias, I suppose, if he had not been a Roman citizen, according to our laws, would not have been able to bring it to pass that he should be presented with the rights of citizenship by some commander of ours!" We have changed *potuit*, which is the commonly received reading, to *potuisset*, on the suggestion of Ernesti, as *repudiasset* follows. The MSS. often have *potuit* as a contraction for *potuisset*, and hence the error may have arisen.

20. *Sulla, cum Hispanos*, &c. "Sylla, I suppose, when presenting natives of Spain and of Gaul with the rights of citizenship, would have refused Archias seeking the same favour," *i. e.* had he sought, &c. Schütz omits this second *credo*, and places a mark of interrogation after *repudiasset.* The alteration is quite unnecessary.

21. *Quem nos*, &c. "That Sylla whom we once saw in open assembly, when a wretched poet, from the lower order, had presented unto him a petition, craving some recompence for having composed a short poem in his praise, merely in verses alternately long and short." Literally, "in verses alternately somewhat longer than the previous one," *i. e.* in the

alternating hexameter and pentameter. The term *epigramma* is here employed in its *ancient* signification (not in that of our modern *epigram*), as denoting a short piece of poetry, commonly in about four lines, occasionally exceeding that number, and in alternate hexameter and pentameter verse.

22. *Libellum.* The term *libellus* properly means a written application, folded in the form of a *small book*, whence the name. In the present instance it denotes an humble petition for some mark of favour, and the idea of humility on the part of the applicant is still further expressed by the verb *subjecisset.*

23. *Ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat.* Döring thinks that this refers to the effects of proscribed persons.

24. *Qui sedulitatem,* &c. "Would not he, who thought the zeal of a bad poet worthy nevertheless of some recompence, have eagerly sought to honour the genius of this one, and his ability in composition as well as the rich stores of his intellect?"

25. *Neque per Lucullos.* The two Luculli were cousins to Metellus Pius. The father of the latter, Metellus Numidicus, was brother to the mother of the Luculli.

26. *De suis rebus scribi.* "Of having his actions commemorated."

27. *Cordubæ.* Corduba, now *Cordova,* was a city of Hispania Bætica. Consult *Geographical Index.*

28. *Pingue quiddam,* &c. "Though uttering something in dull and barbarous strain." *Pingue* obtains its meaning of "dulness" from the idea of mental inertness being always, in some degree, associated with that of grossness of body. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 4.

XI. 1. *Sed præ nobis ferendum.* "But must be openly acknowledged." Equivalent to *aperte profitendum.*

2. *Trahimur omnes,* &c. "We are all drawn onward by a love of praise, and the best of us are most powerfully influenced by a passion for glory." *Optimus quisque,* literally, "each best person."

3. *Ipsi philosophi.* The common text has *ipsi illi philosophi,* but we have rejected *illi* with Schütz, as it would not sound well before *illis* in the next clause, and is, moreover, not required by the sense.

4. *Etiam illis libellis,* &c. "Even inscribe their names in the very treatises which they compose on the contempt of glory." More literally, "on glory as deserving of contempt," *i. e.* on the propriety of contemning glory. The idea here expressed is given in almost the same language in *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. — *Libellis.* The term *libellus* here denotes "*a little book,*" *i. e.* a short work or treatise.

5. *In eo ipso,* &c. "In the very case in which they affect to despise all praise and renown, they actually wish themselves to be talked of and mentioned." We have adopted *se* before *nominari,* with Weiske, from Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 7.), who cites this passage of Cicero. The common text has merely *ac nominari.*

6. *Decimus quidem Brutus.* This individual signalised himself by his successes in Spain. Compare Vell. Paterc. ii. 5., and consult *Historical Index.*

7. *Attii, amicissimi sui,* &c. "Adorned the approaches to the temples and monuments which commemorated his exploits, with the verses of Attius, his most intimate friend." Attius, or, as the name is otherwise written, Accius, was a tragic poet, of whose productions only a few

fragments remain. According to Valerius Maximus (viii. 14. 2.), Brutus erected a temple with the spoils he had taken from the foe.

8. *Fulvius.* M. Fulvius Nobilior, who took the poet Ennius along with him into Ætolia. (*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 2.) Consult *Historical Index* for both names.

9. *Non dubitavit*, &c. " Hesitated not to consecrate to the Muses the spoils of Mars." By *manubiæ* are meant those of the spoils which the commander set apart to defray the expense of erecting some monument of the victory. The expression *Martis* (for *belli*) is a very elegant one, standing as it does in direct opposition to *Musis*. It is not known what act, on the part of Fulvius, is here referred to, or what memorial he erected.

10. *Prope armati.* " Almost with arms in their hands." — *Togati.* " Arrayed in the robes of peace." The *toga* was the civic robe or gown.

11. *A Musarum honore*, &c. " To be averse from honouring the Muses and bestowing safety on their votaries."

12. *Jam me vobis indicabo.* " I will now lay open to you my own secret feeling," *i. e.* I will unbosom myself unto you. — *De meo quodam amore gloriæ.* " Respecting a certain passion for glory by which I myself am influenced."

13. *Quas res.* Referring to his having crushed the conspiracy of Catiline. — *Vobiscum simul.* The allusion here is extremely adroit.

14. *Attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit.* " This one has touched upon and begun to treat of it in verse." *Attigit*, when placed, as in the present instance, in conjunction with *inchoavit*, refers not to any slight handling of a subject, but rather to the making of a beginning merely.

15. *Hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum.* " I have exhorted him to complete the poem." In many MSS., and early editions, we find *hortavi*, at which Ernesti very justly expresses his surprise. The verb *hortor*, it is true, may have been used by the early writers in an active form, as many of the deponents are, but certainly this was not the custom in the age of Cicero. The ancient annotator in the Ambrosian MS. reads *adoravi*, and asserts that this was used in the sense of *hortatus sum* by Cicero. " *Hoc verbum* adoravi *significat cohortatus sum.* Adoravit *autem orare et petere significat.*" This may all very well be, but it is, nevertheless, not the custom with Cicero, and we have, therefore, preferred the reading in the text.

16. *Quid est, quod.* " What reason is there why." Literally, what is there on account of which." With *quod* supply *propter*.

17. *Si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum.* " If the mind had no presentiment of the future." — *Regionibus.* " Limits." — *Terminaret.* " It were to bound."

18. *Nec se frangeret.* " It would neither break down its powers." Compare the remark of Döring : " Frangi *eleganter dicuntur laboribus, qui omnes vires in iis perferendis consumunt.*"

19. *Nunc insidet*, &c. " On the contrary, there dwells in all the noblest bosoms a kind of generous impulse."

20. *Non cum vitæ tempore*, &c. " That the remembrance of our name is not to be sent away into oblivion along with the period of our mortal existence, but is to be made equal with all posterity." We have retained *dimittendam*, the reading of the common text. Lambinus conjectures *dimetiendam*, which Schütz violently alters into *commetiendam*.

XII. 1. *An vero tam parvi*, &c. "Shall we, indeed, who are engaged in public affairs, and amid these perils of life, and heavy labours, appear to be all possessed of so little elevation of spirits, as, after having drawn even to the last period of our lives, not one tranquil and peaceful breath, to imagine that every thing connected with us is destined to perish with our frames?" *i. e.* as, after having during the whole of our lives enjoyed not one moment of tranquil repose, to imagine that death is to close the scene for ever, and that no recompence awaits us amid the praises of posterity.

2. *An, cum statuas*, &c. Cicero appears here to have had in view the fine passage of Isocrates (*Evag.* c. xxx.): Ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα, καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας· πολὺ μέντοι πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, κ. τ. λ.

3. *Consiliorum relinquere*, &c. "Ought we not to be much more desirous of leaving behind us a delineation of our thoughts and our virtues, traced out and perfected by the most eminent geniuses of our day?" — All the editions before Ernesti's have *nonne multo*, for which he very correctly reads *non multo*, inasmuch as *an* precedes.

4. *Jam tum in gerendo.* "At the very time I was performing them."

5. *Hæc vero*, &c. "Whether this remembrance, indeed, is destined, after death, to be far away from all consciousness on my part, or whether, as the wisest of men have thought, it will continue to exercise an influence on some portion of my being, I certainly now, indeed, delight myself with the reflection and the hope that it may be so." — *Hæc* refers to *memoriam* in the previous sentence, and denotes the remembrance of Cicero by his fellow-men, and posterity.

6. *Ad aliquam mei*, &c. The common text has *animi* after *aliquam*, which makes *mei* a possessive pronoun. It is omitted, however, in some MSS., and rejected by Beck, Schütz, and others.

7. *Pudore eo*, &c. "Of that degree of modest merit, the existence of which you see plainly proved, as well by the high rank of his friends, as by the long continuance of their intimacy: and of a genius as elevated as it is right that his should be regarded, from your seeing him, in consequence, eagerly sought after by individuals of the highest order of talents." — Compare, as regards the first part of this sentence, the explanation of Döring: "*quem quidem* (sc. *pudorem*) *vere ei inesse, argumento vobis esse potest, quod viri summi et gravissimi non solum junxerunt cum eo amicitiam, sed eandem quoque per longos annos continuarunt.*

8. *Vetustate.* Although nearly all the MSS. have *venustate*, still the reading *vetustate* is so much superior, and so peculiarly adapted to the context, that Ernesti and the best editors have not hesitated to receive it. The advocates for *venustate* make it equivalent to *morum elegantia*, but Döring very justly asks, "*quomodo morum elegantia aliorum pudorem cujusdam comprobare potest?*"

9. *Id.* Supply *suum ingenium.* "That genius of his."

10. *Quæ beneficio legis*, &c. "Which is based upon the privilege granted by an express law," &c. He means the privilege of citizenship as granted by the law of Silvanus and Carbo.

11. *Auctoritate municipii.* Referring to Heraclea.

12. *Humana.* "On the part of men." The recommendation of men arises from the poets having celebrated in verse their fame and achievements. — *Divina.* "On the part of the gods." The gods will

intercede in his behalf, because they inspired him with poetic fervour, and hence he is under their special protection.

13. *Domesticis periculis.* Occasioned by the conspiracy of Catiline. — *Æternum se*, &c. Referring to the completion of his poem, already commenced, on the subject of Cicero's consulship.

14. *Est eo numero, qui.* "Is of the number of those, who," &c. *i. e.* a poet. — *In vestram fidem.* "Under your protection."

15. *Humanitate vestra.* "By your kindness." — *Acerbitate violatus.* "Injured by your rigour."

16. *De causa.* "In relation to the merits of the case." — *Simpliciterque.* "And plainly," *i. e.* without any attempt at oratorical display. *Probata esse omnibus.* "Have been approved of by you all."

17. *Non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine.* "In accordance with the usage neither of the bar, nor of public trials." He refers to his eulogium on letters and literary men.

18. *Et communiter*, &c. "And the nature of his avocation in general."

19. *Ab eo, qui*, &c. "By him who presides at this trial I am sure they have," *i. e.* been taken in good part. — His brother Quintus Cicero presided as prætor. Consult chap. ii. note 3. It remains but to add, that the eloquence of Cicero was successful.

ORATION FOR M. MARCELLUS.

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1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero in behalf of Marcus Marcellus."—This is not so much a speech in defence of Marcellus, as a panegyric on Julius Cæsar, for having granted the pardon of the former at the intercession of the senate. Marcellus had been one of the most violent opponents of the views of Cæsar. He had recommended in the senate, that he should be deprived of the province of Gaul: he had insulted the magistrates of one of Cæsar's new-founded colonies, and had been present at Pharsalia on the side of Pompey. After that battle he retired to Mitylene, where he was obliged to remain, being one of his adversaries to whom the conqueror refused to be reconciled. The senate, however, one day, when Cæsar was present, with a united voice, and in an attitude of supplication, having implored his clemency in favour of Marcellus, and their request having been granted, Cicero, though he had resolved to preserve eternal silence, being moved by the occasion, delivered, in this oration, one of the highest-strained encomiums that has ever been pronounced.

In the first part he extols the military exploits of Cæsar; but shows that his clemency to Marcellus was more glorious than any of his other actions, as it depended entirely on himself, while fortune and his army had their share in the events of war. In the second part, he endeavours to dispel the suspicions which, it appears, Cæsar still entertained of the hostile intentions of Marcellus, and takes occasion to assure the dictator that his life was most dear and valuable to all, since on it depended the tranquillity of the state, and the hopes of the restoration of the commonwealth. (Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 339.)

This oration, which Middleton declares to be superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity, continued to be not only of undisputed authenticity, but one of Cicero's most admired productions, till Wolf, in the preface and notes to a new edition of it, printed in 1802, attempted to show that it was a spurious production, totally unworthy of the orator whose name it bears, and that it was written by some declaimer, soon after the Augustan age, not as an imposition on the public, but as an exercise; according to the practice of the rhetoricians, who were wont to choose, as a theme, some subject on which Cicero had spoken. In his Letters to Atticus, Cicero says, that he had returned thanks to Cæsar, *pluribus verbis*. This Middleton translates, "a long speech;" but Wolf alleges, it commonly means a few words, and never can be interpreted to denote a full oration, such as that which we now possess, for Mar-

cellus. That Cicero did not deliver a long or formal speech, is evident, he contends, from the testimony of Plutarch, who mentions, in his life of Cicero, that a short time afterwards, when the orator was about to plead for Ligarius, Cæsar asked, how it happened that he had not heard Cicero speak for so long a period; which would have been absurd if he had heard him, a few months before, pleading for Marcellus. Being an extemporaneous effusion, called forth by an unforeseen occasion, it could not (he continues to urge) have been prepared and written beforehand; nor is it at all probable, that, like many other orations of Cicero, it was revised, and made public, after having been delivered. The causes which induced the Roman orators to write out their speeches at leisure, were the magnitude and importance of the subject, or the wishes of those in whose defence they were made, and who were anxious to possess a sort of record of their vindication. But none of these motives existed in the present case. The matter was of no importance or difficulty; and we know that Marcellus, who was a stern republican, was not at all gratified by the intercession of the senators, or conciliated by the clemency of Cæsar.

As to internal evidence, deduced from the oration, Wolf admits that there are interspersed in it some Ciceronian sentences; and how otherwise could the learned have been so egregiously deceived? but the resemblance is more in the varnish of the style than in the substance. We have the words rather than the thoughts of Cicero; and the rounding of his periods, without their energy and argumentative connection. He adduces, also, many instances of phrases unusual among the classics, and of conceits which betray the rhetorician or sophist. His extolling the act of that day on which Cæsar pardoned Marcellus, as higher than all his warlike exploits, would but have raised a smile on the lips of the dictator; and the slighting way in which the cause of the public and Pompey are mentioned, is totally different from the manner in which Cicero expresses himself on these delicate topics, even in presence of Cæsar, in his authentic orations for Deiotarus and Ligarius.

It is evident, at first view, that many of Wolf's observations are hypercritical; and that in his argument concerning the encomium on Cæsar, and the overrated importance of his clemency to Marcellus, he does not make sufficient allowance for Cicero's habit of exaggeration, and the momentary enthusiasm produced by one of those transactions, "*Quæ dum geruntur, percellunt animos.*"

Accordingly, in the year following that of Wolf's edition, Olaus Wormius published, at Copenhagen, a vindication of the authenticity of this speech. To the argument adduced from Plutarch, he answers, that some months had elapsed between the orations for Marcellus and Ligarius, which might readily be called a long period by one accustomed to hear Cicero harangue almost daily in the senate or forum. Besides, the phrase of Plutarch, λέγοντος, may mean pleading for some one, which was not the nature of the speech for Marcellus. As to the motive which led him to write and publish the oration, Cicero, above all men, was delighted with his own productions, and nothing can be more probable, than that he should have wished to preserve the remembrance of that memorable day, which he calls, in his letters, "*diem illam pulcherrimam.*" It was natural to send the oration to Marcellus, in order to hasten his return to Rome, and it must have been an acceptable thing to Cæsar, thus to record his fearlessness and benignity. With regard to the

manner in which Pompey and the republican party are talked of, it is evident, from his letters, that Cicero was disgusted with the political measures of that faction, that he wholly disapproved of their plan of the campaign, and, foreseeing a renewal of Sylla's proscriptions in the triumph of the aristocratic power, he did not exaggerate in so highly extolling the humanity of Cæsar.

The arguments of Wormius were expanded and illustrated by Weiske, in a commentary on the oration for Marcellus, published at Leipsic, in 1805, while, on the other hand, Spalding, in a disputation published in 1808, supported the opinions of Wolf.

The controversy was in this state, and was considered as involved in much doubt and obscurity, when Aug. Jacob, in an academical exercise, printed at Halle in 1813, adopted a middle course. Finding such dissimilarity in the different passages of the oration, some being most powerful, elegant, and beautiful, while others were totally futile and frigid, he was led to believe that part had actually flowed from the lips of Cicero, but that much had been subsequently interpolated by some rhetorician or declaimer. In the prosecution of his inquiry, the author successively reviews the opinions and judgments of his predecessors, sometimes agreeing with Wolf and his followers, at other times, and more frequently, with their opposers. He thinks, that the much-contested phrase, *pluribus verbis,* may mean a long oration, as Cicero elsewhere talks of having pleaded for Cluentius, *pluribus verbis,* though the speech in his defence consists of 58 chapters. Besides, Cicero only says, that he had *returned thanks* to Cæsar, *pluribus verbis.* Now the whole speech does not consist of thanks to Cæsar, being partly occupied in removing the suspicions which he entertained of Marcellus. With regard to the encomiums on Cæsar, which Spalding has characterised as abject and fulsome, and totally different from the delicate compliments addressed to him in the oration for Deiotarus or Ligarius, Jacob reminds his readers, that the harangues could have no resemblance to each other, the latter being pleaded in behalf of the accused, and the former a professed panegyric. Nor can any one esteem the eulogies on Cæsar too extravagant for Cicero, when he remembers the terms in which the orator had formerly spoken of Roscius, Archias, and Pompey.

Schütz has subscribed to the opinions of Wolf, and has published the speech for Marcellus, along with the other four doubtful harangues at the end of the genuine orations. (Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 340. *seqq.*)

The discoveries of Maio at length threw new light upon the question, that learned librarian and scholar having succeeded in bringing to light parts of an ancient commentary, a collection of scholia on several of the orations of Cicero, and among them that for Marcellus. This commentary appears to have either been written by Asconius Pedianus, or selected from his more extensive scholia; and, as the part relating to the oration we are considering, although brief, makes no mention of any other author for the speech, this circumstance, together with the fact of the oration being joined to others of undoubted authenticity, will form no weak argument in its behalf. Indeed, the latest editor of Cicero's works, Nobbe (Lips. 1827), considers the question as now conclusively settled, remarking: "*Sed ecce nova et pæne insperata lux orta est, inventis a Maio veterum in hanc orationem scholiorum fragmentis, iisque Mediolani* (1817) *editis. Unde satis certum fit, ab ipso Cicerone auctore hanc gratiarum actionem profectam esse.*"

I. 2. *Diuturni silentii.* Cicero had avoided taking any active part in public affairs, and mingling in the debates of the senate, since the period of his return to Rome, after having been pardoned by Cæsar. The reason of this silence he gives us with more openness in a letter to Sulpicius (*Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 4.): "I had resolved to observe a perpetual silence, not from any feeling of indolence, but from one of regret at the loss of my former dignity."

3. *Quo eram his temporibus usus.* "In which I had indulged during these latter times."

4. *Non timore aliquo.* Complimentary to Cæsar, and implying that even if Cicero had felt inclined to express his sentiments on public affairs with boldness and freedom, he would have been allowed by Cæsar so to do, without any interruption.

5. *Partim dolore.* Grief for the absence of his friend Marcellus. Compare what follows a little after: "*Dolebam enim,*" &c.

6. *Partim verecundia.* "Partly from a feeling of self-restraint." Cicero means to express by *verecundia* the awkwardness he felt at speaking in the presence of one whom he had opposed in the civil contest. Compare the explanation of Manutius: "*Contra quem enim armis pugnassem, eo præsente in senatu verba facere verecundia prohibebat.*"

7. *Quæ vellem,* &c. "Of giving utterance, with my former wonted freedom, to my wishes and my sentiments." Compare Manutius: "*ut, pro meo sensu, quemadmodum antea solebam, libere loquar.*"

8. *Mansuetudinem.* "Humanity." As displayed by Cæsar in pardoning Marcellus. Compare, as regards the force of *mansuetudo,* the oration for the Manilian law, c. xiv., where Cicero, speaking of Pompey, remarks: "*Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint.*"

9. *Tantum, in summa potestate,* &c. "Such boundless moderation in the midst of unlimited power."

10. *Sapientiam.* As shown by its controlling the dictates of private animosity, and restoring a useful citizen to his country.

11. *Auctoritatem.* Compare his words to Sulpicius, already referred to (*Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 4.): "*Statueram, non mehercule inertia, sed* desiderio pristinæ dignitatis, *in perpetuum tacere.*" Cicero begins now to perceive a restoration in some degree of his former "influence," in consequence of the mildness and generosity of Cæsar towards his friend.

12. *Dolebam.* "I used to grieve."— *Virum talem.* Referring to Marcellus.

13. *In eadem causa,* &c. "Who had been engaged in the same cause with myself," *i. e.* the party of Pompey. —*Non in eadem esse fortuna.* "Was not enjoying the same good fortune." Cicero, after the battle of Pharsalia, accepted pardon from Cæsar, and returned to Rome; Marcellus, on the other hand, too stubborn a republican to acknowledge a master, retired to Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, where he was residing when the news of his pardon reached him.

14. *Nec mihi persuadere poteram,* &c. "Nor could I prevail upon myself, nor did I deem it in accordance with the hallowed law of friendship, that I should engage in our old career, when he, the rival and imitator of my pursuits and labours, my associate and companion as it were, was torn from me." The use of *fas* is here strongly emphatic, which must be our apology for giving it a paraphrase rather than a translation. — *Fas* has reference to the gods and things of a sacred

nature, *jus* to what is of human origin or character. (Serv. ad Virg. *Georg.* i. 269.)

15. *Nostro veteri curriculo.* Forensic pursuits and public speaking in general. — *Æmulo atque imitatore,* &c. Marcellus was distinguished for his ability as a speaker. Consult *Historical Index.*

16. *Meæ pristinæ vitæ,* &c. "The habits of my former life, which had been long closed upon me." We have adopted the reading of Lambinus, Wolf, Weiske, &c. The common text has *et mihi et meæ pristinæ,* &c.

17. *Et his omnibus,* &c. "And have raised a signal, as it were, for all who are here present to entertain favourable hopes of the state at large," *i. e.* of all that is connected with the welfare of their country. — *Signum aliquod sustulisti.* A metaphor borrowed from military operations.

18. *Intellectum est enim,* &c. "For it was rendered plainly apparent, to myself, indeed, in many instances before this, and especially in my own case, but, a moment ago, to all who are here present, that, when you granted Marcus Marcellus to the senate and people of Rome," &c.

19. *Offensionibus.* Marcellus, when consul, had moved in the senate, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should be abrogated, when the latter, after having put an end to the Gallic war, though his commission was near expiring, sought to retain his command, pretending that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, while Pompey held the province of Spain. Marcellus afterwards endeavoured to get Cæsar proclaimed an enemy to his country; in a public speech he called him a robber; and finally fought against him in the civil contest. These were among his "offences" against Cæsar.

20. *Tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus.* "To your own feelings, whether of resentment or suspicion." Resentment for the past, suspicion with regard to the future conduct of Marcellus. Cæsar feared lest Marcellus might plot against his life.

21. *Ille quidem fructum,* &c. "He, indeed, has this day received the richest recompence for all his past life, both in the unanimous intercession of the senate, and also in your most solemn and generous determination." Cicero means, that this day has fully repaid the services which the past life of Marcellus had bestowed upon his country. He now obtains glory together with safety, because the unanimous intercession of the senate, and Cæsar's generous conduct, prove conclusively that Marcellus is a truly virtuous man.

22. *Laus.* Supply *tibi.* — *Gloria.* Supply *illi.*

23. *Est vero fortunatus ille,* &c. "Fortunate in truth is he, since hardly less joy will accrue unto all from his safety, than is likely to be felt by himself." The relative, from its assigning the *reason,* takes here the subjunctive mood. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. ii. note 14.

24. *Ventura sit.* Because Marcellus is at a distance, and Cicero can only surmise what his feelings will be on the receipt of the intelligence.

25. *Nobilitate.* "For birth." The line of the Marcelli was distinguished in Roman history. — *Optimarum artium studio.* "For zealous attachment to the most liberal pursuits."—*Innocentia.* "Blamelessness of life." Moral purity.

II. 1. *Nullius tantum,* &c. "In no one is there so great a flow of genius, in no one so great power, so great copiousness of speaking or of writing, as can, I will not say, fully embellish, but even fairly recount,

Caius Cæsar, your exploits," *i. e.* all the creative power of the finest geniuses, all the efforts of eloquence and history, will be found inadequate even to give a simple and unadorned narrative of your achievements.

2. *Pace tua.* "With your permission," *i. e.* with all deference. — *Ampliorem.* "More glorious." — *Eam.* Ernesti has given *ampliorem ea quam, hodierno,* which is preferable.

3. *Idque libenter,* &c. "And to make it a theme of frequent conversations." Weiske reads *idemque* for *idque.*

4. *Numero prœliorum.* Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 25.) states, that Cæsar fought fifty pitched battles, the nearest approach to which number was in the case of Marcellus, who fought thirty-nine. He also informs us, that, independently of the carnage of the civil wars, he had slain 1,192,000 men. "*Idem signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit: solus M. Marcellum transgressus, qui undequadragies dimicaverat. Nam præter civiles victorias, undecies centena et nonaginta duo millia hominum occisa prœliis ab eo.*"

5. *Nec varietate regionum.* Cæsar had carried on war in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Asia. He overcame Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, in Pontus; and the sons of Pompey in Spain.

6. *Celeritate conficiendi.* This is well illustrated by his famous despatch to the Roman senate, after his victory over Pharnaces, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" The commentaries on the Gallic war are also full of examples.

7. *Nec dissimilitudine bellorum.* "Not in the unlike character of the wars themselves." Occasioned by the unlike characters of the nations with whom, and the countries in which, they were waged.

8. *Nec vero,* &c. "And that, in truth, lands the most widely remote from each other could not have been travelled over with more rapidity by the footsteps of any one, than they have been traversed, I will not say by your marches, but by your victories." A somewhat similar measure of praise had already been poured out by Cicero upon Pompey (*Orat. pro Lege Manil.* c. x.): "*Qui sæpius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt.*"

9. *Lustratæ sint.* Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Lustrare plus est quam peragrare, nam qui peragrat transit; qui lustrat ambit, quo plus temporis requiritur.*"

10. *Quæ quidem ego,* &c. "Now were I not to confess that these things are so extraordinary," &c. — *Amens sim.* "I should be a madman," *i. e* it were madness not to confess, &c.

11. *Alia majora.* Alluding to the glory he has acquired by his generous conduct in pardoning Marcellus.

12. *Extenuare verbis.* "To depreciate by their remarks." — *Communicare cum multis.* "To share it with the many," *i. e.* with the great body of the soldiery. — *Propriæ imperatorum.* "The exclusive property of commanders."

13. *In armis.* "In military operations." — *Locorum opportunitas.* "The advantage of situation." — *Auxilia sociorum.* "The aid of allies."

14. *Commeatus.* "Convoys," *i. e.* supplies of military stores, &c.

15. *Quasi suo jure.* "As if by a right peculiarly hers." — *Pæne omne suum.* "As almost entirely her own." Compare, as regards the

idea intended to be conveyed by the whole passage, the language of Isocrates (Παραγρ. πρὸς Καλλίμ. c. xii.): Τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἔργων, ὅσα μετὰ κινδύνων πέπρακται, τὸ πλεῖστον ἄν τις μέρος τῇ τύχῃ μεταδοίη, κ. τ. λ.

16. *Hujus gloriæ.* The glory of pardoning a violent political enemy.

17. *Quantumcumque est,* &c. "How great soever it is (and it certainly is most great)," *i. e.* and nothing certainly can be greater.

18. *Nihil sibi.* "No centurion, no prefect, no cohort, no troop, take unto themselves any portion of this praise of thine," *i. e.* no commander of infantry or cavalry, no body of foot or horse. *Centurio* properly means a commander of one hundred infantry. *Præfectus* denotes a leader of cavalry. Both terms are used here, however, in a general sense. So again, *cohors* and *turma* are employed, in this sentence, with a general reference to any body of foot or horse. In strictness, *cohors* means a band of 600 foot-soldiers; and *turma,* a troop of 30 horse.

19. *Decerpit.* The peculiar force of this verb is best expressed by a paraphrase: "Pluck for themselves a single leaf from thy garland."

20. *Quin etiam,* &c. "Nay, even fortune, that very mistress of human affairs, presents not herself for any share of this thy glory," *i. e.* lays claim to no share in this thy latest and most glorious act.

21. *Tuam esse totam et propriam.* "That is all and peculiarly thine own."

22. *Nec ad consilium,* &c. "Nor is chance admitted to the counsels of prudence," *i. e.* nor do thy plans ever look to chance to aid them in their fulfilment. If, therefore, fortune contributes nothing to the success of thy plans, in general, but if they all owe their completion to thy sagacity and prudence, she must surely be excluded also from this last act of thine, in which wisdom and foresight are so happily blended.

III. 1. *Immanitate barbaras.* "Fiercely barbarous." The Gauls, Germans, Britons, &c. With respect to the Germans and Britons, however, it was a mere idle boast.

2. *Locis infinitas.* "Spread over an infinite variety of regions." — *Omni copiarum genere.* "In all kinds of resources."

3. *Quæ naturam et conditionem,* &c. "Which possessed the nature and condition of being able to be overcome," *i. e.* which by their very nature, and the condition connected with them, were capable of being overcome. The common text has *vinci vi,* but the latter word is omitted by Lambinus, Grævius, Wolf, and others.

4. *Animum vincere.* "To conquer one's feelings, however." — *Victoriam temperare.* "To make a moderate use of victory."

5. *Adversarium non modo extollere jacentem.* "Not only to raise a fallen foe." *Jacentem,* literally, "lying prostrate." — *Amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem.* "To enlarge his former dignity," *i. e.* to elevate him to a still higher rank than he previously enjoyed; to heighten and increase his personal consideration.

6. *Simillimum Deo judico.* This sounds to modern ears as the grossest flattery. Middleton, however, undertakes Cicero's defence against the charge of insincerity. "It must be remembered," remarks he, "that the orator was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the senate, where his subject naturally required all the embellishments of eloquence; and

that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the republic, of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends. (*Ep. ad Fam.* xiii. 68.) This, therefore, he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery." (*Life of Cicero*, § viii. — vol ii. p. 259.)

7. *Bellicæ tuæ laudes illæ.* "Those warlike praises of thine." — *Literis atque linguis.* "In literature and languages."

8. *Ejusmodi res.* The praises attendant upon warlike achievements. — *Obstrepi clamore militum,* &c. "Seem to be drowned amid the shouts of the soldiers, and the blast of the trumpets."

9. *Iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio.* Compare the language of Horace (*Ep.* i. 2. 62.): "*Ira furor brevis est.*"

10. *Non modo in gestis rebus,* &c. "Not only in the case of real occurrences, but even in those of a fictitious nature."

11. *Cujus mentem,* &c. "Whose sentiments and feelings we see plainly to be of such a nature, that," &c. The common text has *cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus.* For *et os* ("and whose very look") we have adopted the elegant emendation of Faernus, *eos*, in the sense of *tales*, which has the additional advantage of rendering the connection of *ut* more apparent. — Weiske makes the same change.

12. *Salvum.* "Secured to her." Compare Middleton's remarks, under note 6.

13. *Quibus studiis,* &c. "With what demonstrations of zeal shall we honour? with what grateful feelings shall we clasp to our bosoms? I do assure you the very walls of this senate-house are desirous, as they seem to me, of returning thanks to you, because the authority of this body is soon about to be re-established in these their fathers' seats as well as their own." We have given the latter part of this passage according to the common text, although Manutius and others suspect some corruption. Our interpretation is that of Ernesti, who remarks: "*Sensus est, quod illa pristina auctoritas senatus mox rursus habitatura sit in hac curia, in qua et apud majores et nuper senatores plurimum auctoritate valuissent.*"

14. *Me dius fidius.* The term *dius* is the same as *deus* or *divus*, and *fidius* is an adjective formed from *fides*. Hence, *dius fidius,* "the god of honour," or "good faith," will be the same as the Ζεὺς πίστιος of the Greeks; and, if we follow the authority of Varro (*L. L.* iv. 10.), identical with the Sabine Sancus, and Roman Hercules; so that *me dius fidius* is nothing more than *me deus fidei* (*i. e.* Hercules) *adjuvet,* or, in other words, *mehercule.*

IV. 1. *Caii Marcelli.* Caius Marcellus was the brother of Marcus Marcellus. — This appears to be the proper place for introducing Cicero's account, in his letter to Sulpicius (*Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 4.), of what took place on this occasion: "Cæsar, after having complained of the moroseness of Marcellus, for so he called it, and praised in the strongest terms the equity and prudence of your conduct, presently declared, beyond all our hopes, that, whatever offence he had received from the man, he could refuse nothing to the intercession of the senate. What

the senate did was this; upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius having thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, they all rose, and went forward, in a supplicating manner, towards Cæsar. In short, the proceeding of this day appeared to me so fair and becoming, that I could not help fancying I saw the image of the old republic reviving as it were. When all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had returned thanks to Cæsar, except Volcatius (for he declared that he would not have done it, though he had been in Marcellus's place), I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself to observe an eternal silence, not from any feelings of indolence, but from regret for the loss of my former dignity; Cæsar's greatness of mind, however, and the laudable zeal of the senate, got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to Cæsar, in a long speech, and have deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet which was my only comfort in these unhappy times," &c.

2. *Et commemorabili*, &c. "And possessed of a degree of fraternal affection that is deserving of all mention." Compare, as regards the force of *pietas*, *Orat. pro Arch.* c. iii. note 21.

3. *Pectus obfudit.* "Came gushing over me." The common text has *effodit*, which is far inferior. The greater number of MSS. give the latter, but the better class the former reading.

4. *Nobilissimamque familiam.* Cicero uses the term *familia* to denote the individual family of the Marcelli. They formed a branch of the *gens Claudia*, or Claudian house.

5. *Tuis maximis*, &c. "To the greatest of your countless felicitations," *i. e.* to the greatest of those many victories, on which you have been felicitated by others. Some commentators confound *gratulatio* here with the same term when denoting a thanksgiving to the gods. It refers, on the contrary, merely to the private feelings of Cæsar, and the felicitations offered him by friends for his numerous and eminent successes. For Cicero to have said, that Cæsar would regard this day as a source of higher pleasure than the greatest of the many *thanksgivings* which had been decreed in his name, would have shocked the religious feelings of his auditors.

6. *Est propria Cæsaris.* "Is the act of Cæsar alone." Literally, "is peculiar to Cæsar."

7. *Duce te gestæ quidem*, &c. We have rejected, on the suggestion of Ernesti, the words *magnæ illæ*, which appear in the common text between *gestæ* and *quidem*.

8. *Hujus autem rei.* "In the present affair, however," *i. e.* in the act of this day, the pardoning of Marcellus.

9. *Quæ quidem tanta est.* "And so great indeed is it." — *Tropæis monumentisque tuis.* "To your other trophies and monuments."

10. *Opere aut manu.* "By the labour or the hand of man." — *Vetustas.* "Length of days."

11. *Justitia et lenitas animi.* The term *justitia* has reference here to the rank and merits of Marcellus. It would have been unjust in Cæsar to have kept such a man any longer away from his country. — *Lenitas animi*, and not *clementia*, is employed, in order that Cæsar may not appear to have been sparing a foe, and the remembrance of former enmities be in this way renewed.

12. *Ut quantum*, &c. "That as much as length of time shall take

from your monuments so much will it add to your glory." *Operibus* refers back to *tropæis monumentisque.*

13. *Victores bellorum civilium.* "Victors in our civil wars." Alluding to Sylla, Marius, Cinna, &c.

14. *Vereor ne.* We have adopted the emendation of Ernesti. The common text has *vereor ut*, but this can only be allowed if *non* be thrown out before *perinde*. Consult *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 3.

15. *Non perinde*, &c. "May not be understood, on the mere hearing of it, to the same degree that I, reflecting upon it, feel it in mind to be," *i. e.* lest what I say may fall far short of what I feel. *Perinde* is here equivalent to *æque*. Compare Tursellinus, *de Part. Lat.* c. 176.

16. *Quæ illa erat adepta.* "Which it had obtained for you," *i. e.* the absolute power which it gave him over his political opponents, and the means which it afforded him of gratifying private animosity.

17. *Omnes victi occidissemus.* "All of us the vanquished might have fallen," *i. e.* been cut off by the sword. Cicero means, that this would have been the case if Cæsar had followed the usual course, and taken Marius or Sylla for his model.

18. *Clementiæ tuæ judicio.* "By the decision of your clemency," *i. e.* by your merciful determination. *Clementia* is now employed because *occidissemus* precedes, and more besides Marcellus are meant. Consult note 11.

V. 1. *Atque hoc C. Cæsaris*, &c. "And mark, Conscript Fathers, how widely this determination on the part of Caius Cæsar extends in its influence," *i. e.* Marcellus alone is not the only one benefited by this generous conduct of Cæsar.

2. *Qui ad illa arma*, &c. "Who were driven by some wretched and lamentable fatality or other, on the part of the republic, to take up arms in that contest." The contest referred to is the civil war, and the opposition made to Cæsar, by his political antagonists, is flatteringly ascribed by the speaker to mere blind fatality; implying, of course, that, had they exercised any judgment or reflection, they would never have resisted him.

3. *Nescio quo.* Equivalent to *quo fato id factum fuerit nescio.* In translating, however, it is to be regarded as analogous merely to our phrases, "some or other," "I know not what," &c. — *Nescio quis*, and its other forms, *nescio quid, nescio quem, nescio quo*, &c., are employed to denote something more or less obscure, or which we wish to pass over by considering it as such. It is used also, especially in the case of persons, to indicate contempt. The ellipsis is worth noting. Thus, *nescio quis fecit* is put for *aliquis fecit nescio, quis sit*; and again, *nescio quem vidi* is equivalent to *aliquem vidi, nescio quem viderim*, &c. Consult Scheller, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 329.

4. *Etsi aliqua culpa*, &c. "Although we are in some degree liable to the imputation of human infirmity," *i. e.* blindness in not perceiving the true course which we ought to have pursued.

5. *A scelere certe liberati sumus.* "Have, by this act of Cæsar's, been evidently acquitted of any wicked intentions," *i. e.* in pardoning Marcellus, Cæsar has clearly shown, that he acquits not only that individual, but all of us who followed the standard of Pompey, of any evil feelings towards himself, and only considers us to have been actuated by an honest though mistaken love of country.

6. *Et iterum.* " And once more." The earlier reading is *et item,* for which Grævius first substituted *et iterum,* on the authority of a MS. He is followed by Ernesti and others.

7. *Reliquos amplissimos viros.* " Those other very illustrious men." Referring to the other individuals of the old Pompeian party, who, like himself, had been pardoned by Cæsar, and restored to their rank and privileges as senators.

8. *Non ille hostes,* &c. " He has brought no enemies into the senate," *i. e.* the individuals, whom he has thus restored, he has acquitted of all hostile feelings towards himself. Had he thought that they cherished such feelings, he would never have re-admitted them. All which is clearly shown, if it need additional confirmation, by the pardon of Marcellus.

9. *Judicavit.* " He concluded." — *Ignoratione,* &c. " From an ignorance rather of his real intentions, and from a false and groundless fear." The flattery here begins to be very apparent. Just as if Cæsar's real intentions were for the good of his country, and as if the fears of all good patriots for the safety of the republic were visionary and groundless.

10. *Quam cupiditate.* " Than from any feelings of cupidity," *i. e.* any desire of gratifying a rapacious spirit, and seizing on the property of others.

11. *Crudelitate.* " A spirit of revenge." A feeling of cruel hatred.

12. *Semper de pace,* &c. " I always was of opinion that proposals of peace ought to be listened to." Cicero had done every thing, in the beginning of the civil troubles, to prevent a rupture between Cæsar and Pompey. He was convinced that an intestine war would inevitably end in the establishment of absolute power. His letters, which make us acquainted with his secret thoughts, fully substantiate this: " *Pace opus est ; ex victoria quum multa mala, tum certe tyrannis exsistet.*" (*Ep. ad Att.* vii. 5.) So again: " *Equidem ad pacem hortari non desino, quæ, vel injusta, utilior est quam justissimum bellum.*" (*Ad Att.* vii. 14.) He foresaw all that happened, and it is with this view before him, that he writes to Atticus and his other friends. Cæsar, who affected great moderation, made some very plausible proposals of peace, and Cicero was desirous that they should be listened to, but Pompey absolutely refused. When the latter had been compelled to quit Rome as a fugitive, Cicero, after some delay, followed him from attachment and gratitude, but still full of gloomy forebodings, and foreseeing nought but lamentable results, since on one side was all the right, and on the other all the power: " *Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus sum deesse Pompeii saluti. Itaque vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego, prudens et sciens, ad pestem ante oculos positam sum profectus.*" (*Ep. ad Fam.* vi. 6.)

13. *Orationem etiam civium,* &c. " That even the entreaties of those citizens who earnestly begged for peace, were totally rejected," *i. e.* by Pompey.

14. *Neque enim ego illa,* &c. " For I never took an active part either in these or any other civil commotions."

15. *Socia.* " Allied to," *i. e.* in favour of. Compare the English form of expression, " went hand in hand with."

16. *Hominem sum secutus,* &c. " I followed a certain individual from a sense of private, not of public duty." The allusion is to Pompey, who

is mentioned in guarded terms, not from any fear of the consequences in case he had called him by name, but from a becoming sense of propriety. Cicero means to convey the idea, that he followed Pompey rather as a friend than a leader.

17. *Tantumque apud me*, &c. "And so powerful an influence did the faithful remembrance of a grateful mind exercise over me," *i. e.* so strongly was I influenced by gratitude for the various favours I had received from him.

18. *Ut nulla*, &c. "That not only without any desire of personal advancement, but even without any hope, although fully aware of my situation and well knowing what was about to happen, I rushed on as it were to voluntary ruin."

19. *Quod quidem meum consilium.* "And these views of mine indeed."—*Integra re.* "Before hostilities broke out." Literally, "the affair being as yet entire," *i. e.* no part having as yet been acted upon, no hostile steps having as yet been taken. The primitive meaning of *integer* is "untouched," from *in* and *tago*, the old form of *tango*.

20. *Eadem sensi.* "I entertained the same sentiments." — *Etiam cum capitis periculo.* When Cato the younger, who had been left at Dyrrachium, by Pompey, to guard the arms and treasures deposited there, had, after the battle of Pharsalia, passed over into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed, he there offered Cicero the command of the force which he had brought with him consisting of fifteen cohorts. Cicero, however, declined it; which so exasperated the younger Pompey, that he was about to lay violent hands upon the orator, when Cato interfered and saved his life. (Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* c. lv.) It is to this circumstance very probably that Cicero alludes in the text.

21. *Ex quo.* "And hence."—*Tam injustus rerum existimator.* "So unfair a judge of passing events," *i. e.* so unfair and biassed in the conclusions which he draws from events. — Grævius first gave *existimator*, from MSS., in place of *æstimator*, the reading of the common text. It is adopted by Ernesti and others.

22. *Pacis auctores.* "The advisers of peace."—*Statim.* "From the very first," *i. e.* from the very commencement of hostilities; in the very beginning of the civil war.

23. *Ceteris fuerit iratior.* "But displayed increased resentment towards the rest." The object of the whole argument is to show that Cæsar's wishes were always in favour of peace, and that, in consequence of this, he was always well disposed towards those of the opposite party who endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, while he displayed increased resentment against those who were bent on continuing hostilities. This, of course, is the mere language of flattery.

24. *Victor.* "When victorious," *i. e.* as Cæsar now is. — *Pacis auctores.* Alluding to himself, among others, and to the kind treatment he had received from Cæsar.

25. *Se maluisse*, &c. "That he would rather not have contended at all, than have come off victorious," *i. e.* that great as the glory of the victory had been, he would rather have had no civil contest at all, as his feelings had always been in favour of peace. It is needless to comment on the insincerity of Cicero in making this assertion of Cæsar.

VI. 1. *Atque hujus quidem rei*, &c. "And on this particular point I am evidence in favour of Marcus Marcellus." The point referred to

is the wish for peace during the civil contest, which Cicero asserts Marcellus felt in common with himself.

2. *Nostri enim sensus*, &c. "For our sentiments, as they always had in the season of peace, so they also coincided during the war," *i. e.* our sentiments, namely mine and those of Marcellus, were always in unison during both the civil contest and the times which immediately preceded it.

3. *Certorum hominum.* "Of certain individuals among us." *Certus vir* is generally used to denote "a sure," or "trusty person." Here however, *certus* has the force of *quidam.* Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 8. The individuals alluded to are thought, by Manutius (*Ep. ad Fam.* vi. 21.), to have been, in particular, L. Lentulus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

4. *Victoriæ ferocitatem.* "The cruel excesses of victory itself," *i. e.* the ferocious spirit that would, in all probability, characterise the party of Pompey, if success were to crown their efforts. Had Pompey proved victorious, the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla would inevitably have been renewed. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Marcellus (*Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 9.): "*An tu non videbas mecum simul, quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria?*"

5. *Tua liberalitas.* "Your generosity," *i. e.* your generous conduct towards your former foes. — *Illa.* Alluding to the insolent conduct and the menaces of Pompey's followers.

6. *Non enim jam causæ*, &c. "For the two causes are no longer to be compared, but the consequences of victory on either side." Cicero means to say, that he will be silent now respecting the merits of the two causes, namely that of Cæsar and that of Pompey. The time for discussing this point has passed away. He will merely institute a comparison between the very different modes in which either party would have made use of victory. He then proceeds to show how Cæsar has acted since his success, and briefly sketches what would have been the results of victory on the side of Pompey.

7. *Martis vis perculit.* "The violence of war smote down." — *Ira victoriæ.* "The angry feelings generally attendant upon victory." Cicero means, that whoever fell in that conflict, fell with arms in their hands. No one was put to death, after the victory, by any mandate or proscription.

8. *Ex eadem acie.* "From that same army," *i. e.* the army of Pompey.

9. *Alterius vero partis.* "As regards the opposite party, however." The genitive is here used in imitation of the Greek idiom. The Greek rule is as follows: "To words of all kinds other words are added in the genitive, which show the respect in which the sense of those words must be taken, in which case the genitive properly signifies 'as regards,' or 'with regard to.'" (Matthiæ, *G. G.* vol. ii. p. 555.)

10. *Nimis iracundam*, &c. "That victory would have been accompanied by too much of angry feeling," *i. e.* that they would have made an angry and cruel use of victory.

11. *Armatis.* "Those who were actually in arms." Referring to the followers of Cæsar. Compare Manutius: "*Armatis*, h. e. *Cæsarianis.*"

12. *Otiosis.* "Those who took no part in the conflict," *i. e.* who wished to remain neutral. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Varro (*Ep. ad Fam.* ix. 6.): "*Crudeliter otiosis minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas, et mea oratio.*" And again (*Ep. ad Att.* xi. 6.): "*Omnes, qui in Italia manserant hostium numero habebantur.*"

13. *Quid quisque sensisset*, &c. "What sentiments each had entertained, but where he had been during the contest," *i. e.* whether with the army, and taking an active part against the foe, or remaining inactive and neutral at home.

14. *Etiamsi pœnas*, &c. "Even though they may have sought a heavy atonement from the Roman people, on account of some offence, by their having raised so great and so mournful a civil war," *i. e.* even though they may have raised this destructive and mournful war to punish the Roman people for some aggravated offence. We have given *expetiverint*, with Ernesti, in place of *expetiverunt*, the reading of the common text. The relative *qui*, it will be perceived, takes the subjunctive *excitaverint*, because equivalent here to "since they" or "inasmuch as they."

15. *Omnem spem salutis*, &c. "To have referred our every hope of safety to the clemency and wisdom of the conqueror," *i. e.* to have made all our safety depend upon, &c.

16. *Quare gaude*, &c. "Rejoice then in this so exalted a privilege," *i. e.* the privilege of having the safety of the whole Roman people dependent on thy clemency and wisdom.

17. *Fortuna.* "Your good fortune."—*Natura et moribus tuis.* "Your kind disposition and noble character."— *Ex quo quidem*, &c. "From all which a wise man derives his highest recompence and pleasure."

18. *Cetera.* "The other actions of your life."— *Virtuti.* "Upon your valour." — *Congratulabere.* "You will have occasion to felicitate yourself." Some read *gratulabere*, which is much inferior.

19. *De maximis tuis beneficiis.* "Of the boundless favours you have bestowed upon us."

20. *Quæ non modo*, &c. "Virtues which, I will venture to affirm, constitute not only our highest, but in fact our only true source of gratification." Literally, "which I will venture to say, are not only the greatest, but in fact even the only goods."

21. *In laude vera.* "In well-merited applause." — *Donata.* "Bestowed," for a lasting possession; *commodata*, "lent," only for a season.

22. *Lapsis.* "Who have been led astray." Literally, "who have slipped."—*Aut pravitate aliqua.* "Or by any corrupt motive."

23. *Sed opinione*, &c. "But by an idea of duty, foolish perhaps, certainly not criminal, and by what appeared to be the public good." More literally, "by a certain appearance of public benefit." Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Torquatus (*Ep. ad Fam.* vi. 1.): "*Quoddam nobis officium justum, et pium, et debitum reipublicæ nostræque dignitati videbamur sequi.*"

24. *Non enim tua*, &c. "For it is no fault of thine." Because they have mistaken thy character. The fault is theirs for not knowing thee better. — *Senserunt.* "Have felt," *i. e.* after having been conquered by thee.

VII. 1. *Nunc vero venio*, &c. "But now I come to that most heavy complaint and horrid suspicion of thine." Cæsar had complained before the senate of the hostile feelings and moroseness (*acerbitas*) of Marcellus, and had expressed his suspicions that the latter still harboured evil designs against his personal safety.

2. *Quæ non tibi ipsi*, &c. "A suspicion, the realising of which ought to be guarded against not more by your own self," &c. Compare

Manutius: "*Providenda est, ne vera sit: providenda autem curis, consiliisque nostris.*"

3. *Numquam tamen verbis extenuabo.* Cicero's meaning is this: Although I trust that your suspicion is a groundless one, still I will not seek to "lessen" it by any thing that I can say. For were I to lessen it, I should at the same time be throwing you more off your guard, whereas we all wish you to be careful about your own safety, since ours is closely connected, and in fact identified, with it.

4. *Ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit.* "So that if I must err in one or the other extreme," *i. e.* of too much or too little precaution. — *Parum prudens.* "Not sufficiently prudent," or simply "imprudent."

5. *Sed quisnam est iste*, &c. "But who is that one so lost to all judgment?" *i. e.* who is the infatuated man whom you suspect of harbouring this design against you. — The student will mark the force of *iste.* Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. i. note 4.

6. *De tuisne?* "Is he one of your own?" *i. e.* one of your own friends. — *Qui magis sunt tui?* "Who are more your own?"

7. *Qui una tecum fuerunt?* "Who were with you in the war?" Referring to his followers generally.

8. *Tantus furor.* "So great madness." — *Omnia summa.* "Every thing that was most desirable," *i. e.* the full completion of his wishes.

9. *Cavendum est.* "You must take care, I suppose." — *Qui?* "Who are they?" *i e.* where are they now to be found?

10. *Supersunt.* We have adopted here the conjecture of Lambinus, which is approved of by Ernesti. The common text has *superfuerunt.*

11. *Tantæ latebræ*, &c. "Lurking places so deep, and recesses so hidden in their nature." — *Diligentiam.* "Your circumspection."

12. *Tam ignarus rerum*, &c. "So ignorant of the course of events, so total a stranger to the state of public affairs."

13. *Ex unius tua vita.* "On your individual existence." Literally, "on the life of thee alone." The genitive *unius* is put in apposition with the genitive implied in the possessive *tua.* — *Omnium.* Supply *vitas.*

14. *Ut debeo.* "As I ought to do," *i. e.* as I am in duty bound, considering the many favours you have hitherto bestowed upon me.

15. *Casus duntaxat humanos*, &c. "I dread merely the common accidents of life, and the uncertain issues of health," &c.

16. *Doleoque cum respublica*, &c. The republic, remarks Cicero, ought to be immortal; but it depends entirely on your existence: you, therefore, ought to be as immortal as the republic ought to be. But you are a mortal, and I mourn, therefore, as well on account of its destinies as the shortness and limitation of your own career. — The language of flattery can hardly go farther.

17. *Sceleris insidiarumque consensio.* "The conspiring force of guilt and treachery."

VIII. 1. *Excitanda.* "Are to be raised to their former state." An adroit exhortation unto Cæsar to restore the former state of things, and one, too, so managed as to render it impossible for him to take offence. — *Jacere.* "Lie prostrate." — *Belli ipsius impetu*, &c. "Struck down and laid low, as was of necessity to be expected, by the very shock of the war."

2. *Constituenda judicia.* "Justice is to be re-established." Literally,

"trials," *i. e.* the dispensing of justice must be placed upon a sure basis as formerly. — *Revocanda fides.* "Public credit is to be re-instated." Literally, "is to be re-called," *i. e.* to the position it formerly occupied in the opinions of all.

3. *Comprimendæ libidines.* "Licentiousness must be repressed," *i. e.* the licence attendant upon a state of warfare.

4. *Propaganda soboles.* "Population be increased." Literally, "offspring be propagated," *i. e.* an increase of population encouraged, to repair the losses occasioned by the carnage of the civil wars. Compare Dio Cassius (xliii. 25.): Ἐπειδή τε δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία, διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος, ... πολυπαιδίας ἆθλα ἐπέθηκεν. So also Augustus, at the close of the civil contest between himself and Antony, caused the famous *Lex Julia, de maritandis ordinibus*, to be enacted. Consult *Legal Index*.

5. *Omnia quæ dilapsa*, &c. "All those things, which have fallen away and are now going fast to ruin, are to be bound firmly in their former places by rigorous laws." A metaphor taken from the component parts of a thing becoming disunited, and the whole falling to ruins. Such, according to the orator, has been the influence of civil war on the institutions of Rome, an evil which Cæsar is entreated to remedy by vigorous and salutary ordinances.

6. *Non fuit recusandum quin.* "It was not to be denied but that." — *Ardore.* "Excitement." — *Quassata respublica.* "The shattered republic." — *Præsidia stabilitatis suæ.* "The supports of its stability," *i. e.* its stable supports.

7. *Armatus.* "When in arms." — *Togatus.* "If arrayed in the robe of peace," *i. e.* if acting in a civil capacity, and if no intestine war had been raging. Compare *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. vi. note 19.

8. *Quibus præter te*, &c. "For no one can heal them save you," *i. e.* the power, which you now enjoy in the state, makes you the fittest person to restore peace and happiness to your country.

9. *Itaque illam tuam*, &c. "And hence it was with a feeling of concern I heard that very remarkable and philosophic saying of yours, 'I have lived long enough for the purposes either of nature or of glory.'" The remark here alluded to formed part of Cæsar's observations in the senate, when the affair of Marcellus was brought before them. After having complained of the undiminished hostility of that individual towards him, and stated his own suspicions of secret treachery from Marcellus in case he were pardoned, he went on to remark, that, after all, this last was a matter of little moment to himself, since he had already lived long enough and enjoyed sufficient of glory. When he made this remark he was in the 54th year of his age.

10. *Patriæ certe parum.* "Not long enough certainly for your country." His country still wanted the presence of Cæsar to give her tranquillity and a settled order of things.

11. *Quare omitte*, &c. "Discard then that pretended wisdom shown by some philosophers in contemning death; do not wish to be wise at our risk," *i. e.* leave to its authors that stoical indifference which would inculcate the contempt of death; such pretended wisdom would be fraught with the most ruinous consequences to ourselves, whose lives depend on yours. — *Istam* here denotes contempt, and, in accordance with this idea, we have rendered it by the words "that pretended."

12. *Doctorum hominum.* Literally, "of the learned." *Docti homines*

is here, however, only a periphrasis for *philosophi*, and the Stoic sect are particularly meant. The followers of this school taught that life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent. (Enfield, *Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 350. *seqq.*)

13. *Nimis crebro dicere*, &c. Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar had, in fact, led some of his friends to entertain the opinion, that he did not wish to live any longer, and did not regret the feeble health under which he was then labouring (*Vit. Jul.* c. lxxxvi.): "*Suspicionem Cæsar quibusdam suorum reliquit, neque voluisse se diutius vivere, neque curasse quod valetudine minus prospera uteretur.*"

14. *Tibi.* "For yourself," *i. e.* for all that you care to live for; for all that your own feelings told you was worth enjoying in life.

15. *Credo.* "I believe it," *i. e.* I have no doubt that such is the state of your present feelings, and that you frequently indulge in such remarks as these.

16. *Si tibi soli viveres.* "If you were living for yourself alone," *i. e.* for yourself alone, and not for your country also.

17. *Nunc.* "But now." Equivalent to *sed.* Compare *Pro Arch.* c. xi.: "*Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus*," &c.

18. *Res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint.* "Your actions have embraced." *i. e.* have been and continue to be closely identified with. Faernus rejects *gestæ*, of which emendation Ernesti approves, on the ground that *res tuæ gestæ* ought to be at least *res a te gestæ*. He retains, however, the common reading *res tuæ gestæ*, because the same form occurs again in the 9th chapter.

19. *Tantum abes*, &c. "You are so far from the completion of your greatest works, that you have not yet laid the very foundations which you think you have." *Quæ cogitas* may also be rendered more freely, "as you think you have." So again the phraseology *tantum abes* . . . . . *ut*, may also be translated, "you not only have not completed, &c., but have not even laid," &c. Compare, as regards this form of expression, the remarks of Scheller, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 65.

20. *Hic tu modum tuæ vitæ*, &c. "Will you here bound your existence not by the safety of the state, but by the moderation of your own feelings." Compare the explanation of Budæus: "*Putasne te propterea satis vixisse, quod æquo animo et citra indignationem mori potes, et annos præteritos non requiris?*"

21. *Istud.* "That portion of existence which you have thus far enjoyed." With *istud* we may supply *vitæ.* Literally, "that of life which is yours."

22. *Parumne igitur*, &c. "Shall we then, you will ask, leave behind us, at the present moment, no great degree of glory?" *i. e.* shall I, if my existence now terminate, leave behind me no great degree of fame for posterity.

23. *Aliis, quamvis multis*, &c. "Enough for others, howsoever numerous they may be; for yourself alone not enough," *i. e.* the glory you have thus far acquired might suffice for any other but Cæsar. His destinies, interwoven as they are with those of his country, demand a larger share.

24. *Quidquid enim est*, &c. "For whatever there is, how extensive soever it may be, this certainly is but small, when there is any thing still more extensive than itself," *i. e.* your glory, Cæsar, is now undoubtedly great, but still it sinks into comparative insignificance when

compared with that higher glory to which you have it in your power to attain.

25. *Rerum tuarum immortalium.* "Of thy immortal achievements."

26. *Vide, quæso,* &c. "Beware lest your divine virtues be likely to enjoy more of admiration than of glory," *i. e.* be likely to excite the admiration of others, rather than add to your own glory.

27. *Siquidem gloria est,* &c. "Since glory is the brilliant and wide-spread renown arising from many and important services, either to one's friends, or country, or the whole human race." — Some MSS. have *vel in suos cives;* but this would be pleonastic, as *in patriam* follows.

IX. 1. *Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est.* "This character, therefore, yet remains for you to sustain." A metaphor borrowed from the language of the stage. Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.*): "*Pars in scena est persona quam quis suscepit agendam.*" Hence the expressions in the Latin writers: "*actores primarum partium,*" "*actores secundarum partium,*" &c., *i. e.* "first-rate actors, second-rate," &c.

2. *Hic restat actus.* "This act remains to be performed," *i. e.* this act in the drama of your glory.

3. *In hoc elaborandum est,* &c. "For the attainment of this end must you exert your best endeavours, that you may place our republic on a firm basis, and be among the first to enjoy it, in its settled state, amid perfect tranquillity and retirement." In some good MSS. the word *composita* does not appear, and hence Faërnus, Lambinus, and Grævius have expunged it from the text. It is retained, however, by Ernesti, who thinks *composita* too good a term to have owed its origin to a mere gloss.

4. *Cum summa tranquillitate et otio.* Of which Cæsar had thus far enjoyed so little. Compare Manutius: "*Nam adhuc tranquillitate Cæsar et otio caruerat, perpetuis bellis, Pharsalico, Alexandrino, Africano vexatus.*"

5. *Et naturam ipsam expleveris,* &c. "And shall have satisfied Nature herself with a sufficient term of existence," *i. e.* when Nature herself is sated with living; when you shall have reached a good old age.

6. *Quid est enim,* &c. "For, after all, what is this same living long, in which there is always something that closes the scene; and, when this has arrived, all past pleasure goes for nothing, because there is none to be thereafter?" Cicero's argument is this. What is a long life, considered merely as such? It is only a space of time which eventually is to have an end; and, when this end arrives, all that went before passes for a mere blank, because a mere blank comes after. How much better is it to lead a glorious life, which knows no limits, but will be perpetuated amid the praises of posterity. Say not then, Cæsar, that you have now lived for a sufficient period; but rather turn your view to the career of glory which awaits you. When you have completed this, then say that you have lived long enough, for then your fame will be immortal.

7. *Quamquam iste,* &c. Cicero here corrects himself, in order that Cæsar may not take offence at what precedes.

8. *His angustiis,* &c. "With these narrow limits which nature has prescribed unto us for the mere purposes of existence," *i. e.* with the narrow limits of life which nature has prescribed.

9. *Nec vero hæc tua vita*, &c. "Nor in truth can this be regarded as your life which is bounded by the body and the soul," *i. e.* by the union of the soul with the body. — Some MSS. have *dicenda est* in place of *ducenda est*, which is adopted also by Lambinus, Wolf, Schütz, and others.

10. *Vita est tua.* "Is your true existence." — *Sæculorum omnium.* "Of all coming ages." — *Alet.* "Shall cherish." — *Tuebitur.* "Shall guard as its own," *i. e.* shall preserve. Equivalent to *conservabit* or *sustinebit.*

11. *Huic tu inservias*, &c. "It is for this existence that it behoves you now to labour, for this to show forth your glory to the world: an existence, which has long since possessed many things at which to wonder, which now looks for those that it may praise," *i. e.* an existence which already possesses many claims to our wonder, which now looks for claims to our applause.

12. *Imperia, provincias.* "Your commands, your provinces," *i. e.* the variety of important military commands which you have filled, the numerous countries which have been the theatres of those commands.

13. *Rhenum.* Referring to Cæsar's victories over the Gauls and Germans. — *Oceanum.* Alluding to his invasion of Britain. — *Nilum.* His operations in Egypt.

14. *Monumenta innumera.* "The countless monuments that perpetuate those victories." We have adopted *innumera*, the reading of several good MSS. and early editions, in place of the common lection, *monumenta, munera.* The term *munera*, as referring to mere *gladiatorial* shows, and public exhibitions, seems out of place here, the more especially as *triumphos* follows.

15. *Stabilita tuis consiliis*, &c. "Shall be placed on a sure basis by your counsels and laws."

16. *Magna dissensio.* "A great difference of opinion."

17. *Alii fortasse aliquid requirent.* "While others, perhaps, will miss the presence of something else." Literally, "will seek for," *i. e.* will seek but find not. — This "something" is explained immediately after. It is the extinguishing of the flames of civil war, by giving peace and safety to his country; or, in other words, the removing of every trace of former dissension, and the introduction of good order and public prosperity. In order to bring about these desirable results, the presence of Cæsar is necessary, and he has, therefore, not yet lived long enough. If he stop now, there is a chance lest posterity may assign his successes to the mere operation of the decrees of destiny. He must do something still, which shall render his wisdom and sound policy conspicuous to after-ages.

18. *Salute patriæ.* "By the safety of your country," *i. e.* by placing on a firm basis the safety and happiness of the Roman state.

19. *Ut illud*, &c. "That the former may appear to have been the work of fate, the latter of wisdom." *Illud* refers to Cæsar's previous achievements, *hoc* to what Cicero and posterity expect from him, in securing the repose of his country.

20. *Servi igitur*, &c. "Have regard then for the opinions of those judges, who, many ages after this, will decide concerning thee, and perhaps, indeed, more impartially than we ourselves." *Servire* is here equivalent to *rationem habere*, and carries with it the idea of labouring strenuously to secure some advantage, or to gain the good opinion of

another. (Compare Schütz, *Index Lat.* s. v.) — The judges to whom Cicero alludes are posterity, and their tribunal will be any but a partial one.

21. *Haud scio, an.* Consult *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. v. note 6. — *Et sine amore et sine cupiditate*, &c. "Unbiassed by both affection and a love of self, and free on the other hand from hatred and envy." *Cupiditas* refers here to schemes of personal advancement, which may be furthered by flattering the feelings of the powerful.

22. *Id autem etiam*, &c. "And even if this shall (as some falsely imagine), in no respect concern you then, it certainly concerns you now," &c., *i. e.* and even if the praises of posterity shall in no respect affect you (supposing that erroneous doctrine to be true which teaches that there is no existence beyond the grave), still, &c. —The expression *ut quidam falso putant* expresses Cicero's disbelief in the doctrine of materialism which was then prevalent at Rome among the upper classes. The remark comes in here with great beauty, and still greater force, since Cæsar himself was a believer in the non-existence of a future state, and had openly avowed his opinion, on a former occasion, during the debate in the senate respecting the punishment of the accomplices of Catiline. The future glory of Cæsar, as far as he himself shall be sensible of it, is here placed in full opposition to his own dark and chilling belief.

X. 1. *Diversæ voluntates*, &c. "The inclinations of the citizens were various, and their opinions wholly divided." Alluding to the period of the civil contest.

2. *Consiliis et studiis.* "In sentiments and wishes." Compare Manutius: consiliis *ad sententias refertur*, studiis *ad voluntates*."

3. *Erat autem obscuritas quædam.* "There was also an air of obscurity thrown, as it were, over the whole affair," *i. e.* the merits of the cause were dubious, and it was hard to say on which side the justice of the contest lay. — An adroit extenuation, on the part of Cicero, of his own error and that of his friends in espousing the cause of Pompey.

4. *Inter clarissimos duces.* "Between two most illustrious leaders," *i. e.* Cæsar and Pompey.

5. *Multi dubitabant*, &c. "Many were in doubt, what one of the two causes might be the most just; many, what might be most expedient for themselves; many, what might be becoming in their case; some even, what it might be permitted them to do." Cicero here gives us four distinct classes of persons, all engaging more or less in the civil contest, and all actuated by different sentiments. In the first class are the true patriots and lovers of their country, whose only object is to ascertain what may be most conducive to her welfare. In the second class are the pretended patriots, who have a single eye to their own interests. The third class consists of those who are under personal obligations to one or other of the two leaders, and who, in selecting a side, are to be governed in a great measure by the claims of previous attachment, or, in other words, by what is becoming in their case. The last class are the plunderers of party, whose only object is to ascertain how far they may go with impunity.

6. *Perfuncta est.* "Has at last gone through with," *i. e.* is at last freed from. According to the rule of the ancient grammarians, *defungor* is generally said of what is bad, and *perfungor* of what is good.

We have here, however, an exception to the remark. Compare *Har. Resp.* viii. and *Ep. ad Fam.* v. 12.

7. *Qui non fortuna*, &c. "Who would not inflame his resentment by success," *i. e.* who would not act as victors are accustomed to act, and make victory the occasion and means for indulging in fiercer resentment than ever against his political foes. — *Sed bonitate leniret.* "But would soften it down by clemency," *i. e.* would make a mild and merciful use of it.

8. *Morte.* Cæsar, after proving victorious, is said to have put none to death except Faustus Sylla, Afranius, and L. Cæsar. (Sueton. *Vit. Jul.* c. lxxv.)

9. *Arma ab aliis*, &c. "Their arms were laid down by some, were forced from others." Grævius condemns the use of *ab* in this sentence, as violating correct Latinity; but it is employed in a similar way by the best writers, and by Cicero himself in the following instances: *in Verr.* iii. 48. *in Vatin.* xii. 5. Compare Ernesti, *ad loc.*, and Duker ad Liv. xli. 14.

10. *Armorum periculo liberatus*, &c. "After having been freed from the danger of war, retains a spirit of warfare," *i. e.* who after having been forgiven, still cherishes hostile feelings.

11. *Ut etiam ille sit melior.* "So that even he is more worthy of excuse." — *In causa.* "In defence of the cause which he has espoused."

12. *Sed jam omnis*, &c. "Now, however, all civil disunion has been completely overcome by arms." Compare Manutius: "*Fracta*, h. e. *sublata, spoliata viribus.*"

13. *Unum velint.* "Unite in their wishes." — *Nisi.* "For unless." — *Qua usus es.* "Which you have expressed."

14. *Ut vitæ*, &c. Because on Cæsar's safety, and on the continuance of his life, depend the lives and safety of all.

15. *De me.* "As far as regards myself."

16. *Subesse aliquid.* "That something lies concealed." *Subesse* is here equivalent to *latere.* Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* x. 18.: "*Non possum non exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, qnod prius nocere potest, quam sciri curarique possit.*"

17. *Laterum nostrorum oppositus*, &c. "The intervention of our sides and of our bodies," *i. e.* we are willing to present our own bodies as a rampart between you and your foes.

XI. 1. *Sed unde est orsa*, &c. "But let my remarks terminate as they began." Literally, "Let my speech be ended in the same place whence it began," *i. e.* let me end as I began with an expression of thanks.

2. *Majores etiam habemus.* "We have still greater ones, which language cannot express." Compare Manutius: "*Plus enim animus comprehendit, quam quod exsequi verbis liceat.*"

3. *Stantibus.* When any senator spoke he stood up, except when he merely assented to another. Cicero means, therefore, that it is not necessary for all the assembled senators to address Cæsar "standing," *i. e.* personally or individually. Some of the early editions have *astantibus*, which appears in a few MSS.

4. *Dicere.* "To give utterance to those feelings in words." — *A me certe dici volunt.* "They wish them to be expressed by me at least." — *Et quod.* "Both because."

5. *Præcipue id*, &c. Ernesti rejects *præcipue id a me fieri*, and changes *debere* to *deberi*. But this is too bold, although resting in some degree on MS. authority.

6. *Non ut*. "Not as it were."

7. *Quod autem summæ*, &c. "What constitutes, moreover, a proof of the most intimate friendship (such as mine towards him was known by all on every occasion to have been, so that I scarcely yielded to Caius Marcellus, his most excellent and affectionate brother, except him, indeed, to no one,) this, after having displayed it as long as there was any doubt about his personal safety, by my solicitude, my care, my exertions in his behalf, I certainly ought to exhibit on the present occasion, freed as I now am from anxieties, troubles, sorrows of no ordinary magnitude." In the regular grammatical construction of this sentence the antecedent *id*, understood before *quod*, is governed by *præstare*. We have preferred, however, in order to render the whole more intelligible, to consider *quod* as elliptical for *quod attinet ad id quod*, and to understand another *id* before *præstare*.

8. *Itaque, C. Cæsar*, &c. The elegance of the idiom *sic . . . . . ut*, in this passage, is worthy of particular notice. It is the same, in effect, as *ob hoc, quod*. "Wherefore, Caius Cæsar, I return you my thanks *for this, because*, after having been not only restored by you in all respects to a state of safety, but even graced with honours, a crowning favour has nevertheless been added, by your conduct on this occasion to your countless acts of kindness already conferred upon me individually; a circumstance which I thought no longer able to be brought about."

It remains but to add a few words relative to Marcellus. The story of his fate is a singular one. After being pardoned by Cæsar, he left Mitylene, and had come as far as the Piræus, or harbour of Athens, on his way to Rome. Here he spent a day with his old friend and colleague, Servius Sulpicius, intending to pursue his journey the following day by sea. But in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, the 23d of May, he was killed by his friend and client Magius, who stabbed himself instantly with the same poniard. Sulpicius sent an account of the whole affair to Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 12.), of which the following is an extract: —

"On the 22d of May, I came by sea from Epidaurus to the Piræus, to meet my colleague Marcellus; and, for the sake of his company, spent that day with him there. The next day, when I took my leave of him with the intention of going from Athens into Bœotia, to finish the remaining part of my jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to set sail, at the same time, for Italy. The day following, about four in the morning, when I was preparing to set out for Athens, his friend P. Postumius came to let me know that Marcellus was stabbed by his companion, P. Magius Cilo, after supper, and had received two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other in his head near the ear; but he was in hopes still that he might live; that Magius presently killed himself; and that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the case, and to desire that I would bring some physicians to him. I got some together immediately, and went away with them before break of day. But when I was come near the Piræus, Alcidinus's boy met me with a note from his master, in which it was signified, that Marcellus died a little before day."

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, and had himself been quæstor. Having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, he was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause that induced him to commit this horrid act, which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble, on that score, upon his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his surety for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole, and, on receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron. (*Ep. ad Att.* xiii. 10.) According to others, however, he was prompted to the deed, by seeing other friends more favoured by Marcellus than himself. (Val. Max. ix. 11.)

ORATION IN FAVOUR OF THE MANILIAN LAW.

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "The oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero in favour of the Manilian Law." — This oration, which is accounted one of the most splendid of his productions, was the first in which Cicero addressed the whole people from the rostra. It was pronounced in favour of a law proposed by Manilius, a tribune of the commons (A. U. C. 687), for constituting Pompey sole general, with extraordinary powers, in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, in which Lucullus had previously commanded. The Mithridatic war had now continued for the space of twenty-three years, with some intermission, and with great alternations of fortune on both sides.

The chiefs of the senate regarded the law in question as a dangerous precedent in the republic; and all the authority of Catulus, and eloquence of Hortensius, were directed against it. Cicero, in advocating its being passed, divides his discourse into two parts — showing, first, that the importance and imminent dangers of the contest, in which the state was engaged, required the unusual remedy proposed, and — secondly, that Pompey was the fittest person to be intrusted with the conduct of the war. This leads to a splendid panegyric on that commander, in which, while he does justice to the merits of Lucullus, he enlarges on the military skill, valour, authority, and good fortune of his favourite chief, with all the force and beauty which language can afford. By dwelling on these topics, and by adducing examples from all antiquity of the state's having been benefited, or saved, by intrusting unlimited power to a single person, he allays all fears of the dangers, which, it was apprehended, might result to the constitution from such extensive authority being vested in one individual.

The Manilian law was passed, and the success of Pompey was brilliant and decisive, without any of those evil effects resulting to the state which the foes of the measure had predicted.

I. 2. *Quamquam mihi*, &c. "Although, Romans, the sight of your crowded assemblies has always appeared to me by far the most pleasing of spectacles, and this place, moreover, the most dignified for treating with you, the most honourable for haranguing."

3. *Hic autem locus.* Alluding to the *rostra*, where he was standing at the time. The rostra (more commonly, but less correctly, called *rostrum*) was a pulpit or tribunal, in the Roman forum, where those

who addressed the people stood. It was so called, because adorned with the *beaks* of the vessels said to have been taken from the Antiates. (Liv. viii. 14. — Varro, *L. L.* iv. 32.) There were at Rome the old and new rostra (*vetera et nova*); the former, which are here meant, stood in the centre of the forum (Appian, *B. C.* i. 94.), the latter at the base of the Palatine, in the southern angle of the forum. This last was erected by Cæsar. (Nardini, *R. V.* v. 3. — Rasche, *Lex Rei Num.* vol. vii. col. 1286.)

4. *Ad agendum.* The phrase *agere cum populo* signifies, " to treat with the people," *i. e.* to address them, soliciting their votes for or against a particular measure. Thus Aulus Gellius remarks (xiii. 15.): " *Cum populo agere est rogare quid populum quod suffragiis suis aut jubeat aut vetet.*"

5. *Amplissimus.* This epithet is here applied to the rostra, from the circumstance of magistrates alone, or those whom they permitted, being allowed to address the people from this place. So also, the expression *ad dicendum ornatissimus* indicates how honourable it was considered to harangue the people from the rostra. Compare the explanation of Hotomannus: " Ad agendum amplissimum *appellat, quod nullis nisi amplitudine præditis viris agere cum populo liceret;* ad dicendum ornatissimum *autem, quod ornamento esset iis qui concionabantur.*"

6. *Hoc aditu laudis,* &c. " From this avenue to praise, which has always lain freely open to each most meritorious individual." More literally, " which has always lain open in particular," &c. By *optimo cuique* are meant the wise and good. With a magistrate's permission, private persons were allowed to address the people from the rostra.

7. *Mea voluntas.* " My own inclinations."

8. *Meæ vitæ rationes,* &c. " The rules of conduct formed by me from the very commencement of my career." More literally, " my way of life," &c. Cicero here refers to the rule, which he had laid down for himself, of attending to the private concerns and cases of his friends, until age and experience should qualify him for appearing in public and addressing the people from the rostra. — By *ætate* in this sentence is meant, not boyhood, but the period of Cicero's entering on active and professional pursuits.

9. *Per ætatem.* Cicero had already held the offices of quæstor and ædile before he addressed the people on this occasion. He was now in his 41st year.

10. *Hujus auctoritatem loci attingere.* " To have aught to do with the authority of this place," *i. e.* to aspire, in the slightest degree, to the honour of addressing you from such a place as this, where none but the most eminent individuals ought to be heard. —*Attingere* properly means, " to touch gently," " to come in slight contact with," and is, therefore, the very term to employ in the present case. It is sanctioned by the authority of many MSS., and is adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. The common reading *contingere* is too strong, implying, " to come in full contact with," " to reach," &c.

11. *Nisi perfectum ingenio,* &c. " But what had been perfected by maturity of talent, carefully wrought out by assiduous application." Cicero assigns three reasons for his not ascending the rostra at an earlier period: first, the rule of conduct which he had prescribed to himself, in devoting his chief attention, at first, to the private cases of his friends; secondly, the modesty and diffidence arising from his consciousness of

the want of experience; and, thirdly, the conviction, that no one ought to address the people from the place where he then stood, except after his abilities had become matured by age, and sharpened by application and extensive experience.

12. *Omne meum tempus,* &c. "I thought that all my time ought to be devoted to the concerns of my friends," *i. e.* to my friends standing in need of my assistance and advice. As regards the peculiar force of *temporibus,* in this passage, consult *Orat. pro Arch.* ch. vi. note 8. — *Transmittendum.* More literally, "ought to be transferred."

13. *Vestram causam.* "Your interests." Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Rostra enim nemo nisi pro populo dicturus ascendit.*"

14. *Et meus labor,* &c. "And my exertions fairly and faithfully employed amid the dangers of private individuals, have reaped from your suffrages a most ample reward," *i. e.* employed by me in warding off the dangers which threatened my clients. Some commentators consider the expressions *caste integreque* as having reference to the Cincian law, by which advocates were not allowed to take any fees or presents from their clients. (See *Legal Index.*) The allusion, however, seems rather to be a general one, to professional fidelity and care.

15. *Propter dilationem comitiorum.* "On account of the adjournment of the comitia." The comitia were adjourned, *i. e.* stopped, and put off to another day, for various reasons. Any magistrate of equal or greater authority than the one who presided, might, as well as the latter, take the auspices before the meeting was held, especially if he wished to hinder an election, or prevent a law from being passed. If such magistrate, therefore, declared that he had heard thunder or seen lightning, the comitia were broken off, and deferred to another day. The same result was produced if any person, while they were being held, was seized with epilepsy, if a tempest arose, if a tribune of the commons interposed his veto, &c.

16. *Ter prætor primus,* &c. "I was thrice declared first prætor by all the centuries," *i. e.* twice at the two comitia that were broken off, and where the people had already manifested their good wishes towards him, and the third time when he was actually elected. The number of prætors at this time was eight. He was called *prætor primus,* or first prætor, who had the largest number of votes, and the result of the election was always proclaimed by the voice of a herald, who was said *renunciare,* "to declare" the result, just as the successful candidates were said *renunciari.* Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* c. ix.) informs us, that, on this occasion, Cicero had many persons of distinction for competitors, and yet he was returned first.

17. *Centuriis cunctis.* The prætors were chosen at the *comitia centuriata,* as were also the consuls, censors, &c. The inferior magistrates, such as the ædiles, tribunes, quæstors, &c., were elected at the *comitia tributa.* At the latter of these comitia, the vote of each citizen counted, whereas at the *centuriata* the centuries of the different classes voted as such. Thus, there were 193 centuries, forming six classes, and of these the first and richest class consisted of ninety-seven centuries. If the centuries of the first class agreed, the affair was decided. This arrangement, which dated back as far as the time of Servius Tullius, was intended to place all the power in the hands of the upper classes.

18. *Et quid aliis præscriberetis.* "And what course of conduct you prescribed to others," *i. e.* in case they wish to attain to your favour in

as signal a manner as I had. The course prescribed was the one which Cicero had pursued, namely, to devote their earlier efforts to the concerns of friends and clients, until the experience which this brought along with it entitled them to come forward with strong claims on the favour of the people.

19. *Quantum vos honoribus*, &c. " As you have willed there should be in the circumstance of your conferring honours upon me," *i. e.* as you have willed should be annexed to the offices which you have bestowed upon me. — *Honoribus mandandis.* Literally, " in assigning honours." Compare the explanation of Fabricius: " *dum honores mihi mandatis.*" The common text has *mandandum*, for which we have given *mandandis* with Fabricius, Ernesti, and others, on the authority of several MSS.

20. *Et ad agendum*, &c. " And as much fitness for addressing you, as the almost daily exercise of speaking has been able to bring with it to a man of industrious habits, from the practice of the bar," *i. e.* to one who has thus far been merely a pleader at the bar. — *Ad agendum.* Literally, " for treating with you." Compare note 4.

21. *Ea apud eos utar*, &c. " I will exert it with those," &c. *i. e.* " in the presence of," or, " before those." The allusion is to the Roman people assembled in comitia.

22. *Dicendo.* This serves to explain *ad agendum*, in the previous part of the sentence, with which it is synonymous.

23. *Qui ei quoque rei*, &c. " Who have thought that some recompence for this also should be awarded me by their suffrages." By the expression *ei rei*, Cicero means, not so much the mere habit of speaking at the bar, considered in itself, as the fact of his having always exerted himself there in defending the welfare and interests of his friends and clients. — *Fructum.* The recompence alluded to was the prætorship, which he had obtained that very year, A. U. C. 687.

24. *Atque illud*, &c. " And I see that the following circumstance, in particular, ought with good reason to afford me a ground of rejoicing," *i. e.* that I ought, with good reason, to congratulate myself on the following account.

25. *In hac insolita mihi*, &c. " In this, to me unusual mode of speaking from the place where I now stand," *i. e.* unaccustomed as I am to harangue in this manner, and from this place. The pronoun *hoc*, with *loco*, indicates the gesture of the orator.

26. *Oratio.* " An eloquent appeal." Literally, " an oration," or " harangue."

27. *Difficilius est exitum*, &c. On account, namely, of the rich abundance of materials, with which the merits of Pompey cannot fail to supply the speaker. Cicero's harangue here will remind the student of the exordium of Lysias, in the speech against Eratosthenes: *Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ . . . . . ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι.*

28. *Copia.* " An abundant supply of materials." — *Modus.* " Some limit."

II. 1. *Unde hæc omnis causa ducitur.* " Whence the whole of the affair now under consideration is derived." We have adopted *ducitur*, the reading of the best editions, in place of *dicitur*, which is exhibited by the common text.

2. *Vestris vectigalibus atque sociis.* "Against your tributaries and allies." The *vectigales* were they who paid taxes or tribute in the produce of their lands; the *stipendiarii*, on the contrary, in money. The former were in a better condition than the latter, since the proportion of produce paid by them depended always on the nature of the crop, being less in years of scarcity than in those when the harvests were abundant; whereas, in the case of the *stipendiarii*, the amount was always the same one year with another. Consult Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Stipendiarius*), and the authorities there cited.

3. *Mithridate et Tigrane.* The former, king of Pontus, the latter of Armenia. Tigranes was son-in-law to Mithridates. Consult *Historical Index.*

4. *Quorum alter relictus.* "The one of whom being left unmolested after defeat," *i. e.* not being pushed after defeat; the victory on the part of the Romans not being followed up. The allusion is to Mithridates, who, after being repeatedly overcome by Lucullus, had again become powerful, the Roman general not being able to follow up his successes, in consequence of the mutinous spirit of his troops. Part of his army had been discharged and disembodied, the remainder transferred to Glabrio. Compare the end of chapter ix.: "*Hic in ipso illo malo,*" &c.

5. *Alter lacessitus.* "The other provoked by your arms," *i. e.* roused to action by the movements of Lucullus. This is a mere piece of oratorical exaggeration. The truth was, Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with their whole force, when Lucullus marched into Armenia. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. xxiv. *seq.*)

6. *Asiam.* The Roman province of Asia is here meant, comprehending Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia. Consult *Geographical Index.* The revenues of this province were extremely rich, and hence the tempting nature of the prize. Compare the remark of Manutius: "Asiam, *cujus certissima et magna vectigalia.*"

7. *Equitibus Romanis.* The Roman knights, or equites, farmed the public revenues from the censors. — *Honestissimis viris.* "A very honourable class of men." Cicero, himself of equestrian origin, always uses this and similar language in speaking of the equites.

8. *Quorum magnæ res aguntur,* &c. "Large sums belonging to whom are now at stake there, being laid out by them in the farming of your revenues." The equites, or as they were more commonly called, *publicani,* had purchased the revenues of the province of Asia from the censors, for a large amount, and were to look to the actual collection of those revenues for reimbursement and profit. The large sums of money, thus advanced by them to the state, were endangered by the prospect of war; since success on the part of the foe, and the consequent ravaging of the fields, would impair of course the productiveness of the province, and lessen materially the chances of repayment.

9. *Occupatæ.* Equivalent here to *collocatæ.* Compare *pro Flacc.* xxi.: "*Pecuniam adolescentulo, grandi fenore, fiducia tamen accepta, occupavisti:*" and also *in Verr.* i. 36.: "*Pecunias occuparat apud populos, et syngraphas fecerat.*"

10. *Qui.* "These," — *Pro necessitudine,* &c. "On account of the intimate connection which exists between me and that order." Cicero, as we have already remarked, was himself of equestrian family. Compare *pro Rab.* vi.: "*Vos equites Romani videte: scitis me ortum a vobis.*"

11. *Periculaque rerum suarum.* "And the dangers to which their own private fortunes are exposed."

12. *Bithyniæ.* Consult *Geographical Index.* — *Quæ nunc vestra provincia est.* "Which is now a province of yours." Nicomedes, the last sovereign of Bithynia, had, by his will, made the Roman people his heirs. The ostensible cause of this bequest was gratitude to the Romans, for having been restored to his dominions by Sylla after having been driven out by Mithridates. (Eutrop. vi. 6. — Appian, *B. M.* vii.)

13. *Regnum Ariobarzanis.* Cappadocia. Ariobarzanes was thrice driven from his throne by Mithridates. The first and second time he was restored by Lucullus, the third by Pompey. The period, alluded to in the text, is that which intervened between his second expulsion and final restoration, and during which Mithridates had again become powerful in consequence of the recall of Lucullus. (Appian, *B. M.* x. *seqq.*)

14. *Ab eo bello discedere.* It was now about eight years since Lucullus was sent to the Mithridatic war; and he had, during this period, by a series of brilliant successes, acquired for himself a high military reputation. He had driven Mithridates out of his kingdom of Pontus, and gained several memorable victories over him and his son-in-law Tigranes. His success, however, occasioned envious feelings at Rome, and it was alleged against him, that he had not pushed the war with vigour against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being still continued in command. His army, besides, had become restless and mutinous, from the perpetual fatigues to which they were exposed, but principally from the factious arts of Clodius, brother-in-law to Lucullus, who was an officer in the army, and conceived himself neglected by the commander. The disaffection of the troops was still farther increased by an unlucky defeat of Triarius, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, who in a rash engagement with Mithridates, was destroyed, with the loss of his camp and the best of his troops. As soon, therefore, as they heard that Glabrio, the consul of the previous year, was appointed to succeed him, and had actually arrived in Asia, they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to follow Lucullus any longer, declaring that they had ceased to be his soldiers.

15. *Huic qui successerit,* &c. "That the individual who has succeeded him is but ill prepared for the management of so important a war." The allusion is to Glabrio, who was appointed to succeed Lucullus. The words *non satis esse paratum* ostensibly refer to the inadequate state of his resources; but they contain also a covert allusion to his mental incapacity. Cicero (*Brut.* lxviii.) describes Glabrio, as "*Socors ipsius natura negligensque.*" The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in *successerit.* The speaker gives merely the language of rumour, and does not state as a fact, within his own knowledge, that Glabrio has, by this time, actually assumed the command. So that *qui successerit* means in truth, "who is said, by this time, to have succeeded him." In place of *successerit* some read *succurrerit,* which last Hotomann endeavours to defend, as expressing the eagerness with which Glabrio seized the command, when superseding Lucullus. But *successerit* is every way preferable.

16. *Unum.* "That one individual." Alluding to Pompey. — *Eundem hunc unum,* &c. "That this same one individual is feared by the enemy, no one besides."

17. *Causa quæ sit.* "What is the nature of the affair before you,"

i. e. what is the nature of the discussion which now claims your attention.

18. *De genere belli.* "Of the character of the war."

19. *Ad studium persequendi.* "To the desire of inflicting a severe retaliation." These words are omitted in the common text, but supplied by Grævius and Ernesti from MSS.

20. *In quo agitur,* &c. "For in it the glory of the Roman people is at stake." *In quo,* beginning the clause, is equivalent to *nam in eo.*

21. *Certissima vectigalia et maxima.* "The surest and most important revenues." We have here another specimen of oratorical exaggeration, since Cicero elsewhere (*de Leg. Agr.* ii. 29.) speaks of the Campanian *vectigalia* as the surest and best: "*An ignoratis, cetera illa magnifica populi Romani vectigalia, perlevi sæpe momento fortunæ, inclinatione temporis pendere? Quid nos Asiæ portus, quid Syriæ rura, quid omnia transmarina vectigalia juvabunt, tenuissima suspicione prædonum aut hostium injecta? At vero hoc agri Campani vectigal cum ejusmodi est, ut domi sit, et omnibus præsidiis oppidorum tegatur: tum neque bellis infestum, nec fructibus varium, nec cœlo ac loco calamitosum esse solet.*"

22. *Et pacis ornamenta,* &c. "You will have to seek anew for both the ornaments of peace, and the sinews of war," *i. e.* you will miss, you will feel the want of what constitute the ornaments of peace, &c. The same idea is expressed in the second oration against the agrarian law of Rullus (c. xxix.), already referred to in the previous note: "*Pacis ornamentum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium.*" Compare chapter vi. of the present speech: "*Si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis.*"

23. *A vobis et ipsorum,* &c. In the early editions, and in most MSS. we find *a vobis et imperatoribus reipublicæ consulendum.* Lambinus obtained the reading in the text from three MSS., and it has been adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. Ernesti remarks: "*Ego verum nullam causam idoneam video quare hic imperatores populi Romani commemorentur, cum de uno deligendo agatur, et quidem per populum Romanum.*"

III. 1. *Delenda vobis,* &c. "That stain, contracted in the previous Mithridatic war, must be effaced by you, which has now sunk deeply in, and become identified by lapse of time with the name of the Roman people." *Inveterasco,* which we have here rather paraphrased than translated, means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c.

2. *Quod is,* &c. "That he," &c. Referring to Mithridates, and his indiscriminate slaughter of the Romans in Asia. This monarch sent secret orders to all the governors of his Asiatic provinces, enjoining them to massacre, on the thirtieth day after the receipt of these instructions, all the Romans and Italians in their several districts, without regard to age or sex, and to leave their bodies without the rites of burial. (Appian, *B. M.* xxii.) Plutarch makes the number slain on this occasion to have been 150,000. (*Vit. Syll.* c. xxiv.) Valerius Maximus (ix. 2. 3.) gives it as 80,000, which is probably nearer the truth. This event occurred in the consulship of Sylla and Q. Pompeius Rufus, A. U. C. 666; B. C. 88.

3. *Uno die.* The massacre took place on the same day throughout the cities of Asia. The interval of thirty days was prescribed, in order that the secret intelligence might be communicated in time to the more

distant cities. The messenger would have time to visit all in thirty days, and all would then be prepared to act in concert.

4. *Tot in civitatibus.* Appian (*B. M.* xxiii.) enumerates several of the Greek cities of Asia which obeyed the cruel directions of Mithridates, and mentions also the different ways in which the order was executed. Temples and altars afforded no refuge. The only two states that remained faithful to the Romans, amid the general defection which followed this disaster, were Magnesia and Rhodes.

5. *Atque una literarum significatione.* "And by the import of a single letter." The confidential messenger had a letter, or general circular, which he showed to each of the governors of the cities.

6. *Cives Romanos,* &c. "Marked out Roman citizens for butchery and death." We have altered, in translating, the position of *trucidandos* and *necandos,* in order to adapt the meaning more to the English idiom. *Trucido* is to put to death with circumstances of cruelty, to butcher, &c.

7. *Sed ab illo tempore,* &c. "But is now reigning for the twenty-third year from that period." This oration was delivered A. U. C. 687. The massacre took place A. U. C. 666.

8. *Neque Cappadociæ latebris.* "Nor in the lurking places of Cappadocia." The term *latebræ* refers to the inland situation of this country, compared with the other regions that border upon Pontus. Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Quia gentium universarum, quæ Pontum accolunt, una maxime introrsus recedit:*" and also Cicero (*Agr.* ii. 21.), "*In Paphlagoniæ tenebris, atque in Cappadociæ solitudine.*"

9. *E patrio regno.* Pontus. Mithridates was the seventh monarch of the name that ruled over this country. — *Atque in vestris vectigalibus,* &c. "And to carry on his operations in the midst of your tributaries, that is, under the very eyes of Asia." The force of *luce,* in this clause, is apparent, from its being contrasted with *latebris occultare.* Compare *Ep. ad Quint. Fratr.* i. 1. 2.: "*Istam virtutem non latere in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiæ, in oculis clarissimæ provinciæ, atque in auribus omnium gentium esse positam.*"

10. *Insignia victoriæ.* "The badges of victory," *i. e.* standards and other emblems of success. Some commentators consider the allusion to be to triumphs, but erroneously. — *Non victoriam.* "Not victory itself."

11. *L. Murena.* L. Licinius Murena was the lieutenant of Sylla. Consult *Historical Index.*

12. *Pulsus superatusque regnaret.* "Though repulsed and vanquished still reigned."

13. *Quod egerunt.* "For what they did," *i. e. propter id quod egerunt.* — *Quod reliquerunt.* "For what they left undone." Matthiæ considers *quod* a conjunction here, and after *reliquerunt* understands *Mithridatem.* The construction we have adopted is much simpler. If *quod* be a conjunction with *reliquerunt,* it must also be a conjunction with *egerunt,* than which nothing can be more awkward.

14. *Respublica.* "The state of public affairs at home." The successes of the Marian faction at home induced Sylla to return to Italy. He made one treaty with Mithridates; and Murena, his lieutenant, when recalled by him, made another. Hence, in strictness, the present was the third Mithridatic war.

15. *Murenam Sulla revocavit.* Sylla had pressing occasion, very probably, for all these troops in Italy. According to Plutarch (who obtained his information from the commentaries of Sylla), he had to

encounter on his return home, upon this occasion, fifteen generals, who had under them not less than twenty-five legions. (*Vit. Sull.* c. xxvii.)

IV. 1. *Omne reliquum tempus.* Referring to the interval between the departure of Murena and the renewal of hostilities by the Romans. — *Ad comparationem novi.* "To preparations for a new one."

2. *Qui, posteaquam,* &c. "For after he had built and equipped," &c. *Qui* beginning a clause is here equivalent to *ille.*

3. *Bosporanis.* "Against the inhabitants of the Bosporus." The people of the Thracian Bosporus (*Straits of Constantinople*) are meant, who had revolted from him to the Romans.

4. *Legatos.* L. Magius and L. Fannius, expatriated citizens of Rome, and belonging to the Marian faction, who had fled to Mithridates, and had persuaded him to send them as ambassadors to Sertorius, the head of the Marian party, who was now very powerful in Spain. (Appian, *B. M.* lxviii.) Asconius, in his comments on the first oration against Verres (c. xxxiv.), remarks as follows: "*Hi transfugæ facti a Mariano exercitu, apud Mithridatem agentes, ab eodem rege ad Sertorium missi erant de paciscenda societate belli adversus Romanos: quos in Italia jam positos, et ad Sertorium festinantes, et hostes judicaverat, et inquirendos mandaverat senatus.*"

5. *Ac literas.* "And letters," *i. e.* proposals or despatches. The MSS. vary considerably here. Some have *Ecbatanis,* which is the reading adopted in the common text, others *Electanis, Electariis, e Lebetanis, ac literas.* This latter reading has been adopted by Matthiæ, Orellius, and others. It is certainly far preferable to *Ecbatanis,* since Ecbatana, in Media, does not appear to have been visited by Mithridates, or even Tigranes.

6. *Ad eos duces.* Referring to Sertorius and his followers. This commander had formed a senate, composed of the senators proscribed by Sylla, as well as others of his own choosing, and endeavoured, in every possible respect, to imitate the form of government at home. The leaders referred to were, besides himself, his lieutenants and other officers. — *Duobus in locis.* Pontus and Spain.

7. *Uno consilio.* "In accordance with one common plan of operations." — *A binis hostium copiis.* The distributive numerals are used with words which have no singular, or whose singular, as in the present instance, has a different signification from the plural. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 72.) This rule is of use in translating: thus *duæ literæ,* "two letters of the alphabet," but *binæ literæ,* "two epistles." *Tria vestimenta,* "three pieces of clothing," but *terna vestimenta,* "three suits of clothing." *Quatuor castra,* "four fortresses," or "castles," but *quaterna castra,* "four camps," &c.

8. *Vos, ancipiti contentione districti,* &c. "You, embarrassed by a contest pressing you on both sides, might have to contend for empire itself," *i. e.* for the very existence of your empire. *Districti* is here equivalent to *in angustias redacti.* Some read *destricti,* others *distracti,* but both are inferior.

9. *Sed tamen alterius partis,* &c. "The danger, however, which threatened on one side, from Sertorius and Spain." Manutius suspects the words *Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis* of being a mere gloss.

10. *Firmamenti ac roboris.* "Of enduring strength." Literally,

"of stability and strength." Owing, namely, to the military talents of Sertorius.

11. *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio*, &c. "Was warded off by the god-like wisdom and unequalled valour of Cneius Pompeius." This is the language of gross adulation. Sertorius was incomparably the better general of the two; and, had he not lost his life by the treachery of some of his followers, would most certainly have proved superior in the contest. —Cicero had the consulship in view, and his object, therefore, was to gain the good will of the people by extolling their favourite, and secure also by this means the friendship of Pompey.

12. *In altera parte*. "In the opposite quarter." Referring to Asia. — *Ita res a L. Lucullo*, &c. Cicero's object is to depreciate Lucullus, in proportion as he seeks to elevate the character of Pompey. He manages this, however, with great adroitness, for he apparently allows great praise to Lucullus, but then there is always something added which diminishes its force. Whereas, in Pompey's case, his commendations are unbounded, and even fulsome. Lucullus, like Sertorius, was far superior to Pompey in military talents.

13. *Initia gestarum rerum*. "Beginnings of exploits." Alluding to the earlier movements of Lucullus in the Mithridatic war.

14. *Hæc autem extrema*. "These latter reverses, however." Mithridates had, on the departure of Lucullus, not only regained possession of Pontus, but had even made an inroad into the Roman province of Asia. He had defeated also the lieutenants of Lucullus, and made himself master of a large part of Asia Minor. Compare chapter ix.

15. *Non culpæ, sed fortunæ*. "Not to any fault of his, but to his ill fortune." This, though apparently fair, is in fact very invidiously uttered. Cicero afterwards, in enumerating the qualifications of an able general, gives good fortune a very conspicuous place, and finds, of course, a very great abundance of it in his favourite Pompey.

16. *Alio loco*. He returns to Lucullus in the 8th chapter. — *Oratione nostra*. "By any remarks of mine."

17. *Afficta esse*. "To be bestowed upon him." *Affingere* literally means, to add by framing, devising, or inventing. Compare *pro Cluent.* c. iv.: "*Faciam ut intelligatis . . . . . . quid error affinxerit, quid invidia conflarit.*"

18. *Exorsus*. "The true beginning." — *Quem vobis*, &c. "What feelings you are to think ought to be entertained by you."

V. 1. *Mercatoribus ac naviculariis*, &c. "Because their traders and proprietors of vessels were treated in too wrongful a manner." The *mercatores*, among the Romans, remained a very short time in a place, visited many countries, and were almost constantly occupied with exporting and importing articles of merchandise. The *negotiatores*, on the other hand, remained for some considerable time in a particular spot. — *Naviculariis*. This is the reading of Lambinus, and is adopted also by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. It is found in good MSS. The early editions have *naviculatoribus*, which occurs nowhere else in the ancient writers.

2. *Tot millibus*. Plutarch, as we have already remarked, makes the number 150,000, but Valerius Maximus 80,000.

3. *Legati quod erant appellati superbius*. "Because their ambassadors were addressed in too haughty a manner." Cicero purposely

lessens the nature of the offence, that it may be contrasted the more forcibly with the conduct of Mithridates. He makes it to have been merely an employment of haughty language on the part of the Corinthians. What the insult really was, is differently represented by the ancient writers, and nowhere clearly appears. Strabo (viii. p. 381. ed. Casaub.) says, that filth was thrown upon the Roman ambassadors from one of the houses of the city, as they were passing by: τινὲς καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων παριόντων τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν, ἐθάῤῥησαν καταντλῆσαι βόρβορον. Livy, on the other hand, (*Epit.* lib. lii.) states, that personal violence was offered them: "*Corinthum ex senatus-consulto diruit, quod ibi legati Romani violati erant.*"

4. *Exstinctum.* Referring grammatically to *lumen.* Some read *exstinctam*, agreeing with *Corinthum.* Corinth was destroyed by Mummius, the Roman consul, and with it fell the Archæan league. Consult *Geographical Index.*

5. *Legatum populi Romani*, &c. The allusion is to Manius Aquilius, who had defeated the slaves in Sicily. He was sent at the head of the Roman commissioners to restore to their kingdoms Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who had been driven out by Mithridates. His haughty demeanour soon brought matters to an open rupture with that monarch, who defeated and took him prisoner. The conqueror led him about the country on an ass, and obliged him by blows and scourging to proclaim, from time to time, to the assembled spectators, that he was Manius Aquilius. At length he brought him to Pergamus, where he caused melted gold to be poured down his throat, as a sarcasm upon the cupidity of the Romans. (Appian, *B. M.* xxi. — Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 14.)

6. *Illi libertatem civium*, &c. "They brooked not even an infringement of the personal privileges of Roman citizens."

7. *Verbo.* "Only by word." Compare the language of the speaker just above: "*Legati quod erant appellati superbius.*"—*Illi persecuti sunt.* "They avenged."

8. *Vos legatum*, &c. "Will you leave unnoticed an ambassador put to death by every species of torture?" Before *relinquetis* some editions have *inultum* expressed, but it arose probably from a marginal gloss. *Relinquetis* is far better without the presence of *inultum*, and is elegantly opposed to *persecuti sunt.*

9. *Quid, quod salus sociorum*, &c. "What shall I say of this, that the safety of your allies is involved in the most imminent danger." The terms *periculum* and *discrimen* ("danger" and "hazard") being nearly synonymous, are employed by Cicero, according to the custom of the Latin writers, to indicate a high degree of danger, and we have rendered them, accordingly as one word. — The ellipsis in *quid, quod*, is to be supplied as follows: *Quid dicam de hoc, quod.*

10. *Duo reges.* Mithridates and his son-in-law Tigranes.

11. *Cuncta Asia atque Græcia.* Weiske considers *Asia* and *Græcia* as ablatives, "throughout all Asia and Greece." The nominative however, appears neater, "the whole of Asia and of Greece."

12. *Imperatorem certum.* "A particular commander." Pompey. — *Alium.* Glabrio, the consul of the previous year, now, of course, proconsul.

13. *Summo sine periculo.* The risk alluded to is that of offending the commander actually appointed.

14. *Unum virum.* Pompey. — *In quo summa sint omnia.* "In whom the highest qualities centre," *i. e.* the highest qualifications for the successful management of the war.

15. *Prope.* Pompey had just brought the war with the pirates to a successful issue, settling many of them in the little towns of Cilicia. He was now employed in visiting some of the cities of the East.

16. *Quo etiam carent ægrius.* "On which account they even feel the want of him the more sensibly." Literally, "they want him the more painfully."

17. *Maritimum bellum.* "The war with the Cilician pirates." The power of the pirates, as Plutarch remarks (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxiv.), had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little noticed. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services which they had rendered the king. Afterwards, in the interval between the first and second Mithridatic wars, the Romans being engaged in civil contests at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; not only attacking ships, but islands, and maritime towns. They had, in various places, arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities taken to four hundred. They not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also intercepted their convoys, and made prisoners of their generals. Nay, they not only attacked the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast. Two prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, were carried off with all their servants and lictors; and the daughter of Antonius, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, was seized by them as she was going to her country-house near Misenum, and the father was forced to pay a large ransom for her release. At length, by the Gabinian law, Pompey was sent against them, and speedily reduced them to subjection and broke up their haunts.

18. *Impetus hostium.* Referring to the forces of Mithridates, whose movements, according to Cicero, were "checked and retarded" by the mere knowledge that Pompey was in Asia, though in a different part of the country.

19. *Quoniam libere loqui non licet.* Through fear, namely, of offending the Roman commander who then had charge of the Mithridatic war.

20. *Quorum salutem tali viro commendetis.* "Of having their safety intrusted by you to such an individual." Literally, "whose safety you may intrust," &c.

21. *Atque hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros.* "And on this account even more than the rest," *i. e. atque ut existimetis se hoc etiam magis dignos quam ceteros socios,* &c.

22. *Cum imperio.* "With military command." — *Ipsorum adventus,* &c. "The entrance of these same individuals into the cities of our allies differs," &c. Literally, "the entrances," &c., *adventus* being the nominative plural. Among the Latin writers, abstract and verbal nouns are often put in the plural, to mark that the action designated takes place at various times, where in English we only use the singular.

23. *Hunc audiebant antea.* Alluding to his previous operations in Italy, Africa, Spain, &c. Consult *Historical Index.*

24. *Tanta temperantia.* "Of so much self-control." This virtue is

here purposely named first, that it may be contrasted in a more marked degree with the rapacity that characterised the other Roman commanders.

VI. 1. *Cum Antiocho.* The order of time is not observed. The war with the Carthaginians should, strictly speaking, have been named first. It broke out A. U. C. 489, and the ostensible cause was the lending of aid, on the part of the Romans, to the Mamertines, in Messana, who had entreated their aid against the forces of Carthage. The true motive to the war was the spirit of rivalry between Rome and Carthage. It is called in history the First Punic War. — Next in order was the contest with Philip, king of Macedonia. He was the third of that name, and must not be confounded with the father of Alexander, who lived long before. The Romans made war upon him because he had attacked the Athenians, the allies of the republic. This occurred A. U. C. 553. — The collision with Antiochus the Great took place A. U. C. 562, and the contest was terminated by his defeat and submission the ensuing year. It was connected with the war against the Ætolians, who had raised commotions in Greece against the allies of Rome, and had invited Antiochus, monarch of Syria, to their aid.

2. *Injuriis provocatos.* "Irritated by a series of personal injuries," *i. e.* injuries offered, not to your allies, but to yourselves.

3. *Præsertim cum,* &c. "Especially when your most important revenues are at stake."

4. *Tanta sunt.* "Are so inconsiderable." *Tanta* is here equivalent to *tantilla,* or, more correctly speaking, its literal meaning in this passage is, "so great, and no greater." Hence arises the idea of scantiness and diminution. Instances of a similar usage occur in Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 34.): "*Præsidii tantum est* ("there is so small a garrison") *ut ne murus quidem cingi potest,*" and Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.* viii. 10.): "*Si bellum tantum erit* ("so unimportant") *ut vos aut successores sustinere possint.*"

5. *Asia.* Referring to the Roman province of that name. Consult chap. ii. note 6.

6. *Ut et ubertate agrorum,* &c. Cicero here enumerates the ordinary sources of Roman revenue, the productions of the earth, the pasture-grounds, and the exports generally.

7. *Et belli utilitatem,* &c. "To uphold both the means of usefulness in war, and of dignity in peace." We have retained the common reading with Ernesti and many others. Grævius gives *ad belli,* &c. instead of *et belli,* from one of his MSS., and makes *sustinere* refer to *eam* understood. The common lection is more Ciceronian.

8. *Cum venit calamitas.* "When calamity has actually come." — *In vectigalibus.* "In the case of your revenues." — *Affert calamitatem.* "Brings ruinous consequences along with it."

9. *Pecora relinquuntur.* "The flocks are abandoned." Servius (ad Virg. *Georg.* iii. 64.) cites this passage apparently, and reads *pecua* from *pecu.* But *pecua* does not occur in any of the MSS.

10. *Mercatorum navigatio conquiescit.* "The trading of the merchants begins to subside." More freely, "commerce stagnates."

11. *Ita neque ex portu,* &c. Cicero here enumerates the three principal sources of the revenue obtained from the Roman provinces: — 1. *Ex portu.* "From the harbour," *i. e.* from duties imposed on exports and imports. — 2. *Ex decumis.* "From tithes." The *decumæ* were

a tenth part of corn, and a fifth of other produce, paid by those who tilled the public lands. — 3. *Ex scriptura.* "From the public woods and pastures." *Scriptura* was the tax paid from public woods and pastures, and was so called, because those, who wished to feed their cattle there, subscribed (*scribebant*) their names before the farmer of this branch of revenue, and paid a certain sum for each beast.

12. *Vectigal conservari potest.* "Can any imposts be obtained." — *Totius anni fructus.* "The revenue of an entire year."

13. *Qui vectigalia nobis pensitant.* "Who pay duties unto us." — *Qui exercent atque exigunt.* "Who farm and collect them."

14. *Cum publicani,* &c. "When the farmers of the revenue think that they hold, at great risk, the very numerous bodies of slaves whom they have employed in the pasture-grounds, in the fields, in the harbours, and custom-houses." *Familia* is here used in its primitive sense, as denoting a body of slaves belonging to a particular master. Compare the remark of Festus: "Famuli *origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos servus* famel *nominabatur, unde et* familia *vocata.*"

15. *Saltibus.* The common text has *salinis* ("salt-works"), but no other trace has been discovered of a revenue derived from salt-works, in Asia Minor; and, what is of still greater weight, if we retain the common lection, mention will only be made, in this passage, of two branches of revenue, the *decumæ* and those *ex portu,* while the third branch, *scriptura,* will be passed over in silence. Influenced by these considerations, Lipsius first conjectured *saltibus* for *salinis,* and his emendation has been approved of by Gronovius, Burmann, Ernesti, Schütz, and others, and admitted by some of them into the text. We have followed their authority. One MS. of Lambinus' has *silvis.* Aldus conjectured *salictis,* as referring to the pasture-grounds, which abounded with groves of willow.

16. *Custodiis.* By *custodiæ* are here meant a kind of custom-houses, where a number of persons, generally slaves, were stationed by the *publicani,* to guard against smuggling. Sometimes the term is applied to the persons themselves, and is then analogous to our modern expression, "custom-house officers."

17. *Illis rebus frui posse.* "Can reap any advantage from those things." — *Qui vobis fructui sunt.* "Who are the authors of this advantage unto you," *i. e.* whose exertions enable you to reap this advantage. The common text has *fructuosi,* for which we have given *fructui,* the reading of one of the MSS. It was first adopted by Lambinus, and after him by Grævius and others, as more elegant than *fructuosi.*

VII. 1. *Extremum.* "As the last point on which to touch." — *Cum essem dicturus.* "When I should come to speak."

2. *Ad multorum bona civium.* The individuals here meant are the Roman knights, who farmed the Asiatic revenues, and those traders who were carrying on mercantile operations in that quarter, both of which classes of persons had large sums of money laid out in the province and which were consequently endangered by the war.

3. *Quorum vobis,* &c. "For whom you in your wisdom, Romans, ought to have an especial regard," *i. e.* over whose interests you ought carefully to watch.

4. *Nam et publicani.* The particle *et* ("both") is here opposed to

deinde ("and in the next place"), at the commencement of the 18th section.

5. *Homines et honestissimi*, &c. "Very honourable as well as intelligent men." *Ornatissimi* is considered by some to refer here to rank in the state. It has relation rather to general information and intelligence on the part of the individuals alluded to.

6. *Suas rationes*, &c. "Have transferred all their business operations and means to that province." *Rationes* and *copiæ* are explained immediately after by *res* and *fortunæ*, "affairs and fortunes."

7. *Nervos.* "The sinews." — *Eum ordinem.* The equestrian order.

8. *Ceteris ex ordinibus.* Excepting of course the senate, the members of which order were not allowed to engage in trade.

9. *Negotiantur.* "Carry on trade." As regards the distinction between the *negotiatores* and the *mercatores*, consult chap. v. note 1.

10 *Partim suas et suorum*, &c. The early editions and the MSS. give *partim eorum*, for which we have substituted the reading in our text, with Ernesti, Schütz, and others. *Partim eorum* is a good Ciceronian phrase, but it makes an awkward collocation here after *homines gnavi et industrii partim ipsi . . . . . . negotiantur.*

11. *Prohibere.* "To shield." — *Videre.* "To foresee." — *A republica sejunctam esse non posse.* "Cannot be separated from that of the state," *i. e.* cannot fail to affect the public prosperity.

12. *Etenim illud primum*, &c. "For, in the first place, it avails but little, that you afterwards recover by a victory the revenues that have been lost by the farmers of them; for neither will the same individuals possess the means of making a new contract, by reason of their losses, nor will others have the inclination so to do on account of their fears," *i. e.* their fears of being involved in similar ruin with the previous contractors.

13. *Initio belli Asiatici.* He refers to the period of the general massacre of the Romans in Asia, by order of Mithridates. About twenty-three years had elapsed since that event.

14. *Res magnas.* "Large amounts." Referring to the large sums of money which very many farmers of the revenue had lost in the troublesome confusion that ensued.

15. *Scimus, Romæ*, &c. "We know, that, payments becoming embarrassed, credit fell at Rome." Very many of the *publicani* in Asia having lost large sums of money there, in consequence of the disastrous state of public affairs, and others having been killed during the massacre of the Romans, there ensued of course a non-payment of large amounts due to the bankers at Rome, and which had been advanced to the former to enable them to meet their contracts. Hence a general embarrassment was felt in the money-market, and public credit fell.

16. *Rem atque fortunas.* "Their property and fortunes." By *rem* is here meant their actual property and resources at the time; by *fortunas*, their prospects in business.

17. *Hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum*, &c. "This system of public credit, and these moneyed operations that are carried on at Rome, and in the forum, are connected with those sums laid out in Asia, and form a close union with them." Literally, "are bound up with and cling to them." The offices of the bankers were situate around the forum, which hence became their usual place for meeting and transacting business.

18. *Ruere illa non possunt*, &c. "The latter cannot fall without the former's being shaken by the same movement and falling along with them." *Illa* and *hæc* become here, when adapted to our idiom, "the latter," and "the former," but in strictness *illa* refers to what is more remote, the moneyed operations in Asia, and *hæc* to what is nearer home, the state of business in the Roman forum.

19. *Cum republica*, "Together with the best interests of the state." Three MSS. have *cum republica conjunctæ defendantur*, but *conjunctæ* savours of a gloss. Gruter, Grævius, and others read *defenduntur*, but Ernesti defends the common form: "Defendantur *recepi, quomodo Ciceronem scripsisse semper putavi, nam ita ratio latinitatis postulat.*

VIII. 1. *Potest enim hoc dici.* "For this may be affirmed," *i. e.* this assertion may be made with perfect safety.

2. *Ne forte ea.* The common text has *ne forte a*, the present reading is conjectural. Some MSS. have *ne forte an*, which Schütz adopts.

3. *Atque ut omnes*, &c. He now returns to Lucullus, whom he has already mentioned in the fourth chapter.

4. *Mithridati.* The common text has *Mithridatis*, for which we have given the dative, as occurring in one of the MSS. and depending on *fuisse*: "Mithridates was in possession of very great forces." Ernesti approves of *Mithridati*, though he gives the genitive in his text. Schütz adopts the dative as we have done. Some of the earlier editions insert *deletas* after *fuisse*, on conjecture, but then *obsessam esse* must be changed to *liberatam esse*.

5. *Omnibus rebus*, &c. "Equipped and supplied with all things requisite," *i. e.* furnished with arms and provisions of all kinds. This is said with some degree of oratorical exaggeration. According to Appian (*B. M.* lxxii.), and Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* c. viii. *seqq.*), the forces of Mithridates were very scantily supplied with provisions, which was one of the principal causes of his abandoning the siege of Cyzicus.

6. *Urbemque Cyzicenorum.* Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Lucullus*, and *Geographical Index*, s. v. *Cyzicus*.

7. *Maxima multitudine.* According to Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* c. vii.), the army of Mithridates consisted of 120,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry, and 100 chariots armed with scythes. Appian (*B. M.* lxxii.) gives the whole amount, in round numbers, as about 300,000 men. The Roman army, under Lucullus, was 30,000 foot and 600 horse, according to Appian; but Plutarch makes the horse to have been 2500.

8. *Classem magnam*, &c. We have here another instance of oratorical exaggeration. After Cyzicus had been relieved, and the forces of Mithridates defeated at the river Granicus, Lucullus received intelligence, that thirteen of the king's large galleys had been seen off the coast of Troas, steering towards Lemnos. He instantly went in pursuit, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all sail after some others, which were in advance of them, and were lying at anchor by the island. Here again he was successful, and among the prisoners taken was Marius (or, as Appian calls him, Varius), an officer sent by Sertorius. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. xii.) Appian (*B. M.* lxxvii.) makes the number of vessels left by Mithridates under the command of Varius and the other leaders to have been fifty.

9. *Quæ ducibus*, &c. "Which, inflamed with an eager desire for

vengeance, was getting hurried towards Italy, under leaders sent by Sertorius." It does not appear from any other authority, except Cicero's own assertion, in the oration for Murena (c. xv.), that the destination of the fleet was Italy, and as for the leaders sent by Sertorius, there was in fact but one. Consult preceding note.

10. *Magnas hostium*, &c. Plutarch makes the enemy to have lost in the whole campaign nearly 300,000 men, including the servants of the army. In the battle of the Granicus alone, 20,000 were slain.

11. *Patefactumque*, &c. Compare the oration for Archias, c. ix.: "*Populus Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum*," &c.—*Qui ante*, &c. "Which had hitherto been shut on every side against the Roman people." Literally, "from (*i. e.* in) every avenue of approach." Compare the language of Cicero, in the passage just referred to, from the oration for Archias: "*et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura regionis vallatum.*"

12. *Domicilia.* "Palaces."—*Omnibus rebus*, &c. "Adorned and richly stored with all things." *Referta*, from *refercio*.

13. *Uno aditu atque adventu.* "By his merely marching against, and arriving before, them." This again is oratorical exaggeration. Lucullus spent, for example, a long time before Amisus, and finally left the siege in the hands of Murena his lieutenant. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. xv.)

14. *Ad alios reges.* To Tigranes, king of Armenia, his son-in-law, and to other neighbouring monarchs.

15. *Salvis populi Romani sociis*, &c. "The allies of the Roman people being at the same time safe from injury, and your revenues in that quarter unimpaired."

16. *Istorum.* Catulus and Hortensius are here particularly meant. It was incumbent on them, in their speeches against the proposed law, to do justice to Lucullus, and to show that he was abundantly qualified by his previous exhibitions of military talent to bring the war to a successful termination.

IX. 1. *Quemadmodum*, &c. "How, if these things are so, what remains of the war can be at all important."

2. *Ex eodem Ponto.* Medea fled from Colchis, but it is here included under one common name with Pontus, on account of its proximity, and for the sake of the figure.

3. *Medea illa.* "The far-famed Medea." Literally, "that Medea," *i. e.* of whom we all have heard.

4. *Fratris sui.* Absyrtus.—*Persequeretur.* "Would pursue her," *i. e.* would have to pass in pursuit of her.

5. *Eorum collectio dispersa.* "The collecting of them in their scattered state." Goerenz (ad Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 4.) suggests *dispersorum* for *dispersa*; and Schütz adopts the emendation in his text, calling at the same time the common reading an absurd one. He mistakes, however, an elegance for an absurdity.

6. *Sic Mithridates*, &c. Plutarch states (*Vit. Lucull.* xvii.), that Mithridates, being hard pressed in his flight, was nearly taken, when a mule loaded with gold, either by accident or the king's contrivance, came between him and his pursuers. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and quarrelled about the contents, which gave Mithridates time to escape. Appian (*B. M.* lxxxii.) informs us, that the

king's pursuers happened to strike the load of one of the mules that were carrying away the treasure, and that the gold in consequence fell on the ground.

7. *Maximam vim omnem.* "All that vast store."—*Direptas congesserat.* To be rendered as two verbs with the connective: "had plundered from the whole of Asia and accumulated in his own kingdom."

8. *Illum.* "The former." Alluding to Æetes, the father of Medea. Consult Ov. *Trist.* iii. 9. 21., and Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 12.—*Hos.* "These latter," *i. e.* the Roman soldiery.

9. *Hunc.* "This Mithridates."—*Excepit.* "Took in," *i. e.* afforded him shelter. — *Confirmavit.* "Encouraged him."—*Et afflictum erexit,* &c. "And raised him from his fallen state, and supplied him with fresh resources in his ruin."

10. *Plures etiam gentes.* Alluding to the numerous nations that swelled the ranks of Tigranes, the Medes, Arabians, Albanians, Iberians, &c. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. xxvi.)

11. *Neque lacessendas,* &c. "Ought neither to be attacked nor even menaced with war." *Tentare* itself is frequently employed in the sense of attacking; here, however, it yields that meaning to *lacesso.* The idea of menacing arises very naturally from the general import of the verb, *viz.* "to make trial of one."

12. *Erat etiam alia,* &c. "There was also, besides this, a strong and powerfully exciting opinion."

13. *Fani locupletissimi,* &c. "For the purpose of plundering a very rich and revered temple." The temple here meant was that of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. Consult *Geographical Index.*—The apprehensions referred to in the text were far from being ill-founded, since this same shrine had been already plundered by Murena. (Appian, *B. C.* lxiv.)

14. *Novo terrore ac metu.* "By a new cause of terror and alarm." Their religious fears were now excited.

15. *Urbem.* Tigranocerta, the capital of the kingdom. Compare Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* xxvi. *seqq.*, and consult *Geographical Index.*

16. *Tamen nimia,* &c. "Were, nevertheless, strongly influenced by the very great distance from home of the regions in which they then were, as well as by a longing desire to return to their countrymen." Plutarch states, that Lucullus was anxious to reach Artaxata, in Upper Armenia; but that his troops were discouraged by the severity of the climate, and refused to proceed. (*Vit. Lucull.* xxxii.)

17. *Hic jam plura non dicam,* &c. Cicero purposely avoids entering upon the question respecting the movements of Lucullus in his Asiatic campaign. The merits and demerits of that commander were canvassed very freely about this time at Rome, and the orator is careful, therefore, to give offence, if possible, to neither his friends nor his enemies. One thing is very certain, that Lucullus eventually lost the good will of his soldiers; a result which Plutarch ascribes to his haughty disposition, and others to his cupidity and avarice. There is no doubt, however, but that the intrigues of the infamous Clodius, his brother-in-law, who was an officer in his army, operated very powerfully in producing this unfortunate result.

18. *Fuit enim illud extremum,* &c. "For the issue of all was this, that a speedy return from those regions was rather sought by our soldiers, than a farther advance."

19. *Mithridates autem*, &c. "Mithridates, however, had both by this time revived the courage of his immediate band of followers, and was strengthened by the numbers of those who had gathered themselves together from his kingdom, as well as by large forces that had come unto him from many kings and nations." With *eorum* supply *copiis*, in the sense of *numero*.

20. *Fieri*. In the sense of *accidere*, "to happen." — *Regum afflictæ fortunæ*. "The fallen fortunes of monarchs."

21. *Magnum et sanctum*. "Something great, and worthy of veneration."

22. *Itaque tantum*, &c. "Accordingly he was able to effect more after his defeat, than he ever dared to hope for in the season of prosperity." *Incolumis*, literally, "when safe," *i. e.* from the attacks of any foe.

23. *Ut illam, posteaquam*, &c. "That he should ever set foot again in that land after he had been once driven from it." The allusion is to Pontus.

24. *Sed in exercitum vestrum*, &c. Mithridates, once more entering Pontus, fell upon Fabius, whom Lucullus had left in command there, and was on the point of defeating him, when he himself was wounded and compelled to retire from the fight. After a cessation of hostilities for several days, Triarius, another of the lieutenants of Lucullus, came to the aid of Fabius, who resigned the command to him. Triarius, thereupon, hearing that Lucullus was upon the march himself to join the army, and desiring to engross the whole glory of the victory, gave battle to Mithridates. The Romans, however, met with a signal overthrow; above seven thousand were slain, among whom were 150 centurions and 24 tribunes. This was the most severe defeat which the Romans experienced in all their wars against Mithridates. Compare the account of Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* xxxv.), with that of Appian (*B. M.* lxxxix.), where it is stated, that, in consequence of a wound received by Mithridates, his friends were on the point of sounding a retreat, when the re-appearance of the monarch in the fight secured to him the day.

25. *Poetæ*. Nævius, who wrote a metrical chronicle of the first Punic war; and Ennius, who composed Annals, likewise in verse, comprising the history of Rome, from the earliest periods down to the close of the second Punic war, or, more correctly speaking, the Istrian war. Nævius flourished from B. C. 235 to 204, and Ennius lived from B. C. 239 to 169.

26. *Non ex prœlio nuntius*, &c. "No messenger from the field of battle, but rumour passing from lip to lip." Literally, "rumour from the converse of men." This, of course, is oratorical exaggeration.

27. *Hic in ipso illo malo*, &c. "Here, in the midst of this very misfortune itself, and heaviest disaster of the war."

28. *Quod imperii diuturnitati*, &c. "Because you thought that, in accordance with ancient precedent, a limit should be set to long continuance of command." The army had been under the command of Lucullus for the space of seven years, from A. U. C. 630 to 636.

29. *Qui jam stipendiis*, &c. "Who had now served out their time." The oldest of the troops, including the Fimbrian legions, as they were called, were sent home by Lucullus. The period of their legal service was nine years, and they had now served nearly ten.

30. *Multa prætereo consulto*, &c. "I purposely pass over many things,

but you yourselves clearly perceive them from mere conjecture," *i. e.* but what they are you yourselves can easily conjecture. — We have altered the punctuation of this sentence, with Ernesti, except that we have placed a period instead of a colon after *perspicitis*. The common text has a colon after *consulto*, and a comma after *perspicitis*, connecting, of course, the clause *sed ea vos*, &c., with what follows: but *ea* in the plural can never refer to the simple idea expressed in *quantum illud bellum*, &c.

31. *Quantum igitur*, &c. "Of how much importance, then, are you to imagine that war has become, which two very powerful monarchs unite in waging, which irritated nations renew, which communities hitherto untouched by your arms are taking up as their own, which a new commander of yours receives in charge, the former army having been driven from the field?" We have commenced a new sentence here, contrary to the pointing of all the editions, and have also inserted *igitur*, on mere conjecture. The whole passage labours under very strong suspicion of being corrupt. As we have arranged it in our text, it certainly suits better the idea of a concluding sentence to one of the heads of a speech.

32. *Novus imperator*. Alluding to Glabrio. The epithet *novus* appears to have here a covert meaning in relation to Glabrio's want of experience compared with Lucullus, who had been seven years in command.

X. 1. *Ac tantis rebus præficiendo.* "And the setting him over so important operations."

2. *Innocentium.* "Upright," *i. e.* men of strict probity, of principles superior to all corruption, and who would not convert the facilities, which supreme command might afford, into the means of enriching themselves and oppressing others.

3. *Antiquitatis memoriam.* "The remembrance of all antiquity," *i. e.* the brightest examples that antiquity can recall to our remembrance. — *Virtute.* "By his merit."

4. *In summo imperatore*, &c. "That in a consummate general these four qualities ought to centre; a full acquaintance with the military art, valour, reputation, and good fortune." By *auctoritatem* is here meant that weight of character which a series of successful operations bestows.

5. *Scientior.* "More profoundly versed in military science."

6. *E ludo.* "From school." On leaving school, at the age of 17, Pompey served under his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Social War.

7. *Bello maximo.* "During a most dangerous war." The Social war is meant. It arose from the refusal of the senate and people to grant the rights of citizenship to the Italian allies. This was the most dangerous war in which the Romans had ever been engaged, since they were compelled to contend with those who were well acquainted with their discipline, and had hitherto formed the main strength of their armies.

8. *Qui extrema pueritia*, &c. "Who, at the close of his boyhood, was a soldier under a very able commander." The allusion is the same as in the preceding clause, viz. to his serving in the army of his father, at the early age of 17. Some commentators very erroneously suppose Sylla

to be meant by the words *summi imperatoris*. Pompey, however, repaired to Sylla as the leader of a large body of forces, not as a simple soldier. — *Extrema pueritia.* Among the Romans, boyhood, or *pueritia*, ended at 17 years of age, when *adolescentia*, or youth, commenced, which continued until about 30, or over. From the end of *adolescentia* until 45 or 50, they were called *juvenes*. The precise limit, however, of each of these periods, is far from being clearly ascertained.

9. *Ineunte adolescentia.* "In the beginning of his youth." Cicero alludes to Pompey's having, at the age of 23, by his own authority, raised three legions, and marched with them to the aid of Sylla, defeating on the way the leaders of the opposite party. Sylla received him with great honour, and saluted him with the title of *imperator*. This compliment was the more remarkable as Pompey was not yet old enough to be admitted into the senate.

10. *Qui sæpius cum hoste conflixit*, &c. "Who has engaged more frequently with a public foe, than any one has contended with a private enemy." *Hostis*, "a public foe," "an enemy to one's country." *Inimicus*, "a private foe," "a personal enemy." — The difference must also be marked between *confligere* and *concertare*: the former means "to engage," "to come into actual collision with," "to fight against with arms;" the latter, "to contend in words," "to quarrel with." Compare Manutius: "*Concertavit*, i. e. *verbis, nam confligere est armis contendere.*" Thus, Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* iii. 12.: "*Quia nunquam accidit, ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem.*"

11. *Plures provincias confecit.* "Has settled the affairs of more provinces." *Confecit* has here, in some degree, though not exactly, the force of *administravit*. Compare *Ep. ad Att.* iv. 17.: "*Confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis*," &c.

12. *Cujus adolescentia*, &c. "Whose youth was trained to a knowledge of the military art, not by the precepts of others, but by his own discharge of the duties of a commander; not by disasters in war, but by victories; not by a series of campaigns, but by a succession of triumphs."

13. *Triumphis.* Pompey had already enjoyed two triumphs, one for the overthrow of Hiarbas, king of Numidia; and the other for bringing the war in Spain to a close. Some commentators make him to have had, by this time, three triumphs. This, however, is quite erroneous, since his third and most splendid triumph was at the end of the Mithridatic war. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xlv.)

14. *In quo illum*, &c. "In which the good fortune of the republic has not exercised his talents," *i. e.* has not given him an opportunity of displaying his abilities for the good of his country.

15. *Civile.* Between Sylla, on the one hand, and Cinna and Carbo, with the remains of the Marian party, on the other. Pompey sided with Sylla.

16. *Africanum.* Against Cn. Domitius, and other proscribed members of the Marian faction, who had united their forces with those of Hiarbas, king of Numidia. On Pompey's return from this war, Sylla saluted him with the title of *Magnus*, or "the Great." (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xiii.) Pompey was then only in the 24th year of his age.

17. *Transalpinum.* Sertorius had probably formed alliances with the independent Gallic tribes between the Pyrenees and the Alps, and these appear to have resisted Pompey on his march into Spain.

Pompey gives an account of his operations against these tribes in his letter to the senate, which has come down to us among the fragments of the third book of Sallust's Roman History: "*Nomine modo imperii a vobis accepto, diebus quadraginta exercitum paravi; hostesque, in cervicibus Italiæ jam agentes, ab Alpibus in Hispaniam summovi. Per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci. Recepi Galliam, Pyrenæum, Laletaniam, Indigetes.*" Compare Appian, *B. C.* i. 109.

18. *Hispaniense.* The war with Sertorius, which lasted from A. U. C. 676 to 682. — *Mixtum ex civitatibus*, &c. "Where revolted states and the most warlike communities were united against us." Literally, "composed of revolted states," &c. By *civitatibus* are here meant those states, or tribes, in Spain that had gone over from the Romans to Sertorius. Compare Manutius: "civitatibus; *quæ a populo Romano ad Sertorium defecerant.*" — As regards the expression, *ex bellicosissimis nationibus*, it may be remarked, that the army of Sertorius consisted principally of the most warlike tribes of Spain, whom he had disciplined in a great degree after the Roman manner.

19. *Servile.* The war against Spartacus, the well-known leader of the gladiators and slaves. Crassus deserved the credit of terminating this war, having defeated the enemy, and slain 12,000 of them; whereas, Pompey merely encountered the fugitives from the field of battle, and killed 5000. Still the popular voice assigned the chief praise to Pompey; and Cicero, in order to flatter him, re-echoes the opinion. (Consult Plutarch, *Vit. Pomp.* c. xxi.)

20. *Navale.* The war against the pirates, called also, in the previous part of this oration, *maritimum bellum.*

21. *Hostium.* These are enumerated as follows by the Dauphin editor: kings, exiles, proscribed persons, pirates, and slaves.

22. *Confecta.* "Brought to a close." — *In usu militari.* "Within the range of military experience."

XI. 1. *Jam vero virtuti*, &c. "In the next place, what strain of oratory can be found, commensurate with the warlike virtues of Cneius Pompey?" *Jam vero* is elegantly employed by Cicero, on many occasions, in the sense of *deinde*, to mark a transition from one head of a discourse to another.

2. *Neque enim*, &c. "For neither are those the only virtues of a commander, that are commonly regarded as such." The other *virtutes imperatoriæ* are mentioned, after a long digression, in the beginning of the 13th chapter, viz. *innocentia, temperantià, fides*, &c. — The expression *virtutes imperatoriæ* may also be rendered more freely, "distinguished attributes of a commander."

3. *Quæ tanta sunt*, &c. "Which exist in a greater degree in this one individual, than they have in all the other commanders whom we have either seen or heard of." The student will mark the elegant phraseology of *tanta . . . . quanta . . . . non*, in place of the ordinary comparative with *quam.*

4. *Testis est Italia.* "Italy is a proof of the truth of my remarks," *i. e.* a proof of the consummate military skill of Pompey. — *Quam ille ipse*, &c. The allusion is to the important services rendered by Pompey, in aiding to crush the power of the Marian faction in Italy. Compare Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. ix.); Πομπήϊον δὲ θαυμάζων δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ μάλα νομίζων ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, κ. τ. λ.

5. *Testis est Sicilia.* He was successful in an expedition against Perpenna and Carbo in that island, A. U. C. 671. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. x.)

6. *Non terrore belli*, &c. "Not by the terror of his arms, but the rapidity of his operations," *i. e.* not so much by the terror of his arms as by, &c.

7. *Testis est Africa.* Alluding to the war against Domitius and Hiarbas. Consult chap. x. note 16.

8. *Testis est Gallia.* Consult chap. x. note 17. — *Iter.* Pompey in his letter to the senate, already cited (chap. x. note 17.), makes mention of a new road which he had opened over the Alps; and Appian (*B. C.* i. 109.) informs us, that it was around the sources of the Rhone and Po, ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἠριδανοῦ.

9. *Testis est Hispania.* The praise of Cicero here is mere flattery. As long as Sertorius lived, his superior military talents completely eclipsed those of Pompey, and made Spain any thing else but a theatre of glory for the latter. Pompey only became victorious after Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers.

10. *Tetro periculosoque.* The war is called *tetrum*, "disgraceful," from the character of the foe, who were principally gladiators and slaves; and it is styled *periculosum*, "dangerous," from these gladiators having been trained to the profession of arms, and, also, from the abilities of their leader Spartacus. Compare the words of Plutarch (*Vit. Crass.* c. ix.): Οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἠνώχλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον· ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβον τε καὶ κίνδυνον, ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τῶν δυσκολωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων, ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέπεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. "It was no longer, then, the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; but now, on account of the fear and danger, they sent forth both the consuls to this, as to one of their most difficult and important wars."

11. *Quod bellum*, &c. All mere oratorical exaggeration. The credit of ending the war was due to Crassus, but popular favour gave it to Pompey. The latter, after having defeated the fugitives from the field of battle, where Crassus had proved victorious, wrote to the senate, that Crassus had indeed gained a victory over the runaways in a pitched battle, but that he himself had cut up the war by the roots, ὅτι μάχῃ μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερᾷ Κράσσος νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνῄρηκε. (*Plut. Vit. Crass.* c. xi.)

12. *Omnes oræ.* Alluding to the power of the pirates before they were reduced by Pompey, and their infesting all the shores of the Mediterranean. Compare the words of Appian (*B. M.* xcii.): οὐ μόνης ἔτι τῆς ἔξω Θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἁπάσης.

13. *Gentes ac nationes.* "Nations and communities." *Gens*, when contrasted with *natio*, may be called the generic term, and implies a whole race. Thus, the Germans are a *gens*, the Saxons a *natio.* (Crombie, *Gymn.* vol. ii. p. 221.)

14. *Denique maria omnia*, &c. "In a word, all seas, as well the whole taken collectively as the bays and harbours in each." By *omnia maria* are here meant all the seas composing the Mediterranean, such as the *Mare Siculum*, the *Mare Hadriaticum*, *Mare Ægeum*, *Mare Creticum*, &c., and by *universa* (sc. *maria*) the whole Mediterranean, of course, is implied. — The common text has *oris* after *singulis*, but Grævius very properly rejected it on the authority of one of his MSS. *Singulis* (sc. *maribus*) is opposed to *universa.*

15. *Toto mari.* "Throughout the whole Mediterranean." — *Aut tam fuit abditus,* &c. "Or was so retired as to escape the notice of the foe." By the foe are meant the pirates.

16. *Quis navigavit,* &c. "Who sailed abroad, that did not expose himself to the risk either of death, or of slavery, since he must either traverse the sea during the winter season, or when its surface was swarming with pirates?" In the winter the sea would be free from pirates. The common text has *navigaret,* but Heumannus restored *navigaretur* from the early editions. *Navigaretur* is to be taken impersonally, in the sense of *navigandum esset.*

17. *Tam vetus.* "Of so long continuance." These depredations had continued from about A. U. C. 666. The present oration was pronounced A. U. C. 687, so that the whole period had been about 21 years. — *Tam late dispersum.* "So widely disseminated." Consult chap. v. note 17., and chap. xii. note 20. where an account is given of the extensive power of the pirates.

18. *Omnibus annis,* &c. Pompey broke the power of the pirates in the space of forty-nine days, and terminated the whole war in about three months. Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xxvi. and xxviii. Compare Florus, iii. 6.

19. *Quod vectigal.* "What branch of revenue." — *Cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis?* "To whom have you been a source of protection with your fleets?"

XII. 1. *Longinqua.* "Things at a distance." Opposed to things nearer home, in which the Romans were personally concerned, and had been personal sufferers.

2. *Proprium populi Romani.* "The peculiar characteristic of the Roman people."

3. *Propugnaculis imperii.* "By the forces of their empire." By *propugnacula* are here meant all the means of defence at the command of the republic. Ernesti thinks, that the term refers to the Roman colonies planted in conquered countries, and which would furnish the means of defence against foreign aggression. In this, however, he is decidedly wrong. Schütz takes a more correct view of the subject, when he remarks: "*classes et exercitus intelligi patet ex antecedentibus et sequentibus.*"

4. *Sociis vestris,* &c. "Need I tell you that the sea has been shut, during these latter years, upon your allies, when our own armies have never crossed over from Brundisium unless in the depth of winter?" — The seas being closed upon their allies is one of the *longinqua,* on which there is no need of dwelling, when the orator can tell of other things so much nearer home.

5. *Brundisio.* Brundisium was the usual seaport from which they sailed for Greece. Consult *Geographical Index.* — The Roman armies alluded to in the text, were those sent against Mithridates.

6. *Summa hieme.* When the pirates would be away. Consult chap. ix. note 16.

7. *Cum legati,* &c. "When ambassadors of the Roman people were ransomed from captivity," *i. e.* when your own ambassadors were made captives by the pirates, and a ransom had to be paid for them. — Who these ambassadors were is not known, nor at what time, nor under what circumstances they were taken.

8. *Duodecim secures.* "Two prætors with their lictors." Literally, "twelve axes." Each prætor had in Rome two lictors; in the provinces six. The prætors taken on this occasion are called by Plutarch Sextilius and Bellinus. (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxiv.)

9. *Cnidum aut Colophonem*, &c. Consult *Geographical Index.* — *Innumerabilesque alias.* Plutarch makes the number of cities taken by them amount to four hundred: *αἱ δ' ἁλοῦσαι πόλεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετρακόσιαι.*

10. *Atque eos portus*, &c. "Aye, and those harbours too, from which you derive the very breathings of existence." Literally, "life and respiration," *i. e.* the very means of sustenance. The allusion is to the harbours of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, whence the metropolis was supplied with corn. In consequence of the pirates being masters of the sea, the markets at Rome were ill supplied with grain, and hence arose serious apprehensions of famine. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xxv.)

11. *Inspectante prætore.* "Under the very eyes of a prætor." Who this prætor was is not clearly ascertained. He is thought by some to have been M. Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, and father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterwards (A. U. C. 679) sent against the pirates, and attacked the Cretans who had harboured and were connected with them, but was defeated off that island with the loss of most of his ships, which were taken by the enemy. (Florus, iii. 7. — Liv. *Epit.* xcix.)

12. *Ejus ipsius liberos.* "That the child of this same prætor." According to Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxiv.), a daughter of M. Antonius, the prætor, was taken by the pirates, and ransomed from them for a large sum. — *Liberos.* The term *liberi* is not unfrequently employed by the Latin writers, when the reference is only, as in the present case, to a single child. The authorities on this point are very ably adduced by Scheller (*Lex. Tot. Latin.* transl. by Riddle, *Oxon.* 1835.) The only one which we will here cite is that of Caius (*ad Dig.* lib. 50. tit. 16. leg. 148.): "*Non est sine liberis, cui vel unus filius, unave filia est, hæc enim enunciatio,* habet liberos, *semper plurativo numero profertur, sicut et* pugillares *et* codicilli." — Dacier falls into an amusing error, through too much haste in translating the present passage of Cicero. He mistakes *liberos* for *libros*, and makes the Roman prætor to have lost his *books!* not his child: "Ignorez-vous que ses *livres* ont été enlevés par les corsaires?" (Plutarque, — *Vie de Pompée*, in notis.)

13. *Ostiense incommodum.* "The disaster at Ostia." Ostia was a seaport, at the mouth of the Tiber, and was regarded as the harbour of Rome. The pirates took and plundered it, destroying the fleet there. So great, indeed, was their daring on this occasion, that they even remained there a considerable time, and exposed their booty to sale. (Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 5.)

14. *Consul populi Romani.* The name of this consul does not appear, from any ancient writer. Dio Cassius (*l. c.*) makes no allusion to any at all. — *Capta atque oppressa est.* "Was taken and sunk."

15. *Unius hominis.* Pompey.

16. *Intra Oceani ostium.* "Within the straits of the ocean," *i. e.* the straits of Gibraltar. There is great propriety in the use of the expression *oceani ostium*, (literally, "mouth of the ocean,") to designate the straits in question, since a strong and constant current flows into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic ocean, in the middle of the straits.

17. *Obeundi negotii.* "Of transacting business." — *Tantos cursus.* "So many voyages."

18. *Quam celeriter,* &c. "As rapidly as, under the guidance of Pompey, the war on our part sped its impetuous way over the deep." *Impetus belli* is a poetic form of expression, for the simple *bellum,* with the associate idea, however, of impetuosity and power. Thus we have in Lucretius (v. 101.): "*impetus cœli,*" for *cœlum;* and in Accius (ap. Cic. *de Divin.* i. 22.): "*nocturnus impetus,*" for *nox.* Compare the following remark of Ernesti: "*Tota forma,* belli impetus navigavit, *poetica est. Sensus est; quanta celeritate Pompeius bellum, et quam strenue gesserit.*"

15. *Nondum tempestivo,* &c. "Before the sea was yet fit for navigation," *i. e.* before the season for sailing was come. *Tempestivo* is here equivalent to *tempore opportuno,* "fit by reason of the time of year." The season for navigation usually commenced about the rising of the Pleiades, on the 22d of April.

20. *Siciliam adiit.* Pompey directed his earliest attention to Sicily, in order to secure that important granary of the republic. He then proceeded, with the same view, to Africa and Sardinia. — The management of the war against the pirates was conferred on Pompey by the Gabinian law. This law invested him with the command of the whole Mediterranean, and with power over the land for four hundred stadia (about 46 miles) from the coasts. He was empowered also to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants to act under him; he was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of 200 sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion. The day after this law was passed, Pompey summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had bestowed. He was empowered to fit out 500 galleys, and to raise an army of 120,000 foot and 5000 horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants, and he had two quæstors allowed. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xxv. *seq.*)

21. *Hæc tria frumentaria subsidia.* "These three granaries." — *Duabus Hispaniis.* "The two Spains," *i. e.* hither and farther Spain, *Citerior* and *Ulterior.* Consult *Geographical Index.*

22. *Illyrici maris.* The *Mare Illyricum* was that part of the Adriatic which lay along the Illyrian coast. — *Achaiam.* The Roman province of Achaia included all the Peloponnesus, and a part of Greece north of the isthmus of Corinth. By *omnem Græciam* is, therefore, meant all the rest of Greece.

23. *Italiæ duo maria.* The upper and lower seas, or the Adriatic and Tuscan. — *Adornavit.* "He furnished," *i. e.* supplied. *Adorno* is here equivalent to *instruo,* with the collateral idea of decking or adorning. Compare Cæsar (*B. C.* i. 26.): "*Eodem conatu, apparatuque, omni opulentia insignium armorum bellum adornaverant.*"

24. *Ut a Brundisio,* &c. "On the forty-ninth day after he set out from Brundisium." *Ut* is here elegantly used for *postquam.* Consult Tursellinus, *de Part. Lat.* s. v. § 22. (p. 450. ed. Bailey.)

25. *Totam Ciliciam.* The power of the pirates had its rise in Cilicia, and this country eventually became their centre of operations, and chief stronghold. — Pompey defeated them in a naval battle off Coracesium, on the coast of Cilicia Trachea.

26. *Unius hujus imperio ac potestati.* "To the absolute control of this one individual," *i. e.* they surrendered themselves unconditionally to Pompey. — When *imperium* and *potestas* are opposed to each other, the former denotes military power, the latter civil; and when both are combined in one clause, as in the present instance, the idea intended to be conveyed is that of full and absolute authority.

27. *Cretensibus.* Crete, next to Cilicia, was the greatest nursery of the pirates, and one of their chief receptacles. The transaction alluded to in the text, however, notwithstanding the commendations of Cicero, was far from honourable to Pompey. Metellus, a relation of the one who had commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, had been sent into Crete by the Roman people, some time before Pompey was employed in this war. Metellus had broken up many strongholds of the pirates in that island, when the remainder, who were besieged by him, suppliantly addressed themselves to Pompey, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within that distance from the sea to which he was authorised to carry his arms. Pompey listened to their application, and by a letter directed Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command. Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side; a circumstance, says Plutarch, which rendered Pompey not only odious but ridiculous. Metellus, however, pursued his operations, till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* c. xxix.)

28. *Apparavit.* "Prepared for." — *Media æstate.* Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxviii.) says the war was brought to a close in three months at farthest: οὐκ ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τριῶν μηνῶν.

XIII. 1. *Est hæc divina*, &c. "This degree of military talent on the part of a commander is divine and incredible," *i. e.* is divine in its character, and surpasses all the ordinary powers of belief.

2. *Non enim solum*, &c. Consult chap. xi. note 2. — *Bellandi virtus.* "Ability in war."

3. *Sed multæ sunt*, &c. "On the contrary, there are many other exalted qualities, the handmaids and attendants of this virtue." *Hujus virtutis*, sc. *imperatoriæ.*

4. *Quanta innocentia*, &c. "Of how much moral purity ought commanders to be." — *Temperantia.* "Self-control." — *Fide.* "Good faith." Adherence to their word.

5. *Quanta facilitate.* "How affable and easy of access." — *Quanto ingenio*, &c. "Of how much penetration, of how much humanity?"

6. *Summa enim omnia sunt.* "For these all exist in the highest degree, *i. e.* in the character of Pompey all these qualities are found in the highest perfection.

7. *Ex aliorum contentione.* "By a comparison with others." Thus, Cic. *de Off.* i. 17.: "*Si contentio quædam et comparatio fiat*," and *Partit. Or.* ii.: "*Rerum contentiones, quid majus, quid par, quid minus sit.*"

8. *Possumus aliquo in numero putare.* "Can we hold in any estimation." Literally, "can we reckon in any number," *i. e.* of generals; can we regard as at all fit to be numbered among generals.

9. *Cujus in exercitu,* &c. " In whose army commissions for the office of centurion are now and have heretofore been sold. The allusion cannot be to Lucullus, on whom he has already bestowed so many encomiums, but, from the use of the present tense (*veneant*), seems aimed at Glabrio. — The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in this and the succeeding clauses, as indicating, not what Cicero asserts on his own authority, but from the rumour of the day. It is equivalent, in fact, therefore, to, " in whose army, as is said," &c.

10. *Quid hunc hominem,* &c. " What lofty or generous sentiments can we imagine that man to entertain respecting his country ? " Supply after *quid*, the words *possumus putare* from the preceding clause, but in a somewhat different sense.

11. *Propter cupiditatem provinciæ.* " From the desire of retaining his province for a longer period," *i. e.* of holding over in his command beyond the time appointed. The money was given not to procure a province, but to induce the magistrates at home to interfere, and prevent any recall, at the end of the year, from the province where the individual was then acting. Compare the explanation of Ernesti : " *Non ut provinciam decernerent, sed ut impedirent ne anno exacto decedere de provincia juberetur.*" — Ernesti supposes Lucullus to be the person meant. This, however, cannot possibly be correct. Lucullus had set out against Mithridates many years before the period when this speech was delivered ; whereas, from the language of Cicero, the transaction referred to would seem to have been of a very recent date. So again, in chapter xxii., the orator speaks of the *injuriæ* and *libidines* of the Roman commanders sent out that very year, which of course cannot in any way apply to Lucullus. Acilius Glabrio is undoubtedly meant.

12. *In quæstu.* " At interest." Compare *Or. in Pis.* c. xxxv.

13. *Vestra admurmuratio,* &c. " Your murmurs, my countrymen, make it apparent, that you recognise the individuals who have acted thus." Literally, "your murmuring makes it that you appear to recognise," &c. — Cardinal Maury (*Essai sur l' Eloquence*, § 53.) thinks, that Cicero met with some interruption here from certain individuals, who had appropriated a portion of the public money to their own private purposes, and who consequently thought that the remarks of the speaker were in some degree directed against themselves. He supposes that Cicero waited till silence was again obtained, and then availed himself of the interruption, to express it as his conviction that their outcries were only so many indications of a consciousness of guilt. This is a most unfortunate piece of criticism. The simple truth appears to be, that the murmurs came, as Cicero himself plainly perceives, from the irritated populace, who were giving vent in this way to the indignation which they felt, in common with the orator, at the conduct of the individuals to whom he alludes.

14. *Ante.* " Previously."— *Avaritiam.* " Rapacity." Compare the remark of Scheller (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 69.) : " *Avarus non est, qui pecuniæ nimis parcit ; hic* tenax *dicitur : sed pecuniæ consequendæ nimis cupidus.*"

15. *Itinera.* " The marches." — *Per hosce annos.* " During these latter years." The allusion is to the movements of the Roman forces, sent, under different commanders against Mithridates, Sertorius, Spartacus, &c., and which troops had to pass through different parts of Italy, before they reached their destined scenes of action. From the language

of Cicero, they would appear to have been guilty of excesses, by the way, against their own countrymen.

16. *Hibernis.* "By their wintering among them." Referring to the licence and rapacity exercised by the Roman soldiery against their own allies, while in winter-quarters throughout their cities.

17. *Exercitum continere.* "To restrain his army," *i. e.* from the plundering and despoiling of our allies.

18. *Qui se ipsum non continet.* "Who does not restrain himself," *i. e.* who in these same matters practises no restraint over himself. Grævius gives *se ipse*, from one of his MSS., but, as Ernesti correctly remarks, the opposition to *alios* requires *se ipsum.*

19. *In judicando.* "In judging of others." Supply *de aliis*, or else the simple *alios.*

20. *Sed ne vestigium quidem.* "But even its very footsteps." The meaning of the whole clause is, that the army led by Pompey, so far from plundering any thing, did not even set foot in any place where it was unlawful for them to come, *i. e.* violated the sanctity of no shrine, as had been the case, for example, in former years, with that of Comana. Compare the explanation of Hotomann: "*Non modo nihil rapuisse, sed ne pedem quidem, ubi non licebat, posuisse.*"

21. *Quemadmodum milites hibernent.* "As to the way in which our soldiers now conduct themselves in winter-quarters," *i. e.* as to the regularity of their deportment in winter-quarters now that they have Pompey over them.

22. *Ut sumptum faciat in militem.* "In order that he may go to expense upon a soldier," *i. e.* to compel him to expend any part of his means in the maintenance of our soldiers. — *Cupienti.* "When desiring so to do."

23. *Hiemis enim,* &c. "That there should be a refuge from the severity of winter, not for the indulgence of rapacity, in the dwellings," &c.

XIV. 1. *Qualis.* The early editions have *quali.*

2. *Inventum.* "Originated." More literally, "were obtained." Some of the early editions have *initum*, which arose very probably from the copyists not understanding here the peculiar force of *inventum.* Even Lambinus seeks to alter the text, and gives *natum* for the true reading. The use of *inventum* in this passage, is correctly styled by Ernesti, "*exquisitius genus loquendi.*" Compare the Greek usage of employing the verb *εὑρίσκειν*, on many occasions, in the sense of *parare, consequi,* &c.

3. *Non eximia vis remigum.* "No extraordinary exertions on the part of rowers."

4. *In ultimas terras.* The allusion is to Pamphylia and Cilicia. Compare chap. xvi., where the Cretan ambassadors are said to have come unto Pompey, who was then in Pamphylia, "*in ultimas prope terras.*"

5. *Ceteros.* "The rest of your commanders." So *ceteri* in the next paragraph. — *Non retardarunt.* "Retarded not his progress."

6. *Devocavit.* "Called him away." This is the reading of all the earlier editions, except the Aldine, where *revocavit* appears, probably by an error of the press. From this last edition the form *revocavit* found its way into the later ones, until Gruter restored the true lection.

7. *Non libido ad voluptatem,* &c. "No licentious feeling to an indul-

gence in pleasure; no charms of scenery to gratification of this kind; no renown of any city to a visiting and becoming acquainted with it; in a word, not toil itself to repose."

8. *Signa et tabulas.* "Statues and paintings." With *tabulas* supply *pictas.* — *Quæ ceteri tollenda esse,* &c. Statues, and paintings, and works of art in general, were favourite objects of rapacity with the Roman commanders, and were carried off without any scruple. The statues and pictures which Marcellus transported from Syracuse to Rome, first excited that cupidity, which led the Roman provincial magistrates to pillage, without scruple or distinction, the houses of private individuals and the temples of the gods. Marcellus and Mummius, however, despoiled only hostile and conquered countries. They had made over their plunder to the public, and, after it was conveyed to Rome, devoted it to the embellishment of the capital; but subsequent governors of provinces, having acquired a taste for works of art, began to appropriate to themselves those masterpieces of Greece, which they had formerly neither known nor esteemed. Some contrived plausible pretexts for borrowing valuable works of art from cities and private persons, without any intention of restoring them; while others, less cautious, or more shameless, seized whatever pleased them, whether public or private property, without excuse or remuneration. But though this passion was common to most provincial governors, none of them ever came up to the full measure of the rapacity of Verres, when prætor of Sicily. He seized tapestry, pictures, gold and silver plate, vases, gems, and Corinthian bronzes, till he literally did not leave a single article of value of these descriptions, in the whole island. (Dunlop, *Roman Literature,* vol. ii. p. 284. *seq.*)

9. *Fuisse quando.* "That there once were." They now believe that such men as Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, and others, once actually existed.

10. *Quod jam nationibus exteris,* &c. The accounts which the Romans gave them of the continence and virtue of their fathers, had appeared unworthy of belief to foreign nations, when contrasted with the rapacity and extortion that characterised their descendants.

11. *Nunc imperii vestri,* &c. "Now the true lustre of your empire shines resplendent among those nations." Pompey revives in his single self all the glory of the good old Roman times, and that glory is shared by his country. — *Lucet.* In the palimpsest fragment of this oration, recently discovered, we have *lucem afferre cœpit,* which also appears in two other MSS., but it is evidently a mere gloss for *lucet,* and not a very good one either.

12. *Hac temperantia.* "Distinguished for his self-control," *i. e.* characterised by that same moderation which Pompey now exhibits. — *Imperare aliis.* "To rule over others."

13. *Jam vero ita faciles,* &c. "So easy, too, is said to be the access of private individuals unto him, so unshackled their every complaint respecting the wrongs done them by others." As regards the force of *jam vero,* consult chap. xv. note 13. — *Faciles.* No forms and ceremony are required in approaching Pompey. — *Liberæ.* There are no restraints whatever upon the freedom of complaint.

14. *Facilitate.* "In affability."

15. *Consilio.* "In wisdom of counsel." — *Dicendi gravitate et copia.* "In powerful and flowing eloquence." As regards the peculiar force of *gravitas,* and *gravis,* in a rhetorical point of view, compare the remark of

J. C. Ernesti (*Lex. Technol. Lat. Rhet.* p. 191.): " *Sed non minus certum est,* gravem orationem *appellatam Latinis Rhetoribus esse, quæ magnis, splendidis, altisque sensibus animos legentium impleret; et ipsam* gravitatem *tributam iis oratoribus vel scriptoribus, qui tales sensus facile conciperent, atque omnino rebus augendis, exaggerandisque pares essent.*" And again: " *Neque dubium est, quin Cicero* (*de Invent.* i. 2.), *cum* gravitate *et* suavitate *orationis omnem eloquentiæ ambitum circumscriberet, illam ad sententiarum vim et splendorem, hanc ad verborum ornamenta retulerit.*"

16. *In quo ipso,* &c. " In which very talent itself there exists a kind of dignity, well adapted to the character of one who commands." The reference is to the talent of haranguing, which suits so well the character of a commander. Some editors refer *in quo ipso* to Pompey; but then *quædam,* joined to *dignitas,* is not sufficiently complimentary.

17. *Hoc ipso in loco.* In the forum, where they have often heard Pompey harangue.

18. *Quam hostes,* &c. " When the common enemies of all nations have regarded it as inviolable," *i. e.* as worthy of the most implicit reliance. *Quam* is here equivalent to *cum eam.* — By *hostes omnium gentium* are meant the pirates. Cicero employs the same circumlocution, in speaking of this class of persons, on two other occasions (*in Verr.* v. 30., and *de Off.* iii. 29.): " *Pirata est communis hostis omnium.*"

19. *Tantum bellum.* This is the reading of the earlier editions, which Ernesti first restored. The common text has *tantum bellum hoc,* which Grævius transposed, reading *hoc tantum bellum.*

20. *Nostræ memoriæ.* " Of our time." — *Videatur.* The use of the subjunctive here is worth noting. The meaning is, " who seems, as far as we can perceive," *i. e.* as far as it is allowed mere mortals to scan the councils of omnipotence. The indicative would have been too strong.

XV. 1. *Auctoritas.* " High reputation." *Auctoritas* is here equivalent to " *opinio insignis de alicujus virtute,*" &c. (Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. § 8.)

2. *Vehementer pertinere ad bella administranda.* " Intimately pertains to the management of foreign wars," *i. e.* exercises a powerful influence upon the success of your arms abroad. — *Vestris.* The palimpsest fragment has *nostris.*

3. *Et fama.* We have here adopted the reading of the palimpsest fragment, as far preferable to the ordinary one, *opinione non minus famæ.* — *Quam aliqua certa ratione.* " Than by some fixed and reasonable motive."

4. *Clarius.* " More illustrious than his," *i. e.* Pompey's.

5. *Facit ad auctoritatem.* " Contributes to high reputation." We have inserted *ad* before *auctoritatem,* on the conjecture of Weiske, who considers the common reading, *facit auctoritatem,* as doubtful in point of Latinity.

6. *Tanta et tam præclara,* &c. " Have you made so distinguished and honourable expressions of opinion." The term *judicia* is here applied to the honours and rewards bestowed upon merit. Compare the remark of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): " Judicia *dicuntur etiam honores, præmia, quia dantur his qui iis digni judicantur.*" — Pompey obtained the honours of a triumph, while he was only an *eques,* or knight, and not yet of an age to entitle him to a seat in the senate. He was sent against Sertorius, with proconsular command, though but a simple

quæstor; and he obtained the consulship before he was full thirty-six years old, and without having gone through the subordinate offices. In the regular course of things, he was, at thirty-six, merely old enough to have been made ædile. The legal age for the consulship was forty-three.

7. *Illius diei.* The day when the Gabinian law was passed. Consult chap. xii. note 20. — *Cum universus populus Romanus.* "When the whole Roman people, with one voice." The student will mark the force of *universus* here.

8. *Hic locus.* The rostra. — *Unum ad commune omnium gentium bellum imperatorem.* "As sole commander for a war that involved the common interests of all nations." The reference is to the war against the pirates. Compare chap. xiv. note 18.

9. *Quantum auctoritas.* The common text has *quantum hujus auctoritas.* But *hujus* is not needed here, since the remark is a general one, and does not refer to any individual in particular. Ernesti thinks that *hujus* must either be rejected, or else changed into *ducis.* He prefers the former course, and accordingly throws it out of his text.

10. *Omnium rerum egregiarum.* "Of every thing exalted."

11. *Vilitas annonæ.* "A cheapness of provisions." As long as the pirates held possession of the sea, exportation from the corn-bearing provinces was checked, and large stores must necessarily have accumulated there. Pompey's appointment restored public confidence; and as the power of the pirates was now thought to be soon about to end, and large shipments were expected to be shortly made from the corn-countries, the price of grain fell of course at Rome.

12. *Ex summa inopia,* &c. "From the greatest scarcity and dearness of grain." — *Unius hominis spe et nomine.* Compare the language of Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxvi.): *αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ τῶν ὠνίων, εὐθὺς πεσοῦσαι, λόγον ἡδομένῳ τῷ δήμῳ παρεῖχον, ὡς αὐτὸ τοὔνομα τοῦ Πομπηΐου λέλυκε τὸν πόλεμον.*

13. *Jam.* "Still farther." Compare the remark of Forcellini (*Lex.* s. v.): "Jam *sæpissime conjungendi orationem vim habet, et transitionibus inservit, pro* præterea."

14. *Accepta in Ponto calamitate.* Alluding to the defeat of Triarius. Compare chap ix. note 24. — *Cum.* To be repeated, in translating, before each of the two succeeding clauses.

15. *Divinitus.* "Providentially."

16. *Insolita inflammatum victoria.* "Fired with unaccustomed victory." *Insolita* refers to his having been so often defeated before this by Sylla, Murena, and Lucullus. — *Continuit.* "Checked."

17. *Profecturus sit.* We have adopted *profecturus sit* and *profecerit,* with Grævius, Ernesti, and Schütz, from many MSS. and early editions. The common text has *perfecturus sit* and *perfecerit.*

18. *Ipso nomine ac rumore.* "By his very name and reputation."

XVI. 1. *Illa res.* "The following circumstance."

2. *Cretensium legati.* For an account of this really discreditable affair, which Cicero here seeks to make a ground of praise, consult chap. xii. note 27. — *Noster imperator.* Metellus.

3. *In ultimas prope terras.* To Pamphylia. Consult Liv. *Epit.* xcix.

4. *Eum quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit.* Pompey, of course, would entertain this opinion from motives of vanity. There is every

reason to believe, however that the individual alluded to was a mere spy.

5. *Ii, quibus,* &c. Referring in particular to Metellus, who was commanding in conjunction with Pompey in Spain. He was a relation of the Metellus just mentioned, note 2. — *Ad eum potissimum,* &c. What gave offence, if the story be true, was that the individual should have been sent to so young a man as Pompey, and one too who was only a quæstor with pro-consular command.

6. *Multis postea rebus gestis.* "By many subsequent exploits." *Postea* refers to the period after the Spanish war, and to Pompey's operations against the pirates. — *Vestris judiciis.* "Expressions of opinion on your part." Compare chap. xv. note 6.

7. *Quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest,* &c. "Which no one can exhibit at pleasure in his own case; but which we can call to mind and make mention of in the case of another," *i. e.* no man can be successful when he pleases; this lies entirely within the power, and is regulated by the will, of the gods. But he may tell without scruple of the success with which others have been favoured.

8. *De potestated eorum.* "In relation to a thing that lies wholly within the power of the gods," *i. e.* success, or good fortune; of which, according to Cicero, we must speak cautiously and briefly, lest we be found ascribing too much to human agency. Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "De potestate deorum, i. e. *de re ea, quæ est tota in potestate deorum, ut cavendum sit ne in ea plus homini tribuamus.*"

9. *Maximo.* Fabius Maximus. — *Marcello.* The celebrated opponent of Hannibal.— *Scipioni.* It is uncertain whether Cicero means the elder or younger Africanus. Manutius thinks it is the latter, and his opinion appears to be the correct one. For an account of the individuals here alluded to, consult *Historical Index.*

10. *Ad amplitudinem et gloriam.* "For their elevation and glory." As *amplitudo* and *gloria* are here nearly synonymous, the preposition is not repeated before the latter. — *Divinitus.* "By the favour of Heaven."

11. *Hac.* For *tali.* — *In illius potestate.* "Under his control." Cicero means, that he will employ such moderation in speaking, as not, on the one hand, to assert that Pompey is master of events, for such language would be offensive to the gods (*invisi diis immortalibus*); and, on the other, merely to make it apparent, that he has not forgotten the past exploits of that commander, but regards them as an earnest of future success, for that to forget them would be rank ingratitude against the beings who have thus far presided over his career.

12. *Non sum prædicaturus.* "I am not going vauntingly to state."

13. *Obtemperarint.* "Yielded to." *Obedire* denotes more of literal and absolute obedience than *obtemperare,* and is therefore used in the next clause, when speaking of enemies. *Obtemperare* is to obey the spirit of a command; as a son, for example, obeys a father. Compare Cic. *pro Cæcin.* xviii.: "*Imperium domesticum nullum erit, si servulis nostris hoc concesserimus, ut* ad verba *nobis* obediant, *non* ad id quod ex verbis intelligi possit obtemperent."

14. *Obsecundarint,* "Favoured." Referring in particular to his rapidity in chasing the pirates from the surface of the Mediterranean.

15. *Tam impudentem.* "So presumptuous." — *Tacitus.* I. e. in his heart. *Detulerunt.* In many MSS. and early editions we find *con-*

tulerunt; but *detulerunt* expresses more of condescension and favour on the part of the gods.

16. *Quod ut illi,* &c. "And that this may be his peculiar and lasting privilege," *i. e.* that these special favours may ever be vouchsafed unto him. *Proprium* here implies, that no Roman commander has ever been so peculiarly favoured as Pompey; and the assembled people are requested to pray, that these special acts of kindness, on the part of the gods, may be continued to him for the time to come, since they will only prove a fresh source of honour and happiness to his country.

17. *Velle et optare.* "To entertain and express the wish."

18. *Accuratissime.* "With the utmost care."

19. *Dubitabitis quin,* &c. "Will you hesitate, Romans, to employ so favourable an opportunity as this." More literally, "this so great a good." Many of the Oxford MSS. have *dubitatis,* but the present tense is too strong here.

XVII. 1. *Quod si.* "Even if then." *Quod,* in such cases as the present, commencing a sentence, always refers to something going before, and is not redundant, as some critics imagine. It is here the same in fact, as *propter quod.* Compare the remark of Schütz (*Ind. Lat.* s. v.): "Quod *ab initio periodi sæpe ponitur: sed semper refertur ad antecedens aliquid, et transitioni servit.*" Consult also Perizonius, ad Sanct. *Min.* iv. 5. (vol. ii. p. 227. ed. Bauer.)

2. *Is erat deligendus,* &c. "He ought to be selected," &c. In the consequent member of a conditional proposition, the past tenses are frequently put in the indicative, to give more liveliness to the representation, although in the conditional clause, the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive has been used. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 329.)

3. *Nunc, cum,* &c. "Now, however, when to the other eminent advantages existing in his case, the following happy circumstance is likewise added, that he is present in those very parts," &c. By *iis ipsis locis* is meant Asia, the seat of the war. Pompey having ended the piratical war, was engaged, at this time, in settling the affairs of Cilicia and the adjacent countries, and in assigning habitations to the pirates who had surrendered.

4. *Quid exspectamus?* "What wait we for?" — *Summa cum salute reipublicæ.* "With the greatest advantage to the state." — *Hoc bellum regium.* "This war of the kings." Referring to Mithridates and Tigranes.

5. *At enim.* Analogous to the Greek ἀλλὰ γάρ. In this combination, *enim* introduces a reason for the opposition, diversity, or objection to something preceding, which is signified by *at.* Render: "*But* this it seems, you must not do, *for,*" &c.

6. *Vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus.* "And one who has been honoured with the most distinguished proofs of your regard." The allusion is to the famous Q. Lutatius Catulus. Consult *Historical Index.*

7. *Itemque summis,* &c. "And likewise Quintus Hortensius, possessing the highest advantages that public honours, fortune, virtue, and talents can bestow." The allusion is to Q. Hortensius the celebrated orator. He had enjoyed the consulship, had amassed a large fortune by the legal profession, was a man of upright character, and a talented and popular, though very showy, declaimer. Consult *Historical Index.*

8. *Ab hac ratione dissentiunt.* "Differ from me in the view which I

have taken of this subject." Literally, "differ from this view of the subject." Catulus and Hortensius led the opposition against the bill. Consult *Introductory Remarks*, page 271.

9. *Quorum auctoritatem*, &c. "I am willing to own that the authority of these individuals has exercised a very strong influence with you on many occasions, and ought so to do. In the present case, however, although you are well aware of the sentiments of the bravest and most illustrious men, as being in direct opposition to theirs, still, putting authority on either side entirely out of the question, we can ascertain the truth from the case itself, and from the dictates of reason." By *auctoritates contrariæ* are meant individuals who think with Cicero, and whose character and standing are fully equal to those of Catulus and Hortensius.

10. *Omnia.* "All things," *i. e.* unlimited power. The Manilian law proposed, in effect, to invest Pompey with unlimited power against Mithridates and Tigranes. Compare the language of Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxx.) in speaking of the provisions of the act: τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐφ' ἑνὶ συλλήβδην γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν.

11. *Re.* "By facts." The allusion is to the proper use made by Pompey of the extensive power conferred upon him in the piratical war.

12. *Pro tua summa copia*, &c. "With that rich fluency and eminent talent for speaking that are yours." The eloquence of Hortensius was of the kind called Asiatic, being rather showy and declamatory than solid and powerful.

13. *Virum fortem A. Gabinium*, &c. Cicero calls Gabinius a courageous man from the spirit he displayed in carrying through his law amid the strenuous opposition of the senate. One of his colleagues in the tribuneship, L. Trebellius, interposed his veto, and assured the senate that he would rather lose his life than suffer the law to pass. Gabinius thereupon proposed to the people to deprive Trebellius of his magistracy, and the tribes having made great progress in voting upon this proposition, and the popular voice appearing decidedly against him, Trebellius became intimidated and withdrew his intercession. An account of the whole proceeding is given by Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 8. *seqq.*), and by Asconius (ad Cic. *Orat. I. pro Cornelio*, p. 964.), from which it appears, that Trebellius persisted after seventeen tribes had declared against him, and only yielded when the eighteenth, which would have made a majority, were about to vote in the same manner.

14. *Graviter ornateque.* "Forcibly and eloquently." Compare chap. xiv. note 15.

15. *Vera causa.* "The cause of truth," *i. e.* the true interests of the state. — *Teneremus.* "Should we still be retaining."

16. *Capiebantur.* "Were accustomed to be made captives," *i. e.* by the pirates. — *Commeatu.* "From supplies."

17. *Ut neque privatam rem*, &c. "That we could no longer transact any business, either of a private or a public nature, beyond the sea." The *res transmarinæ privatæ* refer to the private operations of the Roman traders; the *publicæ*, to the revenues in the transmarine provinces.

XVIII. 1. *Non dico Atheniensium*, &c. "I speak not now of that of the Athenians, whch is said to have held, in former days, a very wide dominion over the sea."

2. *Carthaginiensium.* The orthography *Carthago* and *Carthaginienses* is more correct than *Karthago* and *Karthaginienses.* Consult Ruperti, ad Sil. Ital. i. 3. *Var. Lect.*

3. *Rhodiorum.* The Rhodians were still celebrated for their naval skill and discipline, and their former glory was still fresh in remembrance.

4. *Tam tenuis.* "So feeble." — *Aliquem partem regionis.* "Some portion at least of her territory."

5. *Aliquot annos continuos.* "For several successive years." — *Invictum.* "As ever associated with victory."

6. *Magna ac multo maxima,* &c. "Felt themselves deprived of a large, aye, and by far the largest share, not only of their revenues, but of their dignity and their empire." — *Utilitatis,* more literally, "of what might contribute to their advantage."

7. *Antiochum.* Polyxenidas, the admiral of this monarch, was defeated in two naval engagements by the Romans. In the first action, which was fought not far from Phocea, the Roman fleet was commanded by C. Livius. (Liv. xxxvi. 44.) In the second, which took place off the promontory of Myonesus, near Teos, the Rhodian fleet was united to the Roman. The commander of the latter, on this occasion, was L. Æmilius Regillus. (Liv. xxxvii. 30.)

8. *Persenque.* No trace appears in history of any naval victory over Perses. After his defeat at Pydna, by Paulus Æmilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrace, where he surrendered himself to the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had been sent thither with a fleet by the Roman consul. A naval triumph was decreed to Octavius, but it appears to have been bestowed upon him for receiving Perses as his prisoner, not for any actual engagement; and hence Livy (xlv. 42.) calls it: "*triumphus sine captivis, sine spoliis.*" It is more than probable, however, that Cicero alludes to some actual conflict, an account of which has not come down to us.

9. *In maritimis rebus,* &c. "Most experienced and abundantly supplied with every thing requisite in maritime affairs."

10. *Ii.* We have nothing in our own idiom analogous to this elegant usage of *ii* for the first person. In rendering, we may consider it equivalent here to *nos tales* (i. e. *nos, tales cum essemus*). "We, though thus sprung," *i. e.* we, though descended from such fathers.

11. *Præstare poteramus.* "Could show forth to the world." *Præstare* is here equivalent to *exhibere* or *ostendere.* — *Tum, cum.* "In those days, when."

12. *Quo omnes,* &c. The port of Delos was a convenient stopping-place for those who sailed from Italy or Greece to Asia. — *Referta divitiis.* "Though filled to overflowing with riches." Literally, "crowded," &c.

13. *Nihil timebat.* Because the Roman power was then what it should be, and Delos relied securely on this for protection.

14. *Iidem,* &c. "We, that same people, were deprived of the use of not only our provinces, and the whole sea-coast of Italy, and our very harbours, but even now at length of the Appian way." The usage and position of *jam,* in the latter member of this sentence, is extremely elegant. It is equivalent here to *jam tandem.*

15. *Appia via.* This road led, through Capua, to Brundisium. (Consult *Geographical Index.*) The part of it which approached the sea

appears to have been infested by the pirates, who probably had accomplices on shore.

16. *In hunc ipsum locum.* Alluding to the rostra. — *Escendere.* The old form for *ascendere.* Grævius first gave this reading from one of his MSS., and he has been followed by Ernesti, Schütz, Orellius, and others. — The orator may purposely have used the old form here, to recall early times to the minds of his hearers, and show how the Romans of the latter day to which he alludes (*his temporibus*) had degenerated from the practice of their fathers.

17. *Exuviis nauticis,* &c. "Adorned with naval trophies and the spoils of fleets." The *rostra* was adorned with the beaks (*rostris*) of the ships taken in early times from the Antiates. Consult Livy, viii. 14.; and chap. i. note 3. of this oration.

XIX. 1. *Bono animo.* "In the sincerity of your heart," *i. e.* with a fair and honest intention. Cicero alludes to the opposition made by Hortensius and others to the passing of the Gabinian law. He allows them the utmost sincerity in their opposition, but adds, that the Roman people, though fully aware of the honesty of their intentions in endeavouring to defeat that law, took the true view of the case and passed it. And so (this is the tacit inference to be drawn from what he says) will they again act on the present occasion.

2. *In salute communi.* "In a case involving the common safety." — *Dolori suo.* "Their own feelings of indignant grief." *Dolor,* in its primitive signification, means the smart attendant upon a wound. It becomes, therefore, a very strong term, when applied, in a figurative sense, to the moral feelings.

3. *Una lex.* The Gabinian law. — *Unus vir.* Pompey. — *Unus annus.* A. U. C. 686, the year previous to that in which this oration was delivered. — Cicero does not, of course, mean that it took the entire year to bring about the change alluded to, but that a single year saw the power of the pirates at its height, and that same power annihilated by Pompey.

4. *Quo mihi,* &c. "On which account it appears to me even the more unworthy, that opposition should have been hitherto made, shall I say to Gabinius or to Pompeius, or to both of them? (what is nearer the truth,) in order that Aulus Gabinius might not be appointed a lieutenant to Cneius Pompeius, though earnestly desiring and in fact demanding him for one." — The transaction to which Cicero here alludes was simply this:— Aulus Gabinius procures a law to be passed, investing Pompey with supreme command. When the latter obtains this appointment, he wishes to have Gabinius as one of his lieutenants, but meets with so decided an opposition as to be compelled to abandon the idea. Cicero complains of this opposition to Pompey's wishes, and insists, that Gabinius ought to be preferred to every other individual. It must be evident to any one, who will take the trouble of reflecting only a moment on the subject, that the opposition to Gabinius was perfectly proper, and that Cicero does himself very little credit by the course which he takes in relation to it. The whole affair had too much the appearance of a corrupt jobbing transaction, a mere matter of bargain and sale, and the precedent would have been a dangerous one for the interests of the state, and the purity of legislation. Gabinius was, in fact, a man of infamous character; and it is amusing to see, how clear-sighted Cicero sub-

sequently became, respecting the merits and standing of this individual. In the speech delivered by the Roman orator before the senate, after his return from banishment, he paints the character of Gabinius in the strongest and most revolting colours. He describes him as a man polluted by every excess; as one, whose only refuge from imprisonment, for numerous debts, was the inviolability of his person as tribune. He alludes also to the law which this same Gabinius had procured, respecting the appointment of Pompey against the pirates, and then adds, that, had he not caused this law to be passed, ***his own necessities would have driven him to turn pirate himself.*** And yet this is the very man, whom Cicero, certainly with a full knowledge of his character, recommends to the notice and approbation of his countrymen!

5. *Ceteri.* "Your other commanders." — *Ad expilandos socios,* &c. Cicero knew perfectly well, notwithstanding all that he says here, that Gabinius, if an opportunity should offer, would do the very same things which are here condemned.

6. *Ipse.* Referring to Gabinius. — *Constituta est.* "Have been placed on a sure basis."

7. *Qui consilio ipsius,* &c. "Who have been called into action by his own counsels, and at his own individual risk." Literally: "who have been appointed," or "set on foot." — *Periculo.* Because, if any thing adverse should befall Pompey, the blame would fall on Gabinius.

8. *Honoris causa.* "With the utmost respect." *Honoris causa* more frequently means "out of respect," and is then equivalent to *honorandi causa.*

9. *Anno proximo.* No one, who had been a tribune of the commons, could fill the office of lieutenant under a general appointed to a command during the magistracy of the former, until a year had elapsed since the period of his retiring from the tribuneship. The object of this regulation was to prevent bribery and intrigue. Cicero, however, cites some instances here of a violation of this rule, and of ex-tribunes having been appointed lieutenants the very next year after they had laid down their tribuneships.

10. *In hoc uno Gabinio,* &c. "Are people so active with their opposition in the case of this Gabinius alone, who, as far as regards this war, which is waged in accordance with a law of his own proposing, as far as regards this commander and army, whom he himself has called into action through your suffrages, ought to enjoy even an especial right of being appointed," *i. e.* ought to be preferred to all other applicants. — From the language of Plutarch, and the provisions of the Gabinian law, it would appear that Pompey had the right to select his own lieutenants. If so, the opposition to Gabinius must have been grounded on the previously existing Æbutian law, and the infamy of his private character must have made this opposition the more formidable. The Æbutian, which appears to have been the same with the Licinian law, forbade the proposer of a law, concerning any charge or power, assuming that charge or power, or deriving any advantage from it. The same prohibition was extended also to his colleagues, relations, &c. The principle on which this law was founded, is very neatly stated by Cicero (*Orat. II. de Leg. Agr. contra Rull.* c. viii.): "*Etenim, si populo consulis, remove te a suspicione alicujus tui commodi: fac fidem, te nihil, nisi populi utilitatem et fructum quærere: sine ad alios potestatem, ad te gratiam beneficii tui pervenire.*"

11. *Per vos ipse.* Gruter first proposed this reading from two MSS.,

and it has been adopted by Grævius, Beck, Schütz, and many other editors. Ernesti, however, retains the common lection, *per se ipse*, making *per se* refer to the law which Gabinius proposed and exerted himself to have passed. — He doubts the Latinity of *per vos* in conjunction with *ipse*; but this is, in fact, the very language required by the occasion, *ipse* referring to the individual exertions of Gabinius, and *per vos* to their being crowned with success by the suffrages of the people.

12. *De quo legando*, &c. "I hope the consuls will consult the senate relative to his appointment as lieutenant," *i. e.* will lay the whole matter before them, and get that body to interpose their authority and sanction the appointment. The consuls of this year were Lepidus and Volcatius Tullus. (Consult Sigonius, *Fast Cons.* p. 480. ed. Oxon.)

13. *Aut gravabuntur.* "Or shall raise any difficulties." *Gravari* is here used in a deponent sense.

14. *Ego memet profiteor relaturum.* "I openly declare that I myself will lay the matter before them." In place of the common reading *me*, we have given *memet* on the suggestion of Goerenz, ad Cic. *Acad.* ii. 16. — Nothing could be laid before the senate against the will of the consuls. The prætors, of which class of magistrates Cicero was at this time a member, could only convene the senate when the consuls were absent from the city, and could at these times only lay such matters before them as they pleased. It will be perceived, therefore, that the language of Cicero, on the present occasion, partakes of the nature of a mere boast, and is intended to conciliate the favour of the multitude. He declares, that, if the consuls hold back, he himself will make the requisite application to the senate, in spite of them and of any *inimicum edictum* which they make in order to stop him; and that nothing short of the intercession of the tribunes would keep him back. He knew very well, however, that the consuls had the power to restrain him.

15. *Inimicum edictum.* "The unfriendly edict," *i. e.* on the part of the consuls, and aimed at his intended motion in the senate. — *Vestrum jus beneficiumque.* "The right and the favour which you have conferred." The Gabinian law gave Pompey the right of selecting his own lieutenants. (Consult note 4.) By *beneficium* is meant the mark of favour which the granting of this right implied.

16. *Præter intercessionem.* "Short of intercession," *i. e.* the tribunitian veto. — *De qua.* Referring to this intercession. — *Quid liceat considerabunt.* "Will do well to consider, how far their power may extend." *i. e.* will take care, if they value their own tranquillity, not to exceed the power vested in them by the laws.

17. *Socius adscribitur.* "Is a fit person to be added as a companion in arms to Pompey." *Adscribitur* is here equivalent to *dignus est qui adscribatur.*

18. *Alter.* Referring to Gabinius. — *Uni.* "To a particular commander."— *Alter.* "That commander." Literally, "the other."

XX. 1. *Ut dicendum esse videatur.* Cicero appears to adopt this phraseology on purpose here, as if the arguments of Catulus, on the present occasion, seemed to him too weak to require a formal and laboured refutation.

2. *Si in uno Cn. Pompeio*, &c. "In what person, if you made all your expectations centre in Cneius Pompeius, were you going to place any hope, in case aught should befall him." The expression, *si quid de*

eo factum esset, is an euphemism, for "in case he should die." The direct mention of death is omitted as ill-omened. We have restored *de eo*, the old reading, with Heumannus, Matthiæ, and others. The lection adopted by most editors, from the time of Lambinus, is *si quid eo factum esset*, omitting *de*.

3. *Cepit magnum*, &c. "Reaped the rich harvest of his own virtues and high standing." — *In ipso.* "In himself." The anecdote here alluded to is a very pleasing one. In an oration to the people, during the discussion on the Gabinian law, Catulus asked them, whom they would have to supply Pompey's place, in case that individual should be cut off? The people exclaimed with almost one accord, "*Te, Quinte Catule.*" "You, Quintus Catulus." And thus the Roman people, as Valerius Maximus remarks, made Catulus the equal of Pompey and of all his glory. (Val. Max. viii. 15. 9.) Catulus, it seems, according to Plutarch's account (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxv.), was arguing against the propriety of investing Pompey with the command in the piratical war, on the ground that the people ought to spare him, and not expose such a man to so many dangers. The common text has in *eo ipso.* But several MSS. omit *eo*, and besides, as Lambinus and Matthiæ correctly remark, it would refer to Pompey, not to Catulus. It is rejected in consequence, by Lambinus, Weiske, and Matthiæ, and enclosed within brackets by Orellius.

4. *Talis est vir*, &c. This praise was as richly deserved by Catulus as Cicero seems to have been sincere in bestowing it. Compare *de Off.* i. 22. : "*Mihi quidem neque, pueris nobis, M. Scaurus C. Mario, neque, cum versaremur in republica, Q. Catulus Cn. Pompeio cedere videbatur.*"

5. *Et consilio regere*, &c. "Both direct by his counsels, and support by his integrity, and accomplish by his valour."

6. *Vehementissime dissentio.* Compare note 1. — *Quo minus certa*, &c. "The more uncertain and brief that human life is." — *Frui summi hominis*, &c. "To avail itself of the days and talents of a distinguished individual." More freely, "to avail itself of the talents of a great man, as long as his life is spared to his country."

7. *At enim*, &c. The elliptical use of *at enim* here, may best be explained by a paraphrase: "*But*," remarks Catulus, "this whole proceeding is an improper one, *for* let no innovation be made, contrary to the precedents and institutions of our fathers." — Cicero proceeds to meet an objection urged by Catulus, that it was not right for the state to be dependent upon, and to have all its hopes centered in, a single individual. He cites, in opposition to this doctrine, the examples of Scipio the younger, and Marius.

8. *Non dico hoc loco*, &c. "I urge not in reply here, that our fathers always consulted in peace established usage, in war utility; that they always adapted new plans to new emergencies." *Novorum consiliorum rationes*, literally, "the plans of new counsels," *i. e.* new plans which had been made the subject of previous deliberation.

9. *Non dicam*, &c. "I will not tell, how two very important wars," &c. Cicero will not dwell on these points, or make any formal reply. It is sufficient merely to glance at them. — *Punicum.* The third Punic war. — *Hispaniense.* The war with Numantia.

10. *Uno imperatore.* The younger Scipio.

11. *Non commemorabo*, &c. "I will not remind you, that, but a few years ago, this course appeared a proper one to you and your fathers,

that the hopes of the empire should be made to centre in the single person of Caius Marius; that this same individual," &c.

12. *In ipso Cn. Pompeio*, &c. "Recall to your own recollections how many things of a novel nature have been done by you, with the full approbation of Quintus Catulus, in the case of that same Cneius Pompeius, with regard to whom Quintus Catulus now wishes nothing of a novel nature to be adopted," *i. e.* how many innovations on established usage, &c. These are enumerated immediately after.

13. *Summa Q. Catuli voluntate.* This is the very neat emendation of Grævius from one of his MSS. The old reading was *summaque Catuli voluntate.* The prænomen Q. is often changed, in the MSS., into the conjunction *que.* The connective is not wanted here.

XXI. 1. *Enim.* Referring to what immediately precedes (*quam multa sint nova*, &c.), and therefore very unnecessarily bracketed by some editors.

2. *Adolescentulum.* Pompey was, at the time here alluded to, in the twenty-third year of his age. Compare chap. x. note 9. — *Privatum.* "Holding no official station."

3. *Conficere.* "To levy." More literally, "to get together." The allusion in the text is to Pompey's levying an army, and marching with it to the aid of Sylla. Compare chap. x. note 9.

4. *Optime.* "Most successfully." — *Ductu suo.* "Under his own guidance," *i. e.* in person. When a Roman commander performed any thing in person, he was said to do it *ductu*, or *auspicio suo.*

5. *Cujus a senatorio gradu*, &c. The senatorial age appears to have been about thirty-two. (Consult the remarks of Ernesti, *Ind. Leg.* s. v. *Annales.*) That is, the age for enjoying the quæstorship was about thirty-one, and after having held this office, a person was eligible into the senate. Pompey, therefore, was about eight years under the senatorial age. — Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xiv.) informs us that Pompey, at the time alluded to by Cicero, might have easily, as a matter of favour, been admitted to the senate, but that his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track, and to triumph before he was a senator.

6. *Confecit.* "He terminated." — *Deportavit.* "He brought home." *Deportare* properly denotes, "to remove," or "transfer from one place to another," as in the present instance, from Africa to Italy.

7. *Equitem Romanum triumphare.* Plutarch states, that Sylla at first opposed Pompey's demand for a triumph, on this occasion, alleging that he was too young, and not yet of an age to be admitted into the senate. Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade Sylla consider, "that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun," intimating that his own power was increasing, while that of Sylla was on the decline. Sylla did not distinctly hear what he said; but perceiving by the looks and gestures of those present, that they were struck by what Pompey had uttered, he asked what it was, and, when he was informed, in admiration of Pompey's spirit, he cried out: "let him triumph," "let him triumph."

8. *At eam quoque rem*, &c. In Cicero's account of this triumph, no mention whatever is made of any decree of the senate, or order of the people to that effect. The reason is this: — Sylla, being dictator, held all the power of the state in his own hands, and awarded public honours without consulting either senate or people.

9. *Duo consules.* D. Junius Brutus and M. Æmilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676. — *Bellum maximum,* &c. The war against Sertorius.

10. *Nonnemo.* "An individual." The student will note the difference between *nonnemo* and *nemo non;* the former being equivalent to *aliquis,* the latter to *omnis.*

11. *Pro consule.* "In place of a consul," *i. e.* with proconsular power. The expression *pro consule,* or *proconsul,* was applied, among the Romans, not merely to one, who, after having filled the consulship, was sent out, the next year, to govern a province or execute some particular charge; but, as in the present instance, to one sent out in place of a consul.

12. *L. Philippus.* A senator of great influence and weight of character. — *Pro consulibus.* Intimating, by this peculiar turn of expression, his opinion of the incapacity of both the consuls for that year. The consuls were M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus; A. U. C. 675.

13. *Legibus solutus.* The laws here referred to were the *Lex Villia,* and two of the *Leges Corneliæ.* They were often called by a general term, *Leges Annales,* from their fixing the ages for holding the different offices in the state. Thus, the quæstorship could not be enjoyed until one had reached the age of 31 years, the ædileship 37, prætorship 40, and consulship 43. Such at least was the rule in Cicero's time. (Ernesti, *Index Legum.* s. v. *Annales.*) Now Pompey was elected consul before he was full 36 years old, that is, before he was of sufficient age to obtain the ædileship, which was the first office properly called *magistratus,* although that title is often applied also to the quæstorship and tribuneship. — Ferratius explains the words *ante quam ullum alium magistratum,* &c., in a different manner. He supposes that there was either an old law, revived by Sylla, or else a new one passed by him, which enacted, that no one who had not filled the office of quæstor, could be a candidate for any other and higher office; and that, as Pompey had never been quæstor, he was, of course, legally excluded from the consulship. Cicero's words, however, by no means favour this interpretation. What, in such an event, becomes of *ante quam?*

14. *Iterum.* Alluding to Pompey's second triumph, which was granted him for his successes over the remains of the army of Sertorius, in Spain, after the death of that commander.

15. *Ex senatusconsulto.* Sylla had overthrown the tribunitian power, and, in consequence of this, the whole administration of the state, for some time after his death, centered in the senate. Hence, at the period referred to in the text, this order, and not the people, had the right of granting a triumph.

16. *Quæ in omnibus hominibus,* &c. "Whatever precedents of a novel nature have been established in the case of all men, within human remembrance," &c.

17. *Profecta sunt in eundem hominem,* &c. "Have taken their rise, for the same individual, from the express recommendation of Quintus Catulus," &c. *i. e.* have been established in favour of Pompey by the very recommendation of Catulus, &c.

XXII. 1. *De Cn. Pompeii dignitate.* "Concerning the elevation of Cneius Pompeius," *i. e.* his advancement in the state, and to public and unusual honours.

2. *Dissentiant.* We have adopted Ernesti's conjecture. The com-

mon text has *dissentiunt*. — *Iisdem istis reclamantibus*. Hortensius, Catulus, and other senators, had likewise opposed the Gabinian law. We give *iisdem* before *istis*, with Matthiæ and Orellius, from several MSS. It does not appear in the common text.

3. *Temere*. "Rashly." — *Studia vestra suis consiliis regere*. "To regulate your wishes by their counsels," *i. e.* to interpose their authority and advice, and prevent you from blindly following the mere impulse of feeling, and from listening to the dictates of personal attachment, when these are in opposition to the public good.

4. *Sin autem vos*, &c. "But if, on the contrary, you saw more clearly, on that occasion, than they did, what was for the interest of the state; if you, notwithstanding their opposition, did, by your own unaided efforts, bestow dignity upon this empire, and safety upon the world; let those leaders of the senate at length acknowledge, that both they, and the rest of their order, must yield obedience to the recommendation of the Roman people at large," *i. e.* must not oppose the advancement of that individual, whom the Roman people, with one voice, recommend as worthy of the highest honours.

5. *In republica*. Literally, "in what concerned the republic." — *Per vosmet ipsos*. The allusion is to the suffrages of the people, as unbiassed by the high standing of those who opposed the Gabinian law, and in opposition to their advice. — *Isti principes*. "Let those leaders of the senate."

6. *Militaris illa virtus*, &c. "That military talent, which exists in a singular degree in Cneius Pompeius." — *Virtutes animi*. "Qualities of mind."

7. *Interiorum nationum*. "Of the more inland nations," *i. e.* of the nations that are removed from the shores of the Mediterranean, and do not, like the countries just named, border upon them.

8. *Ita versari vestrum imperatorem*, &c. "For a commander of yours to be so employed, as to think of nothing but the foe and renown." Cicero means, that, in countries at a distance from Italy, and from which, of course, complaints could less easily be brought to Rome, the temptation was a very strong one for Roman commanders to abuse their power, and turn their thoughts from the path of duty to views of self interest and the indulgence of a rapacious spirit.

9. *Si qui sunt*, &c. "If there be any held under more restraint than others, by a sense of shame and a habit of self-control, no one thinks that they are really such, in consequence of the vast number of the rapacious," *i. e.* no one gives them credit for being sincere. A rapacious spirit is so sure a mark of a Roman commander, that, when one is found without it, he is merely thought to be acting an insincere part, and laying claim to a purity and disinterestedness which he does not really possess.

10. *Quos ad eas*, &c. Alluding particularly to Glabrio, but applicable in fact to the conduct of almost all the Roman proconsuls and governors of provinces, at this particular period.

11. *Injurias ac libidines*. "The oppressive conduct and libidinous excesses."

12. *Quod enim fanum*, &c. "For what temple, think you, in those lands, has preserved its religious character in the eyes of our magistrates; what city has been held sacred by them; what private dwell-

ing has been sufficiently closed upon, and defended against, their violence?"

13. *Requiruntur.* "Are sought for." — *Quibus causa belli inferatur.* "Against which some pretext for war may be alleged."

14. *Libenter hæc coram,* &c. "Willingly would I enter upon an open discussion of these topics," &c. — *Querimonias audiunt.* Especially Hortensius, in his professional capacity.

15. *Hostium simulatione.* "Under the pretence of acting against enemies, but in reality against allies and friends."

16. *Quæ non modo imperatoris,* &c. "That can satisfy the grasping avidity, and the insolent pretensions, not merely of a commander, or a lieutenant, but of a single tribune of the soldiers?" — There were six military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) in every legion, and they had each the charge of ten centuries.

XXIII. 1. *Collatis signis.* "When an engagement takes place."— *Signa inferre,* "to advance against the foe;" *conferre,* "to engage;" *convertere,* "to face about;" *referre,* "to retreat," &c.

2. *Nisi erit idem.* "Unless he shall also be one." — *Ab auro gazaque regia.* "From the gold and the treasures of kings."

3. *Ecquam putatis,* &c. "Think you that any state has been subdued by our commanders, and still remains opulent; that there is any one still opulent, which appears to them to be as yet completely subdued?" *i. e.* complete subjugation to the Roman arms only begins where every thing like opulence ends. As long as wealth remains, so long will the commanders of Rome consider a state hostile, and make this a pretext for plunder.

4. *Videbat enim,* &c. "For it saw that the Roman people at large were not enriched from year to year by the public money, but only a few individuals." *Videbat* refers to *ora maritima.* — The old editions have *populus Romanus,* which is approved of by Gronovius (*de Pec. Vet.* iv. 4.), and retained by Grævius. Gruter and others, however, give *prætores locupletari,* omitting the negative. The reading *prætores,* in place of *populus Romanus,* arose very probably from the abridged mode of writing the latter, in the MSS.; namely, *P. R.* or *Po. Ro.* The true lection is the one we have adopted, and which is also given by Ernesti, in accordance with the opinion of Hotomannus and Lambinus.

5. *Præter paucos.* Literally, "except a few."

6. *Classium nomine,* &c. The idea intended to be conveyed is this, that all the advantage the Romans gained by the empty name of a fleet, was only an increase of disgrace from repeated losses.

7. *Qua cupiditate.* "With what rapacious views." — *Quibus jacturis.* "After what heavy bribery, and under what engagements." By *jacturæ* are here meant the bribes given to those in office, and to influential individuals out of office, and also to different persons throughout the tribes, for the purpose of obtaining some foreign command. The only way the individual had of reimbursing himself for these heavy expenditures was by plundering and despoiling his province. (Gronov. *de Pec. Vet.* iv. 4.)—Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.) makes *conditio* equivalent here to *largitio,* an actual largess or present. It refers rather to a bargain or agreement, to be fulfilled at some future period, and for the performance of which regular security is given; or, as Gronovius (*l. c.*) explains it: "*pactio, cautionibus et syngraphis facta.*"

8. *Cum suis virtutibus*, &c. "As well by his own virtues, as by the contrast also of the vices of others."

9. *Quare nolite*, &c. "Do not then hesitate to entrust," &c.

10. *Inter annos tot.* "For so many years." Equivalent to *per tot annos.* Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "Inter tot annos *est* per tot annos, *quod est et in Orat. Quintiana, nec esse debet latinis auribus insolens ut Grævio visum est.*" — Schottus conjectured *inter tot* with an ellipsis of *imperatores*, throwing out, at the same time, *annos* from the text. This conjecture meets with the approbation of Grævius; but the ellipsis is a very harsh one, and is justly condemned by Ernesti.

11. *Quod si auctoritatibus*, &c. "But if you think that this step needs to be supported by authorities, you have, as an adviser of the measure, Publius Servilius," &c. The individual here meant was P. Servilius Isauricus, who had been consul A. U. C. 674. He was sent against the pirates after the defeat of the prætor Antonius, and was successful in several engagements with them. For his victories over the Isauri, a mountaineer race of Pisidia, he obtained the cognomen of Isauricus. Servilius had spoken before Cicero in favour of the law.

12. *De bello.* "On any thing relating to war." — *Auctor vobis*, &c. "No one ought to be regarded by you as weightier authority."

13. *C. Curio.* C. Scribonius Curio, who had enjoyed the consulship, A. U. C. 677. His colleague was Cn. Octavius. — *Summis vestris beneficiis*, &c. "Distinguished by your signal favours, and his own very illustrious exploits, his distinguished abilities and wisdom." Consult *Historical Index.*

14. *Cn. Lentulus.* Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, consul A. U. C. 681. — *In quo omnes*, &c. "In whom you all know the highest wisdom, the most solid merit to exist, in full accordance with the very ample honours which he has received at your hands."

15. *C. Cassius.* C. Cassius Varus, consul A. U. C. 680.

16. *Quare videte*, &c. "See then, whether we appear to have it in our power, to reply by means of these authorities to the remarks of those who differ in opinion from us." The whole sentence is ironical, and had editors generally borne this in mind, the difficulty under which they have laboured, as regards the true reading, would never have occurred. Gruter has given, for example, *videte, ut . . . . . videamur*, from some MSS. and early editions, which Ernesti condemns very properly, but cannot, at the same time, see much to be pleased with in *videte, num . . . . . videamur*, on account of the negative sense, which it appears to him to contain in common with Gruter's reading, as if it implied that the advocates of the law were not able to answer their opponents. The truth is, he does not see the ironical meaning of Cicero's words, and the idea in fact conveyed by them, that the favourers of the law are fully able to reply. Compare the explanation of Schütz: "*Sensus est cum ironia: cogitate, quæso, num horum auctoritates recte illis opponere posse videamur*; h. e. *sine dubio possumus.*" The reading we have adopted appears in some of the MSS., and early editions.

XXIV. 1. *Istam tuam et legem*, &c. "Both that law, and purpose, and opinion of thine." — *Voluntas.* The wish to have Pompey sent to the war. — *Sententia.* The high opinion which he entertains of that commander's fitness for the present emergency.

2. *Auctore populo Romano.* "Since you have the Roman people on your side." *Auctor* is used here somewhat in the sense of *defensor.* Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. § 10.): "*Defensor quicunque, qui alicujus rem causamque gerit.*"

3. *Perseverantiæ.* This is the reading brought in by Gruter, from MSS. The earlier lection was *constantiæ.*

4. *Quantam nunc iterum,* &c. Most MSS., and all the editions before that of Grævius, together with that of Olivet, subsequent to his, have *quantam non iterum . . . . . . vidimus;* which makes no good meaning at all, or to adopt the more concise language of Ernesti, "*sine sensu est.*" Our present reading was first given by Grævius, from good MSS., and has since his time been very generally adopted, the only remarkable instance of deviation from it being in the case of Olivet. Grævius observed, that, in one of his MSS., the words from *quantam* to *videmus* were omitted, from which circumstance he was induced to think that perhaps, after all, they were a mere interpolation.

5. *In eodem homine præficiendo.* "In appointing the same individual to a command."

6. *Quid est, quod,* &c. "Why should we doubt either of the propriety of what we are seeking to obtain, or of our means of obtaining it," *i. e.* why should we doubt either the justice or success of our proposition. — *De re.* Literally, "about the thing itself."

7. *Studii, consilii,* &c. "Of zeal, of experience, of application, of talent."

8. *Hoc beneficio populi Romani.* "By means of this kindness on the part of the Roman people towards me, and this authority as prætor which I at present enjoy." *Beneficio* refers to what immediately follows, his having been elected, namely to the office of prætor.

9. *Qui huic loco,* &c. "Who preside over this spot, and the consecrated place where I am now standing." By *loco* is meant the forum, in the immediate vicinity of which were many temples, such as those of *Jove, Castor, Concord,* &c. — The term *templo* refers to the rostra, from which Cicero was speaking. Among the Romans, every place consecrated by the augurs, was entitled to the appellation of *templum.* (Varro, *L. L.* vi. 2.) Compare Cicero (*in Vatin.* c. x.): "*In rostris, in illo, inquam, inaugurato templo ac loco.*" So also Livy, viii. 14.: "*Rostraque id templum appellatum.*"

10. *Qui ad rempublicam adeunt.* "Who take part in public affairs."

11. *Neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam,* &c. As Cicero was now in the full career of his fortunes, and in sight, as it were, of the consulship, the grand object of his ambition, it was very natural for many to suppose that his conduct on this occasion was governed by interested views, and that he sought to facilitate his own advancement, by paying court to Pompey's power. He here solemnly denies the truth of the allegation. The opinion of modern times, however, is in general unfavourable to his sincerity.

12. *Ex cujusquam amplitudine.* "From the elevated standing of any individual."

13. *Ut hominem præstare oportet.* "As a man ought to do." — *Innocentia tecti.* "Shielded by innocence."

14. *Ratione vitæ.* "Course of life." — *Si vestra voluntas feret.* "If your inclinations shall lead you still to favour it," *i. e.* if your kind wishes shall still prompt you to favour my endeavours.

15. *Aliquam bonam gratiam.* " Any favourable influence with others." — *Simultates.* " Enmities."

16. *Mihi non necessarias,* &c. By pursuing his present course, Cicero might make enemies of Lucullus and his friends, and irritate all the opponents of Pompey. Labouring, as he did, under no necessity of acting in this way, his doing so notwithstanding becomes a sure proof of his sincerity. The public good also, as he insinuates, may be advanced by his present line of conduct, since some inquiries and accusations may possibly follow.

17. *Hoc honore.* Alluding to the prætorship. — *Meis omnibus commodis et rationibus.* " To all my interests and views of advantage."

753
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63 B.C.

ORATION FOR L. MURENA.

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, &c. "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero, in defence of Licinius Murena." — At the comitia held during the consulship of Cicero, Decimus Junius Silanus and Licinius Murena were elected consuls for the ensuing year. The latter individual had for his competitor the celebrated lawyer Sulpicius Rufus; who, being assisted by Cato and Cn. Postumius, charged Murena with having prevailed by bribery and corruption. This impeachment was founded on the Calpurnian law, which had lately been rendered more strict, on the suggestion of Sulpicius, by a *senatusconsultum.* Along with this accusation, the profligacy of Murena's character was objected to, and also the meanness of his rank, as he was but a knight and a soldier, whereas Sulpicius was a patrician and lawyer. Cicero therefore shows, in the first place, that he amply merited the consulship, from his services in the war with Mithridates, which introduces a comparison between a military and forensic life. While he pays his usual tribute of applause to cultivated eloquence, he derides the forms and phraseology of the Roman jurisconsults, by whom the civil law was studied and practised. As to the proper subject of the accusation, bribery in his election, it seems probable that Murena had been guilty of some practices, which, strictly speaking, were illegal, yet warranted by custom. They seem to have consisted in encouraging a crowd to attend him in the streets, and in providing shows for the entertainment of the multitude; which, though expected by the people, and usually overlooked by the magistrates, appeared heinous offences in the eye of the rigid and stoical Cato. Aware of the weight added to the accusation by his authority, Cicero, in order to obviate this influence, treats his stoical principles in the same tone which he had already used concerning the profession of Sulpicius. In concluding, he avails himself of the difficulties of the times, and the yet unsuppressed conspiracy of Catiline, which rendered it unwise to deprive the city of a consul well qualified to defend it in so dangerous a crisis.

This case was one of great expectation, from the dignity of the accusers and eloquence of the defender's advocates. Before Cicero spoke, it had been pleaded by Hortensius, and Crassus the triumvir, who had both appeared in favour of Murena, and Cicero now uses his utmost exertions to surpass these rivals of his eloquence. In particular he shows much delicacy and art in the manner in which he conducts the attack on the philosophy of Cato and the profession of Sulpicius, both of whom

were on very intimate terms with him, and stood also high in the estimation of the judges whom he addressed. (Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 302. *seqq.*)

This speech was delivered A. U. C. 690, during the interval that elapsed between the second and third orations against Catiline. The result was favourable for Murena, who was acquitted, and held the consulship the following year.

I. 2. *Quæ deprecatus*, &c. "Even as I earnestly asked in prayer of the immortal gods, O Judges, according to the established usage of our fathers, on that day, when, the auspices having been duly consulted, I declared Licinius Murena consul at the comitia by centuries; namely, that the choice thus made, might end propitiously and happily for me and my magistracy, for the people and commons of Rome; so now, in like manner, do I entreat of the same immortal beings, that this same individual may enter upon that consulship with all his rights and privileges unimpaired, and that your opinions and sentiments," &c. — The student will note the elegant use of *quæ* and *eadem* in this passage, requiring to be rendered in our idiom by an adverbial form of expression. Compare Bauer, ad Sanct. *Min.* vol. i. p. 250. *seqq.*

3. *Judices.* Cases of bribery, like the present, were tried before one of the prætors and a select council of *assessores* or *judices.* Compare *Orat. pro Arch.* ch. ii. note 4.

4. *Auspicato.* The auspices were always taken on the morning of the day when the comitia were to be held, by the magistrate who was to preside. For this purpose he went out of the city, attended by one of the augurs. If the auspices were unfavourable, no comitia were held. If any informality had taken place in the mode of consulting them, and this were afterwards ascertained, every thing done at these comitia went for nothing.

5. *Comitiis centuriatis.* Consult *Orat. pro Lege Manil.* ch. i. note 17. — *Renuntiavi.* The candidate who was found to have received most votes, was called forward by the presiding magistrate, and, after a solemn prayer, and taking an oath, was declared to be elected through a herald. It is to this prayer that Cicero here refers, and not, as some suppose, to that with which the business of the comitia was opened. — One of the consuls always presided at the comitia for the election of new consuls. Cicero presided on this occasion, and had the preference to his colleague Antonius, because he was *consul prior*, *i. e.* had been elected to the consulship by the greater number of votes.

6. *Magistratuique meo.* Referring to his consular authority, which would continue until the end of the year, when the new consuls would succeed. The latter, in the meantime, would be called *consules designati*, "consuls elect."

7. *Populo plebique Romanæ.* The allusion here is to all orders of the Roman people, including even the lowest of the commons. *Populus* when opposed to *plebs*, as in the present instance, is regarded as the generic term, and denotes the whole body of Roman citizens, including the senators and patricians; while by *plebs*, in such a construction, are meant the lower orders of the commons. On the other hand, in the expression *Senatus populusque Romanus* the term *populus* means all the Roman people but the senate.

8. *Ob ejusdem*, &c. Literally, "for an entering upon the consul-

ship by the same individual, together with all his personal privileges." *Obtinere* gets here the meaning of "to enter upon," from its primitive import, "to hold against another," *i. e.* in the present case, to hold successfully against the accusation which had been preferred, and, consequently, to enter upon and enjoy. — *Salute.* By *salus,* Cicero means Murena's privileges as a Roman citizen, since, if convicted, he would be deprived of all his civil rights and sent into exile.

9. *Eaque res.* "And that this agreement." The agreement of opinion here spoken of will show itself, of course, in the acquittal of Murena, since the Roman people have already, by their suffrages, declared him worthy of the consulship. It will also bring with it peace and tranquillity to the state, since an energetic consul will be required the ensuing year, to crush what remains of the conspiracy of Catiline; and Murena will be found to be such a one.

10. *Quod si illa solemnis,* &c. "For if that solemn prayer offered up at the comitia, and hallowed by consular auspices, possesses in itself all that power and religious efficacy, which the dignity of the republic has a right to expect, then, on that same occasion, I, in fact, also prayed, that the choice which had been made might turn out auspiciously, happily, and well for those individuals likewise, unto whom this consulship had been granted at an assembly where I presided." This sentence is explanatory of what precedes. If the prayer offered up at the comitia, when the result of the election was made known to the assembled people, possessed a full and thorough efficacy, it must be supposed to have embraced the individual welfare of the candidates, as well as the interests of the state at large, and, therefore, it is perfectly proper for Cicero now to entreat the gods in behalf of one of them.

11. *Me rogante.* The literal import of these words is, "I, as presiding officer, *asking* the people their pleasure in the premises." Compare *Orat. I. in Catil.* ch. xi. note 9.

12. *Omnis deorum,* &c. "All the power of the immortal gods in the present case." — *Vestræ fidei.* "To your protection." — *Antea.* "On a previous occasion," *i. e.* at the comitia.

13. *Beneficium populi Romani.* "The favour conferred upon him by the Roman people." Alluding to the consulship.

14. *In hoc officio.* "In the discharge of this duty." — *Studium meæ defensionis,* &c. "The zeal that marks my defence of him, and even the very undertaking of his cause by me."

15. *Non quo mihi,* &c. "Not because a vindication of the duty which I am here discharging appears of more importance in my eyes, at this particular period, than a defence of the rights and privileges of this individual, but that, when once my conduct shall have been approved of by you, I may with the greater weight," &c. As regards the usage of the Latin writers in the case of *non quo,* consult Tursellinus, *de Part. Lat.* p. 239. ed. Bailey; and Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 338.

16. *Honore, fama, fortunisque.* It has already been stated (note 8.) in general terms, that Murena, if convicted, would be deprived of his civil rights and banished. This point may here be enlarged upon. If an individual were found guilty upon a trial for bribery, he was deprived of the consulship, in case he had been elected to that office, and the competitor who accused him was nominated in his place. He was also heavily fined, declared incapable of bearing any office for the time to come, or of appearing in the senate, and by the Tullian law, which

Cicero brought forward and had passed, an additional penalty of ten years' exile was imposed.

II. 1. *M. Catoni.* The same who ended his days, by his own hands, at Utica. He was at this time one of the tribunes elect. Observing the great corruption that had crept into the consular elections, Cato, when appointed to the tribuneship, concluded a severe charge to the people, by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one who should offend in this way. Hence his coming forward on the present occasion, among the accusers of Murena. (Compare Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* c. xxi.)

2. *Vitam ad certam rationis,* &c. "Who regulates his life by the fixed standard of reason, and most scrupulously weighs the motives to every duty." Cato belonged to the Stoic sect, and Cicero, in referring to his particular tenets, employs the word "*ratio*" here in the sense which the Stoic school attached to it. With the followers of Zeno, reason was the governing principle. They regarded the soul as consisting of eight distinct parts; namely, the five senses, the productive faculty, the power of speech, and the ruling part, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, or reason. (Diog. Laert. v. § 157. — Plut. *Plac.* iv. 2. *seqq.*) The human soul was regarded by them as an emanation from that Eternal Reason, by which all nature is animated; and their main doctrine was, that man should contemplate truth, follow nature, and imitate God, by making the eternal reason, and immutable law of the universe, the rule of his actions. Thus, to live according to nature being virtue, and virtue itself being happiness, the Stoic will take care to live according to a just conception of the real nature of things, choosing that which is in itself eligible, and rejecting the contrary; or, in the words of Cicero, "*diligentissime perpendebit momenta officiorum omnium;*" and in endeavouring to accomplish this result, he will take, what he considers right reason, for his guide.

3. *De officio meo.* "Concerning my own duty in the present case."

4. *Et legis ambitus latorem.* "And the author of a law against bribery." He who proposed a law to the people for their consideration and adoption, was called *legis lator;* so *ferre legem,* "to propose a law;" but *perferre,* "to carry it through." — The law alluded to by Cato was the *Lex Tullia.* Consult chap. i. note 16., towards the conclusion, and also *Legal Index.*

5. *Et tam severe gesto consulatu.* "And one, whose own consulship has been exercised with so much wholesome rigour." Cato alludes to the proceedings of Cicero against Catiline, in driving him from the city. It is worthy of remark, however, that the severity, for which Cato here commends Cicero, was only but just begun; since the present oration was delivered in the month of November, and the accomplices of Catiline, who were tampering with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, were only arrested and punished in the early part of the ensuing month.

6. *Causam L. Murenæ attingere.* "To have aught to do with the cause of Licinius Murena." *Attingere,* literally, "to touch even in a slight degree," "to meddle with in the least." Compare the remark of Dacier (ad Paul. Diac. *Excerpt.*): "*Est autem* attingere *leviter, quasi summis, vel pedum vel manuum, digitis tangere,*" p. 316. ed. Lindemann.

7. *Cujus reprehensio.* "The censure of this individual." *Cujus* for

Hujus, as it begins a clause. — *Ut rationem facti mei probem.* "To explain the reasons of my conduct," *i. e.* to prove the grounds of my conduct to have been perfectly correct.

8. *Mihi conjunctior.* "More intimately connected with me." — *Cui respublica,* &c. "Into whose hands that republic is delivered by me individually, to be supported by him, after having been upheld by great toils and dangers of my own." The common text has *una,* for which we have substituted *uno,* a conjecture of Lambinus' which Grævius received into the text. Cicero says *a me uno,* as he had presided alone.

9. *Quod si in iis rebus repetendis,* &c. "For if, when a demand is made for the recovery of those things, which have been alienated to another with a warranty against dispossession, that individual is bound to guarantee the risk of a decision giving this property to another, who, by the very terms of the agreement, covenanted so to do," *i. e.* if A. conveys property to B., and gives him at the same time a warranty that the title is sound, and if C. then comes in and claims this same property as his, A. is bound, by the very terms of the sale, to guard B. against the chances of dispossession by the verdict of a court of law in favour of C.—Among the Romans, *Res mancipi* (contracted for *mancipii,*) were those things which might be sold and alienated, or the property in them transferred from one person to another, by a certain rite or form of proceeding used among Roman citizens only, and such sale *was always accompanied by a warranty of title.* Hence the translation, or rather paraphrase, which we are compelled to give to the expression *quæ mancipi sunt,* in the text. By *judicium* is meant a decision of a court of law, in favour of the title of some third person; and by *nexus,* the obligation of warranty always connected with *res mancipi* by the provisions of the Roman law. (Compare Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* p. 366. ed. Haubold.) The *res mancipi* were such things as farms, slaves, quadrupeds, pearls, and the rights of country-farms, called servitudes (*servitutes*). The distinction between *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* is not recognised by the Justinian code, it having been abolished by that emperor. Bynkershoek thinks that it was founded upon the comparative value of different classes of things. (*De Reb. Mancipi et nec Mancipi,* p. 109.) But Meerman opposes this doctrine (*Diss. de Rebus Manc.* &c.), and maintains, that *res mancipi* were things connected with agriculture, and hence deemed of greater value than others. — Some lexicographers make *mancipi* an indeclinable term, but consult the remarks of Perizonius, ad Sanct. *Min.* iv. 4. n. 12. p. 46. ed. Bauer.

10. *Profecto etiam rectius,* &c. "With still more justice, surely, on the trial of a consul elect, will that consul in particular, who declared him elected to office, be bound to become unto him the guarantee of the favour conferred by the Roman people, and his defender from danger." Cicero here makes a very pleasing application of the dry rule of law which he has just been citing. The consulship is now regarded, in a figurative sense, as one of the class of *res mancipi,* and Cicero as the holder. Having presided at the consular comitia, and announced the election of Murena to the assembled people, he may be said, by virtue of his office, to have transferred the consulship, in due form, to Murena, as a thing to be possessed by him in his turn, and to have bound himself to aid the latter against all who should seek to dispossess him.

11. *Auctor.* This term is here employed, in a figurative sense, to

denote one who sells or conveys a thing to another and pledges himself for the soundness of the title. Compare the explanation of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Auctor*, § 11.): "*Est venditor, qui suum esse spondet, quod vendit, et ejus vendendi se potestatem habere: adeoque actione tenetur de evictione, aut periculum judicii præstat, ut in mancipio.*" It is from this use of the term, that the reference to selling, in the Latin term, "*auctio*," and the English word "auction," is derived.

12. *Ac, si, ut nonnullis,* &c. "And if, as is wont to happen in some states, a patron should be appointed, by public authority, for the management of this cause, that individual, of all others, would be assigned as a defender to a man invested with an elevated office, who, being himself clothed with the same dignity, would bring no less authority than ability to his defence."

13. *Patronus.* We have retained the Roman law-term "patron," in preference to the more usual term "advocate." For the strict distinction between the two, compare the language of Asconius (ad Cic. *Or. in Cæcil.* c. iv.): "*Qui defendit alterum in judicio, aut Patronus dicitur, si orator est; aut Advocatus, si aut jus suggerit, aut præsentiam suam commodat amico,*" &c.

14. *Quod si e portu,* &c. We have inserted the preposition *e* from Quintilian, v. 11. 23. It is given also by Victorius, Lambinus, Gruter, and others.

15. *Præcipere summo studio,* &c. "Are accustomed to give, with the utmost earnestness, an account of the storms, and pirates, and dangerous places they have encountered." *Præcipere* carries with it the idea of mentioning beforehand, as a warning or caution. — By *locorum* are meant shoals, quicksands, &c.

16. *Quod natura fert,* &c. "Because a natural impulse leads us to feel an interest for those," &c. The common text has *affert,* for which we have given *fert* from Quintilian, with Lambinus, Muretus, Grævius, and Ernesti.

17. *Qui eadem pericula,* &c. It must be borne in mind that this oration was delivered before the arrest and execution of Lentulus and the other accomplices of Catiline. Cicero, therefore, imagines that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year, under the government of the new consuls.

18. *Quo tandem me animo,* &c. "By what feelings then ought I, when now almost in sight of land, after a stormy tossing on the ocean of public affairs, to be actuated towards one, by whom I see the most violent tempests are about to be encountered in his management of the republic?"—*Prope jam terram,* &c. It was now the month of November, and at the end of the ensuing month his consular authority would cease. Hence he says figuratively, that he is almost within sight of land. The land which he is soon to behold, is the haven of repose after a stormy consulship.

19. *Maximas tempestates.* Compare note 17.

20. *Videre, quid agatur.* "To attend to what is at present passing." —*Alio loco.* In the 37th chapter of this speech.

21. *Quantum salutis communis,* &c. Cicero says this, because he expects that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year. Compare note 17.

22. *Duos consules.* Silanus and Murena; and not merely one, Silanus, Murena having been condemned. Both consuls will be wanted, he

thinks, to make head against the conspiracy, and the time for their entering on office will be the Calends, or first, of January.

23. *Officium.* "A sense of duty." — *Respublica.* "The interests of the republic," *i. e.* the danger which threatens from the conspiracy of Catiline.

III. 1. *Nam quod legem*, &c. "For as to my having proposed a law concerning bribery, I certainly did it with this view, that I might not abrogate the one which I had long since proposed to my own bosom, as regarded the warding off of those dangers which might threaten my fellow-citizens." The allusion is again to the Tullian law. Consult chap. i. note 16.

2. *Largitionem factam esse.* "That bribery had actually been committed by Murena."—*Defenderem.* This verb has here the meaning of "to allege in defence."

3. *Etiam si alius legem tulisset.* "Even though another should have been the author of the law in question."

4. *Cum vero*, &c. "But now, when I maintain that nothing has been done by Murena in violation of that law, why is the mere proposing of it on my part to operate as a hinderance to my defence of him?"

5. *Negat esse ejusdem severitatis.* "Cato insists, that it is not the part of the same severity," *i. e.* that it is a deviation from my former severity.—Hotomannus inserts *Cato* in the text.

6. *Verbis et pæne imperio.* A forcible allusion to the strenuous efforts made by Cicero in driving out Catiline, but not by any means intended as a censure of his conduct in so doing. It is merely adduced, by way of contrast to Cicero's now appearing for one whom Cato regards as a public offender.

7. *Et nunc pro L. Murena dicere.* "And to be now pleading in behalf of Licinius Murena."

8. *Ego autem*, &c. "I, however, have always acted with pleasure this part of gentleness and compassion, which nature herself has taught me." *Agere partes* is borrowed from the language of the stage, and denotes, not to undertake merely, as some erroneously render the phrase, but to go through with a part or character. — As regards the peculiar meaning of *partes* here, compare the language of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Pars.*): "Pars *in scena est persona, quam quis suscepit agendam.*"

9. *Docuit.* This is another term borrowed from the language and movements of the stage. *Docere fabulam* is analogous to the Greek διδάσκειν δρᾶμα. From the nature of their writing materials, in ancient times, they had no facility of making frequent copies, and hence the parts were studied by means of reiterated recitation from the poet; and the chorus, too, was practised in the same way. This was called *teaching* a play. — The application of this figure becomes a very striking one in the present instance. Nature herself has, by a course of reiterated instruction, taught the orator, in a manner not easy to be forgotten, the dictates of gentleness and compassion for the great drama of life.

10. *Illam vero*, &c. "That other character, indeed, of rigour and severity, I have never sought for, but have supported it, when imposed upon me by the exigencies of the state, in such a way as the dignity of this empire had a right to demand, amid the imminent danger of its citizens." Cicero means, that his natural inclinations always led him

to the side of gentleness and mercy, and that the severe and rigid character, which he had been compelled to assume towards Catiline and his accomplices, was a duty he owed to the state, in the discharge of which, private feelings could, of course, exercise no influence.

11. *Personam.* By *persona* is literally meant, the "mask" worn by the ancient actor in representing a character, and then the term comes, as in the present instance, to denote the character itself. The ancient masks were entire head-pieces, and of various kinds, to express every age, sex, country, condition and complexion, to which they were assimilated with the greatest skill and nicety. The Greek term for one of these appendages is πρόσωπον (or, as it was afterwards called, προσωπεῖον), denoting something applied to the face. The Latin term "persōna" is derived from the verb "persŏno," and refers to the peculiar construction of the mouth of the mask, which was made on the plan of a speaking-trumpet, (their large theatres requiring a great volume of sound,) and was as it were "sounded through," that is, made the avenue of transmission for a loud sound. Compare *Theatre of Greeks,* p. 147. 4th edit. — Tyrrwhitt, in Aristot. *Poet.* p. 132. — *Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 211. &c.

12. *Quod si tum,* &c. "And if, on that occasion, when the state of public affairs required a vigorous and rigid exercise of authority, I triumphed over the dictates of my nature," &c., *i. e.* I suppressed at once every feeling of lenity. — *Desiderare.* "To desire earnestly," "to feel the want of," "to need," "require," &c.

13. *Cum omnes,* &c. "When every motive prompts me," &c. The cause of Murena is one which warmly enlists all the better feelings of Cicero.

14. *Naturæ meæ,* &c. "To yield obedience to the dictates of my nature, and the force of early habit." — *Naturæ,* because all his kindly feelings are now called into action: *Consuetudini,* because he is more accustomed to defend than to accuse.]

15. *At.* The common text has *Ac,* which we have changed to *At* on the suggestion of Goerenz (ad Cic. *Acad.* ii. 2.). Lallemand, in order to avoid doubling the *ac,* reads in the second clause of the sentence, *et de ratione,* &c.

16. *Officio defensionis meæ.* "The duty that has prompted my present defence." — *Ratione accusationis tuæ.* "The reasons that have led to your accusation of him," *i. e.* the motives that have induced you to become his accuser.

17. *Hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi,* &c. "Of that very wise and accomplished man, Servius Sulpicius." The individual here named was regarded as the most eminent lawyer of his day. Consult *Historical Index.*

18. *Commovebat.* The imperfect tense is here employed, to carry us back to the time when the complaint of Sulpicius was first uttered, namely, at the period of his speech against Murena.

19. *Gravissime et acerbissime ferre.* Literally, "that he bore it very heavily and bitterly," *i. e.* that it was to him a source of the bitterest regret.

20. *Familiaritatis necessitudinisque.* "Of the claims of long acquaintance and intimate friendship." *Familiaritas* implies that we have long been acquainted with another. *Necessitudo* is of stronger import, and denotes the existence of some tie or bond of friendship between the two parties. It is in fact a term of very general import among the Latin

writers, and always implies the existence of some strong connecting tie, which involves, as it were, a *necessity* for mutual esteem and regard. Compare the explanation of Ernesti: *Necessitudo est omnis conjunctio, sanguinis, affinitatis, conjugii, collegii, amicitiæ,* &c., *quæ a causa aliqua oritur, quæ nobis necessitatem amoris benevolentiæque affert.* — Cicero and Sulpicius had been friends from early youth, and had studied together, when young, both at Rome, and in the island of Rhodes, under the celebrated Molo.

21. *Arbitros.* "As umpires." *Arbiter* is here used in a general sense, and is analogous to the civil-law term *compromissarius.* In its special acceptation, it denotes one who judged in those cases that were called *bonæ fidei,* or arbitrary, and who was not restricted by any law or form, but determined what seemed equitable. (Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 6. 39. p. 694. ed. Haubold.)

22. *Non est negligendum.* Because friendship is too sacred a thing to be even exposed to suspicion.

23. *Ego, Ser. Sulpici,* &c. "I both acknowledge, Servius Sulpicius, that I owed, and think candidly that I afforded unto you, in your application for the consulship, all that zealous cooperation, and all those kind offices, which our intimate friendship demanded."

24. *A me defuit.* "Was wanting on my part." — *Gratioso.* "A man of influence in the state." An influential person.

25. *Mutata ratio est.* "The aspect of affairs is changed." The change commenced with the defeat of Sulpicius, and the elevation of Murena to the consulship.

26. *Sic existimo,* &c. "This is now my opinion, of this I am now persuaded." — *Contra honorem.* "Against the advancement," *i. e.* election to the consulship. — *Contra salutem.* "Against his personal rights." Consult chap. i. note 8.

27. *Cum Murenam,* &c. "When you are attacking Murena himself." *Peto* is now employed in a gladiatorial sense, "to aim a blow at another," "to make a thrust," "to attack." *Petere consulatum* is merely "to sue for the consulship."

28. *Eodem pacto.* "By the same rule." — *Etiam alienissimos.* "Even total strangers."

IV. 1. *In capitis dimicatione.* "In a case where all his civil rights are at stake." Compare chap. i. note 2. — *Capitis.* The term *caput* is here used in its legal sense, and refers to the civil condition, liberty, personal privileges, &c. of an individual. Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Caput *dicitur pro hominis statu, libertatis et civitatis jure,*" &c. So, in the language of the Roman law, any loss of liberty or of the rights of citizens was called "*diminutio capitis.*"

2. *Non idcirco obruetur.* "Shall not for this reason be overcome." Literally, "be crushed," or "overwhelmed." Compare Manutius: "*Non idcirco amico nullum fructum feret.*" — *Quod ab eodem,* &c. "Because it was triumphed over by the same individual in a mere contest for office." In the contest for the consulship Cicero gave his interest to Sulpicius against Murena.

3. *Quæ si causa non esset,* &c. "And even if this motive did not exist, still, either the high rank of the man himself, or the elevated nature of the office which he has obtained, would have branded me with the deepest stigma of pride and of cruelty, if I had refused to undertake the

cause of one, most distinguished both for his own merits, and for the honours conferred upon him by the Roman people, when it was fraught with so much danger to his welfare." — The motive alluded to at the beginning of this sentence is his friendship with Murena.

4. *Neque est integrum.* "Nor is it wholly within my power." — *Ut meum laborem*, &c. "To refuse to impart my strenuous aid towards lightening the dangers of my fellow-men."

5. *Præmia tanta.* The various offices which had been bestowed upon him, and especially the last and highest of them, the consulship. — *Pro hac industria.* "For my active exertions in this behalf," *i. e.* in defending others.

6. *Labores per quos*, &c. "To discontinue the efforts by which you have obtained these rewards, when once you have made them your own, would be the part of both a cunning and an ungrateful man." — *Astuti.* Because his motive, in defending and aiding others, would have been the mere wish of ultimately benefiting himself by becoming popular; a motive craftily concealed, however, until his object was accomplished. — *Ingrati.* Because he ought to show his gratitude in fresh efforts for the good of those who have raised him to office.

7. *Quod si.* "If however." — *Te auctore.* "By your own advice." More literally, "you being the author (*i. e.* adviser) of the step." — *Nulla turpitudo.* "No disgraceful imputation."

8. *Improbitatem.* "A total want of principle." More literally, "worthlessness." — *Coarguit.* "Clearly argues."

9. *De tuo ipsius studio.* "From your own pursuits," *i. e.* from your own professional conduct; from your own way of acting at the bar.

10. *Etiam adversariis*, &c. "To give advice even to the adversaries of your friends, when consulting you on a point of law." *Respondere* is the technical term applied to the giving of advice on the part of the Roman juris-consult. Thus Cicero (*de Clar. Orat.* c. xxx.): "*Rutilius magnum munus de jure respondendi sustinebat.*" Hence the term *responsa prudentum* applied to the opinions given by the members of the Roman bar. Consult *Instit. Just.* lib. i. tit. 2.: "*Nam cum veteres leges regiæ,*" &c.

11. *Et, si turpe existimas*, &c. "And if you think it discreditable to you, in such a case, for the very individual himself against whom you have now appeared, to lose his cause." Cicero, after stating that Sulpicius, in common with the other lawyers of the day, deemed it perfectly proper to give advice even to the adversaries of their friends, puts the following case: A person has a dispute with one of the friends of Sulpicius, and thereupon comes to the latter, states the nature of the controversy, and obtains his professional advice. The friend then waits upon Sulpicius, and requests him to appear as his advocate on the trial of this very point. Will not Sulpicius, on that trial, feel his self-love seriously wounded, if the opposite party, to whom he had given advice in this very same case, and who, acting on that advice, has defended the case, be defeated and lose his cause? — We have given the explanation of Ferratius, which seems much more in unison with the context than that of Ernesti. The latter understands *alio tempore* after *veneris*, and makes the meaning to be this: "If you deem it discreditable, when you appear for one, against whom you have pleaded on a previous occasion, that this individual should lose his cause," *i. e.* that you should not exert yourself now in his behalf, merely because you appeared against him before this.

12. *Te advocato.* By *advocatus* appears to be meant here, not one who takes part in the actual pleading of a cause, but who stands by and aids another by his advice and presence. Compare the explanation of Asconius, as given under chap. ii. note 13.

13. *Causa cadere.* A legal expression for losing a cause, used here in a general sense; although, in its special acceptation, it applies rather to the loss of a case through some failure in the form of proceeding; what we call in English a nonsuit. Compare Cicero (*de Invent.* ii. 19.): "*Ita jus civile habemus constitutum, ut causa cadat is, qui non, quemadmodum oportet, egerit.*"

14. *Tui fontes.* "The rich springs of your legal wisdom." Compare chap. iii. note 17. — *Nostros rivulos.* "That our scanty rills."

15. *Tua familiaritas.* "My long acquaintance with you," *i. e.* the friendship I entertain for you. The possessive pronoun is here used in what the grammarians call its passive sense. The active meaning of *tua familiaritas* would be, "your long acquaintance with me," or "your friendship towards me." Consult Sanct. *Minerv.* ii. 13. p. 331. vol. i. ed. Bauer.

16. *Ab hac causa removisset.* "Had induced me to decline this cause." — *Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso.* These two individuals were associated with Cicero in the management of the defence. — *A quibus,* &c. "By whom, I well know, your esteem is highly prized," *i. e.* who I well know set a high value upon your friendship, and would make great sacrifices to preserve it.

17. *Infimo.* "Even among the lowest of the people."

18. *Nefarium.* "A wicked man." A *violator* of the *holy* law of friendship.

19. *Quod dandum est amicitiæ,* &c. "Whatever is to be granted to the claims of friendship, shall be liberally conceded by me; so that I will deal with you, Servius, in the same way as if my own brother, who is most dear to me, occupied the position which you now do," *i. e.* as if my own brother, and not you, were Murena's accuser. Cicero means, that, in the management of the present case, he will make the same allowance for the claims of friendship, on the part of Sulpicius, as if the latter were his own brother Quintus, to whom he was most tenderly attached.

20. *Isto in loco.* Literally, "in the situation in which you now are," *i. e.* an accuser of Murena. The student will note the force of *iste* here. A want of attention to the peculiar meaning of this pronoun has led Manutius into the error of supposing, that the phrase *isto in loco* is here equivalent to *in hac dignitate consulari.*

21. *Quod tribuendum est,* &c. "Whatever, on the other hand, is to be yielded by me to the claims of duty, of honour, of religion, this I will regulate in such a way, as to bear in mind that I am pleading for the safety of one friend against the hot attack of another." Literally, "in behalf of the danger of one friend."

22. *Religioni.* Because Cicero had implored the favour of heaven towards Murena and his colleague Silanus, on the day of the comitia. Compare chap. i. note 10.

V. 1. *Intelligo, judices,* &c. "I perceive, judges, that there have been three heads to the entire accusation, and that one of these has been taken up with the censure of his private life, the second with contesting

his claim as a fit candidate for the consulship; the third with the charge of bribery."—By *dignitas* is here meant personal merit or worth, and by *contentio dignitatis* a disputing of the claim of Murena to the consulship, on the ground of his not possessing sufficient personal merit for that elevated station. Under this head of personal merit the question of family is also brought in.

2. *Quæ gravissima*, &c. "Which ought to have been the weightiest," *i. e.* ought to have been managed in such a way as naturally to form the heaviest and gravest charge against him.

3. *Ita fuit infirma et levis*, &c. "Has proved so weak and frivolous a one, that some established practice on the part of accusers, rather than any real grounds for imputing criminality, has compelled them to say something about the life of Licinius Murena." — By *lex accusatoria* is meant, an established practice, on the part of accusers, to impute to the accused an ill-spent and dissolute life. — *Maledicendi facultas.* Any grounds for establishing real criminality.

4. *Objecta est enim Asia.* "Asia namely has been made a source of reproach to him." The particle *enim* is here employed in the sense of *nempe*, like the inchoative γὰρ in Greek. (Compare Hoogeveen, *Part. Græc.* p. 88. ed. Schütz.)—*Asia.* The Romans regarded Asia as the source whence all their luxury originated. Compare Livy xxxix. 6.: "*Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est: ii primum lectos æratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas, et alia textilia, et, quæ tum magnificæ supellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt,*" &c.

5. *Non ad voluptatem et luxuriam.* "Not for purposes of pleasure and debauchery." — *In militari labore.* He was serving under his father L. Murena, who had been left by Sylla in command of the Asiatic forces.

6. *Qui si adolescens*, &c. "Now, had he, when a young man, not performed military service, his father being at the time commander there."

7. *An, cum sedere*, &c. "When the sons of those commanders that triumph, who still wear the *prætexta* are accustomed in particular to sit on the horses which draw the car, was this one to avoid adorning the triumph of his father with his own military trophies?"— The triumphant general's children sat with him in the car. His sons who wore the *prætexta* rode on the horses drawing it, or followed on other horses. The *prætexta* was worn by the Roman youth till the age of 17, when the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, was assumed.

8. *Huic donis militaribus*, &c. The meaning of this is, was not Murena to perform military service under his father in Asia, in order that, by distinguishing himself there, he might, on his return home, grace the triumph of his parents by displaying the military rewards he himself had received? This, of course, is meant as an answer to the charge of his having been in Asia. It was the very country where he ought to have been at the time.

9. *Et, si habet Asia*, &c. "And since Asia carries with it a certain suspicion of dissolute living, not his having never seen Asia, but his having lived temperately in Asia must be made a source of praise to him."

10. *Sed aliquod aut in Asia*, &c. "But some flagrant and disgraceful vice, either contracted by him in Asia, or introduced by others from that country," *i. e.* either some vice which he himself had contracted while living in Asia, or one of Asiatic origin, brought to Rome by some other individual, and contracted by Murena at the latter place.

11. *Meruisse stipendia.* " To have performed military service." The literal meaning of *merere stipendia* is " to earn pay."— *In eo bello.* The Mithridatic war.— *Virtutis.* " Was a proof of his courage."

12. *Pietatis.* " Of his filial piety." Shown as well by his cheerfulness in serving under his parent as by his wish to contribute to that parent's glory.— *Finem stipendiorum.* " The termination of his service."

13. *Maledicto.* " For censure." — *Occupavit.* " Has pre-occupied."

VI. 1. *Saltatorem.* Dancing was regarded as disgraceful by the Romans. It was the dancing, however, which had found its way from the stage into convivial circles that was justly condemned, and not every species. For the Romans had their sacred or religious dances, with which of course no fault was found. Compare the explanation of Grævius : " Saltator *hic est histrio. Non enim quævis saltatio Romæ turpis erat et probrosa, sed histrionica et mollior.*" With the Greeks a different usage prevailed. Consult the remarks of Cornelius Nepos, in his preface, and also the first chapter of his life of Epaminondas.

2. *Maledictum est, si vere objicitur,* &c. " This, if it be truly objected unto him, is the charge of an angry accuser ; but, if falsely, of a slanderous calumniator." In either case, therefore, Cato ought not to utter this reproach against Murena, since an angry feeling is as inconsistent with the character of a sage, as a disregard for the truth.

3. *Quare cum ista,* &c. " Wherefore, since you are a person of such weight of character, you ought not, Marcus Cato, to snatch a calumny from the lips of the rabble, or from some carousal of buffoons, and rashly to call a consul of the Roman people a dancer," *i. e.* since your authority carries so much influence with it, you ought to be careful what charges you bring against others, especially against those in elevated stations.

4. *Ex trivio.* By *trivium* is literally meant a place where three ways meet, and where all manner of idlers and low persons are accustomed to congregrate. It is then taken, as in the present instance, to denote this class of persons themselves, or, in other words, the rabble, the lowest vulgar.

5. *Scurrarum.* By *scurra* is meant a buffoon, a scoffer, a jester, one who, for the sake of exciting merriment, cares not what he either says or does, and who is particularly fond of raising a laugh at the expense of others, by some coarse slander. Verrius Flaccus derives the term " *a sequendo,*" (*scurra, quasi* securra,) and makes its primitive meaning to be " a parasite," or one who " follows " in the train of a rich person, to amuse him by his buffoonery. Festus (*de Verb. Sign.* p. 240. ed. Lind.) ridicules this etymology very properly. The word appears rather to be of the same family with the German " *scherzen,*" " to rail at," " to jeer," &c.

6. *Convivio.* The common text has *convicio,* which Lambinus first altered, on conjecture, to *convivio.* This latter reading is adopted by Ernesti and Scheller.

7. *Neque in convivio moderato atque honesto.* " Not at a well-regulated and becoming repast." — *Tempestivi convivii,* &c. " Dancing is the last companion of the revels of the table, of a place devoted to pleasure, of much enjoyment," *i. e.* is the last act in a debauch, in a place where every thing breathes of pleasure, &c. — By *tempestivum convivium,* (literally, " an unseasonable banquet,") is meant an entertainment which

commenced earlier than the ordinary hour, and was protracted until a much later one that usual. Compare *Orat. pro Arch.* ch. vi. note 11.

8. *Tu mihi arripis id*, &c. " You eagerly catch at that, which," &c. *Mihi* is here elegantly redundant, unless we render it by a species of paraphrase: " in order to thwart my intended defence," or else something analogous.

9. *Relinquis illa*, &c. " You leave those things unnoticed," &c., *i. e.* you are silent about other moral blemishes. — Cicero means, that no other moral failings are spoken of by his opponents, as existing in the character of Murena; whereas dancing would imply, of course, an indulgence in many other excesses, and could not, in fact, exist without them.

10. *Nullum turpe convivium*, &c. " No disgraceful banqueting, no amours, no revelling, no lewdness, no extravagant expenditure is pointed out." — As regards *comissatio*, consult *Orat. II. in Cat.* ch. v. note. 11.

11. *Quæ voluptatis nomen habent*, &c. " Which bear the very name of pleasure, and are actual vices," *i. e.* which stand forth to the world with the name and character of reprehensible pleasures.

12. *Umbram luxuriæ.* " The unbidden companion of debauchery." Among the Romans, an uninvited guest, who accompanied another, generally some distinguished personage, to a feast, was called his "*umbra.*" (Compare Horat. *Sat.* ii. 8. 21.) The term is here forcibly applied to dancing, which is always, according to the Roman way of thinking, sure to follow, as an uninvited guest, in the train of debauchery. Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): " *Umbra* comes: *Muren.* 6.: *Saltatio est umbra luxuriæ.*"

13. *Nullum petulans dictum.* " No lascivious expression." In the common text, the words *in vita* follow; but they are out of place here, and seem to have originated from *in vitam.* Ernesti retains them in his text, but condemns them in a note. Beck encloses them within brackets. We have rejected them with Schütz.

VII. 1. *Quo constituto.* " This point being established," *i. e.* the charge against the private life of Murena having been thus disproved.

2. *Summam dignitatem generis*, &c. " The highest degree of personal merit, founded on birth, integrity, the active exercise of talent, and all those other accomplishments, relying on which it is right for you to aspire to an application for the consulship."

3. *Contempsisti.* " You have treated with contempt." Referring to the manner in which Sulpicius, in the course of his remarks, had sought to depreciate the origin of Murena.

4. *Quo loco*, &c. " If in handling this topic you take it upon yourself to assert." — *Aventinum.* Cicero refers here to the first secession of the people, which, according to Piso, an earlier historian than Livy, and who is cited by the latter (ii. 32.), was made to the Aventine hill, and not to Mons Sacer.

5. *Sin autem*, &c. " But if, on the contrary, there are distinguished and honourable families of plebeian origin, then both the great-grandfather," &c. This is the same as saying in our own idiom: " But there are on the contrary, distinguished and honourable plebeian families, for, both the great-grandfather," &c.

6. *Proavus.* P. Licinius Murena, who was prætor A. U. C. 596. — *Avus.* Of the same name with the preceding, and prætor A. U. C. 640.

7. *Ex prætura.* "In his prætorship." He triumphed for successes over Mithridates.

8. *Patri debitus.* He had gone through all the subordinate offices, and only stopped short at the consulship, for which he had the fairest claim for services rendered his country. — *Filio.* The Murena who was accused on the present occasion.

9. *Hominibus literatis et historicis.* "To literary men and historians." Sulpicius traced back his origin to Servius Sulpicius, who was consul in the tenth year after the expulsion of the kings, A. U. C. 253. Compare Cic. *Brut.* xvi.; and Sigonius, *Fast. Cons.* p. 23. ed. Oxon. — *Populo et suffragatoribus obscurior.* "Is less familiar to the people and voters at elections." Cicero means, that the intermediate Sulpicii, from the founder of the line downward, especially those of more recent times, had not signalised themselves in such a way as to be brought in a very marked manner before the notice of the people.

10. *Fuit equestri loco.* From this we see that a patrician might remain an *eques.* — *Nulla illustri laude.* "For no illustrious action." *Laus* is here put for an action deserving of praise. Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Laus, *pro rebus laude dignis.*"

11. *Ex annalium vetustate.* Referring to the early date of that ancestor of his who was regarded as the founder of the line. Compare note 9.

12. *Q. Pompeio.* Q. Pompeius Nepos, who, though of plebeian origin, attained nevertheless to the highest honours in the state. Consult *Historical Index.*

13. *M. Æmilio.* M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was consul A. U. C. 638., and a second time A. U. C. 646. Consult *Historical Index.*

14. *Ejusdem animi atque ingenii est.* "It requires the same degree of spirit and of talent."

15. *Quam non acceperit.* Plutarch (*Apophthegm.* p. 200. vol. vi. p. 755. ed. Reiske) says, that he was thought to have been the son of a flute-player. — *Memoriam prope intermortuam,* &c. "To revive by his own merit the almost extinct remembrance of his line." Compare Asconius, *in Or. pro Scaur.*

VIII. 1. *Meo labore esse perfectum.* "That it had been brought about by my exertions," *i. e.* that I, a man of humble origin, had proved of so much service to my country, as to cause low birth to be no longer regarded as a barrier to the consulship.

2. *Qui non modo,* &c. "Who remained notwithstanding neglected, even though they recounted not only the instances of the Curii, the Catos, the Pompeii, those worthies of former days, men of the greatest valour, yet of lowly origin, but even these examples of recent times, the Marii, and Didii, and Cælii," *i. e.* who were nevertheless excluded from the consulship, on account of their humble origin, or else discouraged from applying for it, although they could point to many bright instances in the past and present history of their country, where men of humble birth had, by reason of signal merit, been advanced to the highest office in the state.

3. *Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis.* The plural is here used to give emphasis to the sentence. Curius Dentatus, Cato the censor, and Quintus Pompeius, are meant; and, in the succeeding part of the sentence, Caius Marius, T. Didius, C. Cælius Caldus. — Manutius makes a diffi-

culty here by imagining that Cicero means the Quintus Pompeius, surnamed Rufus, who was consul A. U. C. 665, during the youth of the orator, and who could not well, therefore, be ranked among the "*antiqui*," when Marius, Didius, and Cælius are styled "*recentes*;" and he thinks that for *Pompeiis* we should read *Appiis*. Cicero, however, refers, not to Pompeius Rufus, but to Pompeius Nepos. Compare Ernesti and Schütz, *ad loc.*

4. *Jacebant.* As regards the peculiar force of this verb in the present sentence, compare the remark of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s v.): "Jacere *dicuntur qui minus gratiosi sunt. Imprimis autem, qui nullam spem magistratus consequendi habent, cum candidati sint, aut, eam ipsam ob causam, quia nihil sperant, ne petunt quidem.*"

5. *Tanto intervallo.* "After so long an interval." Compare Sallust (*B. C.* xxiii.): "*Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret.*"

6. *Claustra ista nobilitatis.* "Those barriers of nobility," *i. e.* those barriers so carefully guarded by patrician pride. — *Ista* here denotes contempt, with a covert reference also to the prejudices of his opponent: those barriers of nobility which you would again seek to make an obstacle in the path of Murena.

7. *Ex familia vetere et illustri.* The family of Murena, although plebeian in origin, was nevertheless an old and distinguished one. — *Ab equitis Romani filio.* Compare *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 10.

8. *Duobus patriciis.* L. Sergius Catilina and P. Sulpicius Galba. — *Modestissimo atque optimo viro.* "A man of the utmost modesty and probity." Asconius (*Arg. Orat. contra Compet.*) calls him, "*vir sobrius sanctusque.*"

9. *Dignitate.* "In personal merit." — *Gratia.* "In influence," *i. e.* in favour with the people. The allusion is to that influence which antiquity of family had hitherto claimed as its peculiar right.

10. *Quod si id crimen*, &c. "Now, if this ought to have been alleged as a crime against a man of humble birth, undoubtedly on that occasion, neither enemies nor envious persons would have been wanting to urge it against me." — The pronoun *id* refers here to success in gaining the consulship; and the strong meaning to be attached to *crimen* derives elucidation from the language of Sallust referred to in a previous note: "*et quasi pollui consulatum credebant.*"

11. *Cujus est magna in utroque dignitas.* "Of which there is a large and distinguished share in each." The Licinian family, although of plebeian origin, is here placed on a full equality with the line of the Sulpicii.

12. *Quæsturam una petiit*, &c. These words are supposed to be spoken by Sulpicius. — Cicero adverts here to another allegation on the part of the latter, namely, that he was declared quæstor before Murena, that is, preceded him in the order of election. "He sought the quæstorship along with me, and I was declared before him." The order of precedence among the successful candidates was regulated by the number of votes which each received; and Sulpicius seeks to make this a proof of his superiority, in point of personal merit, to Murena, because, when they both were elected quæstors, the majority of Sulpicius was greater than that of the other.

13. *Non est respondendum ad omnia.* "There is no need of answering

every objection," *i. e.* there is no need of going into a long discussion respecting every objection which an opponent may see fit to raise. Some objections answer themselves; and this is one of them.

14. *Cum multi*, &c. "That when there are many candidates equal in point of merit, and only one of them can obtain the first rank, the order of merit and of announcement is not the same," &c., *i. e.* in announcing the names of the successful competitors, some one of them must of course be named first, and the rest must follow in a certain order, but this is no proof of relative merit. — There is more in the argument of Sulpicius than Cicero is willing to admit. A greater number of votes given for one candidate than for another, even when both succeed to office, must be regarded as some proof of the possession of superior merit in the eyes of those who give those votes. Cicero, it is true, supposes the candidates to be all equal in point of merit, "*pares dignitate*," but this is begging the question, for it is the very thing to be proved. Besides, he himself, when speaking of his own case, attaches, as may well be imagined, a great deal more of importance to the fact of his having been declared quæstor one of the first, first ædile, and first prætor. Compare *Orat. in Pis.* ch. i.: "*Me quum quæstorem in primis, ædilem priorem, prætorem primum cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat; homini ille honorem, non generi*, &c., *deferebat.*" — The student will observe, that it is *ædilem priorem* in the passage just quoted, because there were only two *ædiles*, but in our text it is *quæstor prior* merely with reference to Sulpicius and Murena, because the number of quæstors at the time was quite large, and if Sulpicius had stood at the head of all, he would have been called *quæstor primus.*

15. *Sed quæstura*, &c. "But, in truth, the quæstorship allotted to each of you, was almost equally unimportant." Literally, "the quæstorship of each was almost of equal importance in point of lot." The provinces, or duties of the quæstors, were assigned to them by lot, and Murena and Sulpicius drew two of the most insignificant.

16. *Lege Titia.* "Under the Titian law," *i. e.* by the operation of this law. The *Lex Titia* (proposed by the tribune Titius, A. U. C. 448) ordained that the existing number of quæstors should be doubled, and that they should determine their provinces by lot. By the operation of this law, Murena obtained an unimportant province, in which he had no chance of distinguishing himself. By the operation of the same law (*i. e.* by being compelled to run his chance in drawing lots), Servius obtained a province equally insignificant.

17. *Tu illam*, &c. "You that one, at which, when the quæstors are allotted to the different provinces, a shout of ridicule is even accustomed to be raised." The unlucky quæstor who drew this province for his sphere of operations, was exposed to the laughter of those who stood around.

18. *Ostiensem*, &c. "The province namely of Ostia, not so much productive of influence, or conferring distinction, as full of toil and trouble." The burdensome nature of this province appears to have arisen from the circumstance of Ostia's being a much frequented sea-port, and also from the salt-works in its vicinity. (Compare Grævius, *ad loc.*) Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Aquarius*) assigns a different explanation, which we cannot, of course, mention here.

19. *Consedit.* "Settled down from public view," *i. e.* passed not the bounds of the quæstorship.

20. *In quo excurrere,* &c. "In which your merit might speed forth and become known." A metaphor borrowed from chariot-races.

21. *Reliqui temporis spatium,* &c. "The period of time remaining after this is next made a subject of comparison," *i. e.* the mode in which you have each passed your time since the expiration of your respective quæstorships.

IX. 1. *Hanc urbanam militiam,* &c. "This city warfare of answering legal questions, of drawing up writings, of protecting the interests of clients, full of perplexity and vexation." We have here, arranged under three heads, all the duties of a Roman lawyer, and the whole is pleasantly called *urbana militia,* in contradistinction to the real warfare in which Murena is engaged.—*Respondendi.* Consult chap. iv. note 10. —*Scribendi.* This refers to the drawing up of contracts, articles of agreement, &c.—*Cavendi.* The reference here is to advice generally: how a case is to be arranged, an agreement to be made, &c. Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Caveo *de jureconsultis dicitur, cum litigantibus aut aliquid contrahentibus, sive verbo sive scripto, ostendunt, quomodo lis instruenda, resque contrahenda sit, ne causa cadant, aut decipiantur.*" — It must be borne in mind, that Cicero refers in the text, to the Roman lawyer or jurisconsult, in the strict sense of the term, as distinct from the *orator,* or pleader in the courts, Sulpicius being ranked under the former class.

2. *Difficultatem exsorbuit.* "He patiently encountered every difficulty." The literal meaning of this phrase is coarse, but expressive. "He gulped down every difficulty," and made the best of it.

3. *In ea scientia.* "In that branch of knowledge." Alluding to the civil or Roman law.

4. *Legatus L. Lucullo fuit.* In the Mithridatic war. His father had been a lieutenant of Sylla's in the same war. — *Qua in legatione.* "During which lieutenancy."

5. *Signa contulit; manum conseruit.* "He engaged; he fought hand to hand with the foe." *Manum conserere* refers here to the personal prowess of Murena. — *Signa conferre* is merely "to engage," "to join battle," but *manum conserere,* "to come to close quarters," "to fight hand to hand," &c. Compare the Greek form of expression, μιγνύναι τὰς χεῖρας.

6. *Asiam istam refertam,* &c. "That Asia of yours, crowded with riches, and the abode of voluptuousness." The pronoun *ista* has here its usual force: that Asia which you make a source of reproach to him, and about his conduct in which you are continually declaiming.

7. *Sic est versatus.* "He so conducted himself." Literally, "he was so employed."

8. *Concessam licentiam fingendi.* "The privilege allowed us of uttering mere fictions," *i. e.* of exaggerating the services of Murena. — *Publicis literis.* "By the despatches of that commander."

9. *Summa in utroque,* &c. "There is, then, in each the highest reputation, the greatest personal merit; which, if Servius shall allow me so to do, I will consider entitled to equal and similar praise. But no such thing is allowed me. He makes a brisk attack on the military art, he inveighs against," &c.

10. *Esse.* "Belongs as a matter of course."

11. *Mihi.* The pronoun is here merely idiomatical, and not to be translated. Unless, indeed, we paraphrase it, as in a previous instance

(chap. vi. note 8.). It may be then considered as somewhat analogous perhaps to our ordinary expression, "Hark ye, my friend."

12. *Forum non attigeris?* "Did you all that while not set foot in the forum?"—*Cum iis, qui in foro*, &c. "Are you going to contend, in point of personal merit, with those who have made their very dwellings in the forum?"

13. *Positam in oculis esse gratiam.* "That the favour, which my conduct had won, was constantly before the eyes of my countrymen." And, therefore, they endured the more patiently my appearing so often before them.

14. *Mei satietatem.* "The satiety arising from my daily appearance." This, of course, is what commentators call *oratorie dictum*, and by no means a copy of Cicero's secret thoughts. — *Magno meo labore.* "By great exertions on my part."

15. *Desiderium.* "Occasional absence." Literally, "the want of us," at times.

16. *Ad studiorum atque artium contentionem.* "To the comparison between your respective habits and professions." *Studia* is here equivalent to *mores.* Compare Corn. Nep. *Vit. Alcib.* xi. 3.: "*Postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit, adeo studiis eorum inservisse*," &c., and Fischer, *Ind. in Nep.* s. v.

17. *Qui.* "How." Old ablative form for *quo.* More correctly speaking, *qui* is the regular ablative from *quis*, like *miti* from *mitis*, or *tali* from *talis.* Consult the remarks of Perizonius, ad Sanct. *Min.* iii. 14.—vol. i. p. 700. ed. Bauer.

18. *Multo plus dignitatis.* "A much stronger claim." *Dignitas* is here a claim founded upon personal worth or merit. — *Vigilas tu de nocte*, &c. An amusing comparison now follows between the lawyer and the soldier, purposely to the disadvantage of the former. By the lawyer is here again meant the jurisconsult, in the strict sense of the term.

19. *Gallorum.* The Roman professional men rose at an early hour, to be ready for their clients and dependents, who were very early in attendance. (Compare Horat. *Sat.* i. 1. 10.) So the levees of the magistrates were held at an early period of the morning. Sallust, *B. C.* c. xxviii.

20. *Buccinarum.* The trumpet called *buccina* was used for changing the watches. Hence the propriety of the term on the present occasion, to denote early rising at the commencement of the morning watch, or three o'clock. The night was divided into four watches of three hours each. The first watch commenced at six o'clock in the evening, according to our enumeration of time.

21. *Tu actionem instituis.* "You arrange the form of proceeding in a case." Compare, as regards the meaning of *actio*, in this passage, the explanation of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Actio *est formula, qua actor utitur in intendenda reo lite, quæ a jureconsultis fere petebatur.*" It is analogous to what we call, at the present day, the "pleadings" in a case, that is, the carrying a case on, in accordance with technical written forms, until it is ready for trial.

22. *Ne tui consultores.* "Lest they who ask your advive be taken in by others." Understand *capiantur.*—*Capiantur.* "Be taken by the foe."

23. *Ille tenet et scit*, &c. "He understands and well knows how the forces of the enemy; you how rains, may be prevented from doing harm." The reference, in the words *aquæ pluviæ*, is to the ancient action, "*de*

aqua pluvia arcenda," mentioned in the Digests, (lib. 39. tit. 3. § 1. *seqq.*): "*Si cui aqua pluvia damnum dabit, actione aquæ pluviæ arcendæ avertetur aqua.*" By *aqua pluvia*, in this species of action, the Roman lawyers meant either the water produced by heavy rains, or other water swelled by rains. Thus Ulpian remarks: "*Aquam pluviam dicimus, quæ de cœlo cadit, atque imbre excrescit: sive per se hæc cœlestis noceat, ut Tubero ait, sive cum alia mixta sit.*" The action lay, when one, by erections or works of any kind, altered the course of such water, or made it flow more rapidly, or caused it to rise by compressing it within narrower limits; from all which things danger was apprehended by those dwelling in the neighbourhood, and the person who did this could be stopped in his movements. The action also lay when actual damage had been done: as, for example, when one constructed an embankment to keep out the waters of a neighbouring fen from his grounds, and the waters of this fen, being afterwards swelled by rain, and unable to follow their old direction by reason of the embankment, spread in an opposite course and injured the fields of a neighbour. (Neratius, as cited by Ulpian *ad loc.* — Compare Cic. *Topic.* c. ix.)

24. *Exercitatur.* The common text has *exercitatus est*, but *exercitatur*, which suits the context much better, is given by Quintilian (ix. 3. 32.), who cites the present passage from *Ille tenet* to *regendis*; and it is also found in several MSS., and early editions.

25. *In propagandis finibus.* "In enlarging the boundaries of our empire." Literally, "in carrying forward."

26. *In regendis.* "In regulating those of some field," *i. e.* in an action brought about the boundary line of some piece of ground. The contrast here, between the occupations of Murena and Sulpicius, is extremely amusing, and must have been most mortifying to the notions of self-importance entertained by the latter.

27. *Rei militaris virtus*, &c. "The excellence of the military art surpasses that of every other."

X. 1. *Et hæc forensis laus*, &c. "And this our reputation and assiduity, at the bar, lie sheltered beneath the protection and security which martial prowess affords."

2. *Simul atque increpuit*, &c. "As soon as the least suspicion of any public commotion has arisen." Literally, "has sounded forth." *Tumultus* appears to be taken here in a somewhat more general meaning than its ordinary one.

3. *Artes nostræ.* Eloquence and legal science.

4. *Et, quoniam*, &c. "And, since you seem to me to fondle that science of the law, as if it were a little daughter of yours." Compare the explanation given to *osculari* by Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Osculari, *nimis magni facere, amare.*"

5. *Istud nescio quid.* "That, I know not what," *i. e.* that something or other, that really very unimportant matter. Compare *Orat. pro Marc.* chap. v. note 3. The reference is to dry, technical law-knowledge.

6. *Continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide.* The common text has these all as genitives, *continentiæ, gravitatis, justitiæ, fidei.* We have made the alteration, with Schütz, after the suggestion of Lambinus. In the common reading, *ceteris omnibus* comes in very awkwardly, to say nothing of the inelegant form of expression in *virtutibus continentiæ*, &c.

7. *Quod quidem jus civile didicisti*, &c. "As to your having learnt, indeed, the civil law, I will not say you have lost your labour in so doing."

8. *In illa disciplina.* "In that branch of knowledge." *Disciplina* is here equivalent to *doctrina.* Compare the language of Cicero, in speaking of Archimedes (*in Verr.* iv. 58.): "*Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem et disciplina*," *i. e.* a man of the greatest talent and knowledge.

9. *Munitam.* "Sure." By *munita via* is meant a path guarded from all inroad or interruption from without, and free from all obstacles and impediments within, *i. e.* a way that leads with certainty to some object.

10. *Et admirabilem*, &c. "Both a dignity calculated to excite the admiration of others, and a utility that will call forth their warmest gratitude."

XI. 1. *Quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis.* "That are connected with our empire abroad, and with the condition of our government at home," *i. e.* both our foreign conquests and our civil institutions.

2. *Consilio et periculo.* "By their wise counsels and the dangers which they encounter," *i. e.* by their wisdom and valour. *Consilio* embraces both advice given at home, and the skilful management of operations abroad.

3. *Quæ.* Ernesti says that the words *posse consilio*, &c., do not harmonise well, in point of construction, with what precedes, and he therefore thinks that *quæ* ought to be struck out. The whole difficulty, however, is easily obviated by considering the clause from *quæ* to *deligendo* as parenthetical, and we have accordingly inserted the marks of parenthesis.—*Posse permovere*, &c. "To be able, namely, to move with powerful effect," &c.

4. *Tribunicios furores.* "The madness of the tribunes." The tribunes of the commons, as the leaders of the popular, or democratic, party, were almost constantly at variance with the patricians, and, in the heat of these collisions, often proceeded to the most extravagant lengths. It was for the consuls, as the organ of the government at large, and the representatives in feeling, most commonly, of the aristocratic party, to curb these wild excesses.

5. *Qui largitioni resistat.* "To check the current of corruption."—*Homines non nobiles.* The same as *homines novi.*

6 *Plurimas gratias*, &c. "The most extensive influence, the firmest friendships, the warmest feelings in our behalf." *Gratias* here refers to those who are under obligations for favours received, and *studia* to well-wishers generally.

7. *In isto vestro artificio.* "In that poor art of yours." *Isto* here conveys a disparaging idea. *Vestro* refers to the whole body of jurisconsults to which Sulpicius belonged.

8. *In tam tenui scientia.* "In so frivolous a science." Literally, "so weak," or "feeble."

9. *Res enim sunt parvæ*, &c. "For the subjects connected with it are insignificant in their nature, being almost wholly confined to single letters and the punctuation between words," *i. e.* the punctuation of sentences.—*Occupatæ*, literally, "taken up with." Cicero refers in this passage to the technical minutiæ of the legal forms of the day. The

special pleading, and the technicalities of our own times, are almost precisely analogous.

10. *Enuntiatis vestris mysteriis.* "Now that your mysteries are divulged." This is explained immediately after: *Posset agi lege*, &c.—*Totum est contemptum et abjectum.* "Is become altogether contemned and degraded," *i. e.* has fallen into utter contempt and disgrace.

11. *Posset agi lege, necne.* "Whether they could go to law, or not." Literally, "whether it could be gone to law by them," &c. *Agere lege* is "to go to law," *i. e.* to act in accordance with the law permitting an action or suit to be brought. Compare the explanation of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Lege agere, *i. e. ex lege permittente lege accusare vel petere.*" — The student will bear in mind, that the meaning in this passage is, not that few persons formerly knew whether they had a good cause of action or not, but *on what day* they could bring their suit, certain days being set apart, on which alone law-proceedings could take place, and these days being known only to the lawyers, who kept them purposely concealed, in order to make their clients entirely dependent upon them.

12. *Fastos enim vulgo non habebant.* "For they had no public calendar." Literally, "no calendar common to all," *i. e.* which any one might consult. The *Fasti*, or Calendar, contained the days of each month, with a particular mark designating those on which it was lawful (*fas*) for the prætor to hold court. Hence these days were called *dies fasti*, and hence also the name *fasti* given to the calendar itself, since from this circumstance it originally derived all its value. The appellation always continued to be given to it, although it eventually became a record rather of sacred than of legal days. — The Pontifex Maximus and his colleague had the care of the calendar, and an acquaintance with its contents was for a long time confined to the priests and patricians, the former being all of that order. The early lawyers, being also patricians, were of course, well versed in the whole subject.

13. *Tamquam a Chaldæis.* The lawyers, who were consulted by people respecting the proper days for commencing lawsuits, are here humorously compared to Chaldæan astrologers, who calculated nativities, and pretended to be acquainted with lucky and unlucky days.

14. *Cn. Flavius.* The son of a freedman, and the scribe or clerk of Appius Claudus Cæcus, a lawyer of the day. The latter had arranged in writing the days proper for commencing actions, and Flavius stole or copied the book, and published it, A. U. C. 440. In return for this favour, he was made curule ædile by the people, and afterwards prætor. The book was called from him *Jus Civile Flavianum.* (Liv. ix. 46.—Cic. *de Orat.* i. 41.—*Digest.* i. 2. 2.)

15. *Qui cornicum oculos confixerit.* "Who is said to have tricked these knowing ones." Literally, "who is said to have pierced (*i. e.* put out) the eyes of these crows." The student will note the force of the subjunctive in *confixerit.* — We have here a proverbial form of expression, applied, it is said, to those who deceived very cunning persons. The crow being remarkable for keenness of sight, to put out a crow's eyes was a figurative mode of designating a superior degree of keenness and craft. (Compare Erasmus, *Chil.* 1. *cent.* 3. *prov.* 75. *sub fin.*) Camerarius, and others, however, give a different explanation of this proverb. According to them, birds of the species here denoted, in fighting with other animals, strike at their eyes; and ought there-

fore to be doubly careful in guarding their own. This seems rather forced.

16. *Et singulis diebus*, &c. " And to have published, for the information of the people, a calendar, in which each day was marked, and which they were carefully to learn." Literally, " a calendar for each day, to be carefully learnt." This calendar contained all the days of the year, and distinguished between those on which an action could be brought (*dies fasti*), and those when no legal proceedings could take place (*dies nefasti*). — In the construction of this sentence, *singulis diebus* is to go with *fastos.*

17. *Itaque irati illi.* " Thereupon, the poor lawyers, in great wrath." — *Dierum ratione*, &c. " Now that the arrangement of the days was published and known to all."

18. *Notas quasdam composuerunt*, &c. " Invented certain forms in legal proceedings, in order that their intervention might be necessary in all cases." These forms, called *notæ*, because purposely abbreviated, in order that none but the lawyers might understand them, met eventually with no better fate than the system of days. They were published by Sextus Ælius Catus, and his book was named *Jus Ælianum.* — Cicero quotes and ridicules some of these forms, in the succeeding chapter.

XII. 1. *Cum hoc fieri*, &c. In proceeding to ridicule the legal forms of the day, Cicero here imagines a controversy between two parties respecting the title to a farm in the Sabine territory. First he suggests a simple form of proceeding, the plaintiff claiming, and the defendant denying his claim, and the judge then giving his decision. But this way of doing business does not please the lawyers. They must have their forms and technicalities, and Cicero then proceeds to show in a very amusing way, what these forms of proceeding are. — Render as follows: " Although the following mode might have answered perfectly well: 'The Sabine farm is mine:' 'No, 'tis mine:' and then the decision of the judge: the lawyers shook their heads at this. 'The farm,' says the lawyer, 'which is in the country that is called the Sabine.' Verbosely enough. Well, pray, what next!" &c.—The lawyer and Cicero are here holding an imaginary dialogue, and the former is giving the legal mode of conducting a suit, interspersed with occasional remarks from the latter.

2. *Inde ibi*, &c. " I summon you out of court, from that place there, to contend with me on the spot itself." *Inde ibi* is a legal pleonasm, retained from the old forms of the language, and refers to the place where the opposite party is supposed to be standing in court. Ernesti very unnecessarily rejects *ibi* with Gruter, and is followed in this by many subsequent editors. — The phrase *ex jure* is based on an old law-custom. In the earlier Roman law, if a question arose about a farm, a house, or the like, the prætor went with the parties to the place, and gave possession to which of them he thought just. But, from the increase of business, this soon became impracticable, and then the parties called one another from court (*ex jure*) to the spot in controversy, a farm for instance, and brought from thence a turf, or clod, and contested about it as about the whole farm. It was delivered to the person to whom the prætor adjudged possession. But this custom also was dropped and the lawyers devised a new form of proceeding, which is the one that

Cicero here ridicules. The words *inde ibi*, &c., as far as *voco*, are supposed to be uttered by the plaintiff, and they are the same with those that were used when the parties actually went to the contested spot. The language remains after the actual form has ceased.

3. *Manu consertum.* In this old form the supine is employed. The expression is a figurative one, and is thought by some to have originated at a time when the Romans determined their disputes with the point of their swords. Others suppose, that the two parties broke a rod before the prætor, in a kind of mock fight, in order that one of them might say he had been ousted, or deprived of possession, and might claim to be restored. (Compare Aul. Gel. xx. 10. and Heineccius, *Antiq. Rom.* p. 682. ed. Haubold).

4. *Ille, unde petebatur.* "He, of whom the claim was," *i. e.* the defendant. — The plaintiff was called *petitor*.

5. *Transit idem jureconsultus*, &c. "The same lawyer now crosses over, after the manner of a Latin flute-player." The flute-players among the Romans were usually natives of Latium. Compare Livy, ix. 30.— Cicero alludes here to the custom that prevailed on the Roman stage. The flute-player appears to have turned from one actor to another, aiding each in turn with a cadence adapted to his voice, and the part he was performing at the time. In the same way the lawyer, after arranging the form of words which one party is to utter, passes over, and does the same kind office for the other.

6. *Unde tu me*, &c. "From that place there," says he, "from which you summoned me out of court to contend, I, in my turn, summon you." *Unde* does not here denote an actual change of place in the two parties, but only a change, as it were, in their legal position towards each other, the summoned person becoming now the summoner. The idea intended to be conveyed is best expressed by a paraphrase, "as you summoned me, so now I, in my turn, summon you."

7. *Pulchrum se ac beatum putaret.* "Should think himself an exceedingly clever and able personage." We have rendered these words more according to their spirit than their literal meaning. *Putare se pulchrum ac beatum* is an idiomatic expression, and analogous to our English phraseology, "to have a high notion of one's self," "to entertain a happy opinion of one's own abilities," &c.

8. *Atque aliquid*, &c. The meaning intended to be conveyed is this, lest the prætor should think himself so clever and able a personage, as to make a speech in his own words.

9. *Carmen.* "A set form of words." Any set form of words, in prose or verse was called *carmen*. — *Cum ceteris rebus*, &c. "Both absurd in other respects, and particularly so in what follows." In some MSS. and early editions the words *nullo usu* occur in place of *illo*, which Grævius has adopted. But then there is nothing to answer to *cum ceteris rebus*.

10. *Suis utrisque*, &c. "Their witnesses being present for each, I order the respective parties to proceed that way. Go," *i. e.* in the presence of your witnesses here, I order you to go to the spot in controversy. — In note 2. we traced down the legal mode of proceeding to the bringing of a turf from the contested spot, and then stated that this custom also was dropped in course of time. The new mode is now referred to. The prætor tells the parties to go to the spot, and they make an appearance of going, headed by the lawyer to point out the way. Then, after

a short interval, the prætor says, "return," and they come back as it were, and are supposed to bear a turf. If it appeared that one of the parties had been dispossessed by the other through force, the prætor decreed according to one form; if not, according to another. The possessor being thus ascertained, then the action about the right of property commenced. The person ousted, first asked the defendant if he was the lawful possessor (*Quando te in jure conspicio postulo an sies auctor*, i. e. possessor). Then he claimed his right, and in the meantime required that the possessor should give security not to do any damage on the farm, &c.

11. *Superstitibus.* The common text has *præsentibus* added after this word, but this is a manifest pleonasm, as *superstes* itself means a present witness. Compare Festus, "Superstites *testes præsentes significat*," &c., (p. 244. ed. Lind.), and Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* iii. 339., who refers to this same passage, and explains *superstitibus* by *præsentibus*.

12. *Præsto aderat*, &c. "The sage jurisconsult was close at hand." Consult note 10. — *Redite viam.* Consult note 10.

13. *Hæc jam tum*, &c. "These forms appeared even at that day, I believe, ridiculous in their nature, among those bearded personages themselves," *i. e.* the very lawyers, who invented them, laughed I believe in secret at them. — *Barbatos.* A long beard was regarded by the vulgar as a type of wisdom. Hence the expressions, "*barbati philosophi*," "*barbati magistri*," &c. In the early days, however, to which Cicero alludes, the wearing of beards was an ordinary custom, and hence *barbatos* in the text carries with it the blended idea of antiquity and pretension to superior wisdom.

14. *Homines, cum recte*, &c. "For persons, when they had placed themselves properly enough, and in a particular spot, to be ordered to go away," &c.

15. *Illa omnia*, &c. "All those other forms." — *In jure*, "In court." Consult note 10.

16. *Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?* "Have you made this claim for mere appearance sake?" *i. e.* have you made it for mere appearance sake, or have you a good right? — The plaintiff is thus interrogated by the defendant, who is desirous of ascertaining what grounds of action he may have, that he may be able to meet the claim. Such at least is the explanation of Ursinus. But the true meaning of this detached law-form is allowed by commentators to be very difficult to ascertain, although the solution given by Ursinus appears the most plausible. — *Dicis causa* is an old form of expression, equivalent here to *in speciem.* Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

17. *In manibus jactata et excussa.* "Well handled and examined." *Excutio* gets the meaning of "to examine" from its primitive import, "to shake out the contents of any thing," and ascertain in this way what it contains.

18. *Inanissima prudentiæ.* "Totally devoid of sense," *i. e.* of any rational meaning.

19. *Nam cum*, &c. "For although very many admirable principles have been laid down by our laws." — *Ingeniis.* "By the ingenuity."

20. *Infirmitatem consilii.* "A natural weakness of judgment." — *In tutorum potestate.* "Under the control of guardians."

21. *Quæ potestate mulierum*, &c. These appear to have been the guardians whom the woman chose *ex testamento viri.* (Cujacii *Observ*,

viii. 11.) Alciatus thinks (*Perierg.* ix. 19.), that they had slaves of theirs made public ones, and then appointed them their guardians. These, although not exactly slaves any longer, in the full sense of the term, as regarded a private owner, were yet, on the other hand, not actually free, because the public was their master. Such persons were still, from their previous relation to the former owners, more or less under their influence and control, even after the ownership had been transferred.

22. *Sacra.* "The sacred rites connected with families." Among the Romans, each *gens* had certain sacred rites peculiar to itself, which the father, or head of each *familia* composing the *gens*, was bound to perform. These rites went with the inheritance. Compare Cicero (*pro Dom.* xiii.): "*Quid? sacra Clodiæ gentis cur intereunt, quod in te est?*" So also, *de Leg.* ii. 9.: "*Sacra privata perpetua manento,*" to which Cicero gives the following interpretation (chap. xix.): "*De sacris hæc sit una sententia ut conserventur semper, et deinceps familiis prodantur, et, ut in lege posui, perpetua sint sacra.*" — What was called "*detestatio sacrorum*" took place, when it was announced to an heir or legatee, that he must adopt the sacred rites that followed the inheritance.

23. *Ad coëmptiones faciendas.* "To make purchases of estates encumbered by these rites." Literally, "for the purpose of making purchases." In order to remove the incumbrance of family rites, a fictitious sale of the property was made to some old and childless person, and then the same property was purchased back from him. In this way the law was completely evaded, there being no heir or devisee who was to maintain the family rites in the present case. —This custom is very neatly alluded to by Curius, one of Cicero's friends, in a letter to the orator. (*Ep. ad Fam.* vii. 29.) "*Sum* χρήσει μὲν *tuus,* κτήσει δὲ *Attici nostri: ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius; quod quidem si inter senes coëmtionales venale proscripserit, egerit non multum.*"

24. *In omni denique, &c.* "In fine, throughout the whole compass of the civil law, they have abandoned the spirit, have retained the mere letter." Literally, "the mere words themselves."

25. *In alicujus libris.* "In the writings of some lawyer."

26. *Id nomen.* Caia. According to Cicero's humorous explanation, they found the name *Caia* applied, in the works of some lawyer or other, to a female who had contracted matrimony by the rite called *coëmptio.* Now this happened to be her true name. But they thought there was a great mystery concealed under the appellation, and hence, in all legal proceedings connected with the rite termed *coëmptio,* every female about to contract matrimony in that way was called by them *Caia.* — It will readily be perceived, that the ridicule here is a good deal overstrained. *Caius,* as applied to the male, and *Caia* to the female, were mere terms of convenience in the old Roman law-forms.

27. *Quæ coëmptionem facerent.* "Who contracted matrimony by the rite termed *coëmptio.*" There were three modes of contracting marriage among the Romans, termed respectively, *confarreatio, usus,* and *coëmptio.* By the last of these was meant a kind of mutual purchase, when a man and woman were married by delivering to one another a small piece of money, and repeating certain words. What these words were is not clearly ascertained. Boethius (ad Cic. *Top.* iii.) gives rather the mean-

ing than the actual form of expression. (Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* p. 133. ed. Haubold.) It is more than probable, from the language of Cicero in the text, that one of the forms was that which is generally, though perhaps erroneously, thought to have been common to both *confarreatio* and *coëmptio.* " *Ubi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia,*" i. e. " Where you are master, I am mistress."

28. *Jam illud.* " The following too." Compare as to the peculiar force of *jam,* in this clause, *Orat. pro Leg. Manil.* ch. xv. note 13.

29. *Utrum diem tertium,* &c. " Whether the expression 'third day,' or 'day after to-morrow;' 'judge' or 'arbiter,' 'action,' or 'suit,' ought to be employed." This is another unfair hit at the lawyers. In the cautious and guarded language of the ancient pleadings, as in those of modern times, two terms were frequently used to designate the same thing. Thus they would say, " *Diem tertium sive perendinum :* " — " *judicem arbitrumve :* " — " *rem sive litem.*" These forms were commonly given by the ancient jurisconsults in an abbreviated style. Thus, I. D. T. S. P. which is the same as *In diem tertium sive perendinum.* T. I. A. V. P. V. D. equivalent to *Tempore judicem arbitrumve peto ut des.* And again Q. R. S. L. D. O. for *Quam rem sive litem dicere oportet.* (Consult Brissonius, *de Formulis,* &c.)

30. *Perendinum.* From *perendie,* " Quasi *peremta die,*" says Charisius, that is, the day after a whole intervening day has passed. *Perendinus* is equivalent to *tertius dies,* since the Romans, in counting, always included the day from, and the day to which they counted.

XIII. 1. *Dignitas consularis.* " Any title to the consulship," *i. e.* it never has carried with it that degree of merit, which could claim the consulship as its peculiar right.

2. *Ex rebus fictis commenticiisque.* " Of fictions and subtle devices." — *Gratiæ vero multo minores.* " And far fewer claims still to the favour of others," *i. e.* far less of what might lay others under obligations to you, and in this way secure their favour and interest.

3. *Gratum.* " Calculated to gain influence," *i. e.* so peculiarly acceptable to either party, as to lead him to regard it in the light of a special favour done him, and to induce him to cherish friendly feelings in return.

4. *Sed etiam illud,* &c. " But even that form of address, which was for some time customary, 'May I consult you.'" This form of words, *Licet consulere?* used to be uttered by the client, when he came to consult the lawyer; and the formal reply of the latter was " *Consule.*" Cicero alludes in the text to this fashion being now out of date, meaning to imply in a playful way, that the lawyers were not regarded by their clients with as much veneration and respect as formerly, and that there was now more of familiarity in addressing them.

5. *In ea prudentia.* " In that branch of knowledge." In that species of wisdom. — *Rebus prolatis.* " During a vacation of the courts," *i. e.* when the courts of law are closed, and the aid of the lawyer is not at present needed. *Rebus prolatis* literally means, " when matters are put off," *i. e.* to the next opening of the courts. Compare as regards its general meaning, Plautus (*Captiv.* i. 1. 10.): " *Ubi res prolatæ sunt, cum rus homines eunt.*"

6. *Et perpaucis,* &c. " Within the compass of both a very few and by no means obscure words." The allusion is to the written law, or *jus*

scriptum. Compare Manutius: "*Loquitur de jure scripto: quod cum et breve sit, et minime obscurum, cognosci ab omnibus facile possit.*"

7. *Homini vehementer occupato.* "Although a man completely engrossed by other affairs."— *Stomachum moveritis.* There is some humour in this. Cicero will only meddle with the civil law in case he is provoked to the step, since otherwise he would not take the trouble of bestowing a single thought upon it. — We must not, however, suppose that these were his real sentiments. From his own account, the civil law, at one time, occupied a large share of his attention. Compare Cicero (*Brut.* lxxxix.): "*Ego autem juris civilis studio multum operæ dabam Q. Scævolæ, P. F., qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, consulentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat.*"

8. *Etenim quæ de scripto aguntur*, &c. "For all that relates to matters of writing has been reduced by this time to written forms," *i. e.* all the writing business of the profession is contained in certain forms already reduced to writing.

9. *Tam anguste.* "In terms so concise." Referring to the abbreviations so much indulged in by the Roman lawyers, and some specimens of which have been given under chap. xii. note 29.— *Quo ego non possim*, &c. "That I cannot tell about what it treats."— *Qua de re agitur* is a law-phrase, denoting, when applied to a written form, the nature and object of that form; and when referring to a suit or controversy, the point on which that controversy turns. Compare Cic. *Brut.* lxxix.

10. *Quæ consuluntur autem*, &c. "While on the other hand, the matters about which advice is asked, are replied to at very little risk."— The explanation which Cicero immediately subjoins is extremely amusing. If you answer as you ought, you will pass for a second Servius; if otherwise, men will give you credit for a profound acquaintance with the controverted points of the law, which leads you thus to differ in opinion from others.

11. *Etiam controversum jus*, &c. "You will even appear to be well versed in the knowledge and handling of the controverted points of the law." Literally, "the controversial law." Compare Manutius: "Controversum jus, *quod interpretationis est dubiæ, et de quo disputare licet in utramque partem.*"

12. *Isti vestræ exercitationi.* "That profession of yours." *Vestræ* refers to the whole body of jurisconsults.— *Ad honorem.* "For advancement in the state." For the enjoyment of public honours.

13. *Initio.* "In the beginning of their career."—*Hoc.* Eloquence.

14. *Istuc potissimum sunt delapsi.* "Have slid down generally speaking into that vocation of yours." Literally, "into that place where you are."

15. *In Græcis artificibus.* "In the case of the Greek musicians." *Artifex* is a general term for one who exercises an art or employment of any kind. Hence *artifices scenici*, "players," *artifex rhetoricus*, "a rhetorician;" and so, as regards its usage in the present case, we have the following in Quintus Curtius (v. 1.): "*Non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant.*"

16. *Aulœdos.* Some few editions have *auletas*. The form *citharœdos* is given by Quintilian (viii. 3.) and most early editions. —*Citharœdi.* "Performers on the harp." The *citharistæ* merely played upon the harp; the *citharœdi* accompanied the playing with their voice. The Greek etymology is in accordance with this κιθαρῳδὸς from κιθάρα and ἀείδω.

17. *Devenire.* This verb appears to imply here, that they come to the study of the law, because, they cannot do any better. Compare the language of Ernesti, in explaining the force of *devenio* (*Or. in Verr.* v. 48.): " Devenire *recte dicitur de iis, qui aliquo veniunt perfugii causa, supplicandi causa,*" &c.

18. *Magnus dicendi labor,* &c. " Great is the toil that qualifies for public speaking, great the art itself, great its dignity, and most great, too, the influence connected with it."

19. *Salubritas quædam.* The meaning of Cicero is, that what the lawyer, or, as we would say, special pleader, does for his client, conduces to safety, whereas the orator ensures safety itself. The lawyer prepares what may have a salutary effect on the issue of the case, and may conduce to a successful defence; but the orator accomplishes that issue, and establishes that defence. The idea then, intended to be conveyed by *salubritas quædam* is best expressed by a paraphrase: " What may conduce to safety," while by *salus ipsa* is meant " safety itself." The language is figurative, and is borrowed from the condition of the human frame, at one time enjoying " a kind of health," at another " health itself."

20. *In qua si satis profecissem.* " Had I made any great progress in this art," *i. e.* in the art of public speaking; in oratory. This, of course, is the mere language of assumed modesty. Cicero's secret vanity suggested far different ideas in reality.

XIV. 1. *Artes.* " Professions."—*Quæ possunt locare,* &c. " Which are capable of placing men in the highest degree of personal consideration," *i. e.* of raising them to the highest place in public estimation. By *dignitas* is here meant public esteem founded on private worth.

2. *Ceteræ tamen virtutes,* &c. " The other kinds of merit it is true avail much of themselves, namely, justice, good faith," &c. *Virtutes* is here used in the sense, not of virtues, but meritorious qualities, for eloquence and military talent are included in the number. — *Ipsæ per se.* " Even apart from eloquence." Compare Manutius: " *Separatim singulæ, etiam sine eloquentia.*"

3. *Sed nunc disputo.* " But I am now arguing." — *Insita cujusque virtute.* " The innate worth of each particular individual." Compare Manutius: " *Nam neque ars imperatoris, neque boni facultas oratoris virtutes insitæ sunt, sed extrinsecus assumuntur.*"

4. *Aliquis.* In some editions *aliqui.* — *Bellicum canere.* " To sound forth the signal for war." With *bellicum* supply *carmen.* The term denotes the blast of the trumpet summoning to arms. Compare Livy (xxxv. 18.): " *A Macedonia Philippum ubi primum bellicum cani audisset, arma capturum.*"

5. *Ingeniosus poeta, et auctor valde bonus.* " An ingenious poet and excellent writer." Ennius is meant, and Cicero then proceeds to quote from him. — *Prœliis promulgatis.* " When battles are proclaimed." This expression has somewhat of a poetical tinge, and is probably imitated or altered from some lost passage of Ennius. As it stands now, it could not of course find its way into an hexameter line.

6. *Pellitur e medio.* Cicero quotes from the 8th book of the *Annals* of Ennius. The full passage is given by Aulus Gellius (xx. 10.), and we will cite it here in order to make the references, on the part of the orator, more intelligible:—

"*Pellitur e medio sapientia; vi geritur res;*
Spernitur orator bonus; horridus miles amatur;
Haud doctis dictis certantes, sed maledictis,
Miscent inter sese, inimicitias agitantes:
Non ex jure manu consertum, sed mage ferro
Rem repetunt, regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi."

The words are given more according to the earlier orthography, by Hesselius, in his edition of the fragments of Ennius, p. 79. *seq.* In the second line, the final *s* in *horridus* is elided in scanning, before the initial consonant of *miles*. The early Romans did not sound the final *s* in words, if the next word began with a consonant. The practice began to disappear, however, about the time of Cicero. The last traces of this elision are found in some parts of the poetry of Lucretius, Catullus, and Cicero himself. — So in the 5th line, some read *magis* in place of *mage*, making in the scanning the elision *magi'*. Others read at once *horridu' miles*, and *magi' ferro*, as, for example, Hesselius. — The other various readings in these lines, such as *Tollitur* for *Pellitur*, and *manum* for *manu*, need not be dwelt upon here.

7. *Ista vestra*, &c. "That wordy and counterfeit wisdom of yours." More literally, "that wordy counterfeiting of wisdom," &c. The allusion is to the unmeaning forms and subtleties of the law.

8. *Non solum odiosus*, &c. "Not only he who is disagreeable in speaking, and a mere talker, but even the good one." — *Horridus miles amatur.* "The rough soldier is caressed." — *Totum jacet.* "Lies entirely neglected." Compare as to the force of *jaceo* here, chap. viii. note 4.

9. *Mage.* An old form for *magis*. Perizonius (ad Sanct. *Min.* ii. 10.—vol. i. p. 280, ed. Bauer.) maintains, that both *magis* and *mage* were originally adjectives of the positive degree, like *potis* and *pote*.

10. *Stilus.* This was the ordinary instrument for writing. It was sharp at one end, and broad at the other. They wrote with it on tablets covered with wax. When they wished to correct any thing which they had written, they turned the *stilus*, and smoothed the wax with the broad end. Hence, *sæpe stilum vertas*, "make frequent corrections." (Horat. *Sat.* i. 10. 72.)

11. *Umbra soli.* "The shade of retirement to the beams of the sun," *i. e.* the retired life of the lawyer to the active one of the soldier. So *vita umbratilis* is applied to a retired, studious, or comparatively inactive life (Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 11.), and *oratio umbratilis* to a philosophical discourse (Cic. *Orat.* xix.), as marking the contrast between the retired habits of the philosopher and the more active life of the public speaker. So in the present case the lives of the lawyer and soldier are contrasted.

12. *Prima.* "First in importance." — *Omnium princeps.* "The first of all." Alluding to the glorious results of the Roman arms.

13. *Hæc.* "These services of Murena." — *Demonstrat.* "Strives to show." — *Cum mulierculis.* "With mere women." The term *muliercula*, the meaning of which we have here softened down, refers to the effeminate and dissolute habits of the Asiatics generally, and the enervating effects which resulted from them.

14. *Neque enim*, &c. "And only a few, for the merits of the cause are not contained in this." Supply before *neque* the words, *et pauca modo*, or something equivalent.

15. *Cum Græcis.* As the Romans, during the Mithridatic war, came in contact principally with the Asiatic Greeks, Cicero, here makes mention of their other wars with the Greek nation generally. — For an account of the different individuals mentioned by the speaker, consult *Historical Index.*

16. *Ille hostis.* Referring to Mithridates. It is the same, in effect, as if he had said, "and such a foe as Mithridates."

17. *Antiocho.* Antiochus is here brought in as an Asiatic monarch, and the war that was waged with him is alluded to as an Asiatic one.

18. *L. Scipio.* Consul with Lælius, A. U. C. 562., and surnamed Asiaticus for his success in this war. — *Partita cum Publio,* &c. The allusion is to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. He volunteered to serve as lieutenant under his brother, L. Scipio, in this war against Antiochus, and hence the glory of the contest is said by Cicero to have been shared between them. —We have adopted *partita,* the emendation of Lambinus, in place of *parta,* as given by the common text. There can be no doubt as to the superiority of the former, although the latter is advocated by Ernesti.

19. *Cognomine ipso.* Alluding to his surname Africanus. Publius Scipio was the first Roman general who took his name from a conquered country. — *Ex Asiæ nomine.* Alluding to the surname of Asiaticus, bestowed on L. Scipio.

20. *M. Catonis.* Cato the censor. — *Ut ego mihi statuo.* "As I imagine." The editors make a difficulty here, when none in fact exists. Beck, following some of the MSS. and early editions, reads *statuam,* which is only a softer way of expressing the meaning of *statuo,* and equivalent to *ut judicem de sensu meo.* Schütz, on the other hand, thinks the words *ut ego mihi statuo* a corruption, and suggests the following emendation for the whole clause, "*quum esset in eo animi status talis, qualem in te esse video.*" This however, is re-writing, not correcting.

21. *Numquam esset profectus.* The common text has *cum Scipione* after *numquam,* which is an historical blunder, originating very probably from some idle gloss. In the war against Antiochus, M. Cato accompanied M. Acilius Glabrio, not Scipio. Compare Livy, xxxvi. 21.

22. *Neque vero cum P. Africano,* &c. "Nor would the senate, in truth, have engaged Publius Africanus to go as lieutenant to his brother." The elegance of the phraseology, *egisset cum Africano ut proficisceretur* (literally, "have arranged with Africanus that he should go,") atones in some degree for its want of historical correctness. Scipio was not requested by the senate to accompany his brother as lieutenant; but, when a difficulty was about to arise in that body respecting the provinces of the new consuls, L. Scipio and Lælius, he declared, that if they would give his brother the province of Greece, he would go with him as his lieutenant. This, of course, settled the question. Compare Livy (xxxvii. 1.): *P. Scipio Africanus dixit, 'Si L. Scipioni, fratri suo, provinciam Græciam decrevissent, se legatum iturum.' Hæc vox, magno adsensu audita, sustulit certamen.*"

XV. 1. *Quid Mithridates potuerit,* &c. Cicero's oration in favour of the Manilian law is the best commentary on this whole passage. — *Qui vir fuerit.* "What kind of man he was." *Qui* is here elegantly used for *qualis.*

2. *Pugna excitatum.* "Only aroused to more vigorous efforts by the

loss of a battle." Sylla had defeated Archelaus, a general of Mithridates, with great loss, at Chæronea. (Plut. *Vit. Syll.* c. xvi.)—The true reading here is extremely doubtful. We have adopted that given by Ernesti.

3. *Non rudis imperator.* "No raw commander." This is what Grammarians call a *litotes* (λιτότης), where, by a negation of the contrary, more is implied than expressed. Sylla was in fact eminent for military talents.

4. *Bello invectum,* &c. "After having traversed all Asia in hostile array." The common text has *cum bello,* but we have rejected the preposition with Ernesti and others.

5. *Cum pace dimisit.* This is mere oratorical exaggeration. Sylla granted peace to Mithridates, not because he found it impossible to conquer that monarch, but because his own presence was required in Italy, where the opposite faction had raised fresh troubles. Compare Ernesti, *ad loc.*

6. *Rationes et copias belli.* "His revenues and armies."—*Oceanum cum Ponto.* His object was to attack the Romans on the east, while Sertorius, in Spain, did the same on the west. Compare *Orat. pro Lege Manil.* ch. iv.

7. *Duobus consulibus.* Lucullus and Cotta, A. U. C. 679.—*Ita.* "With this view."—*Alter Mithridatem,* &c. Alluding to Lucullus.

8. *Alterius res calamitosæ.* "The disastrous operations of the one." The reference is to Cotta. This commander, thinking that he had a fair opportunity of gaining a victory before Lucullus could join him, gave battle to Mithridates, but was defeated both by sea and land, with the loss of 60 ships and all their crews, as well as 4000 land forces. (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* ch. vi.)

9. *Nam, cum,* &c. "For when the fury of the whole war had centred beneath the walls of the people of Cyzicus." Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. viii.

10. *Asiæ.* Referring to the Roman province, as appears from what follows immediately after, "*tota pateret provincia.*" As regards the limits of the province of Asia, consult *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. ii. note 6.

11. *Et omnes copiæ,* &c. Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. viii. note 5. —*Et omnes* is the emendation of Grævius, from one of his MSS., in place of the common reading *ut omnes.*

12. *Pugnam navalem,* &c. Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. viii. note 8.—*Contento cursu,* &c. "In rapid course, under the fiercest leaders." Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. viii. note 9.

13. *Novis opibus,* &c. Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. viii. note 14.

XVI. 1. *Sed non id agimus.* "But that is not our present object." More literally, "we are not now endeavouring to do that."

2. *Senatus et populus Romanus.* The senate passed a decree, relative to the declaring of war against Mithridates, and the people, with whom alone rested the power of actually declaring war, confirmed that decree by a vote in the comitia.

3. *Populus Romanus.* The people alone are named here, as they passed the Manilian law, which gave the command to Pompey.

4. *Vel acerrima mihi videtur illa,* &c. This is the famous night engagement fought near the Euphrates, an account of which is given

by Plutarch *Vit. Pomp.*, ch. xxxii.— Compare Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 32. —Florus, iii. 5. 23.

5. *Bosporum.* The Cimmerian Bosporus is meant, now the straits of *Jenikali.* Compare, as regards the flight of Mithridates, the account given by Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. xxxv.).

6. *Etiam in extrema fortuna,* &c. The eulogium passed by Cicero on the character and abilities of Mithridates is well deserved. In point of talent and resources he was certainly the most formidable monarch with whom the Romans had ever to contend.

7. *Tamen tantum,* &c. "Attached so much importance notwithstanding to the life of a single individual," *i. e.* to the mere circumstance of Mithridates' remaining alive. — *Ille.* "The other." Mithridates.

8. *Arbitraremur.* All the MSS. have *arbitraretur,* in the passive. But still Ciceronian usage and latinity demand *arbitraremur,* which we have, consequently, not hesitated to give. Ernesti, who retains however *arbitraretur,* is strongly in favour of *arbitraremur,* observing of the common reading, "*Istæ sordes sunt latinæ, indignæ Cicerone, præsertim in oratione quæ in foro dicta est, aut concione senatuve.*" Two instances, it is true, of *arbitro,* as an active verb, occur in Plautus (*Pseud.* iv. 2. 57.—*Stich.* i. 2. 87.), but this is the usage of a poet, not of a prose writer, and, it may be too, a specimen of vulgar not classical usage. At all events, the pages of a comic writer can furnish no argument either way in a question relative to Ciceronian prose.

9. *Defendimus.* "We contend." Literally, "we allege," or "maintain, in his behalf." *Defendere* means here to bring forward in the way of defence, or as Facciolati explains it, "*allegare in defensionem.*"

10. *Hanc ejus operam.* "That these services of his." — *Non minus dignitatis.* "No less strong a claim." *Dignitas* here again denotes a claim or title founded on merit or fitness.

XVII. 1. *At enim,* &c. Cicero here proceeds to answer another argument advanced on the part of Sulpicius. At the comitia for the election of prætors, Sulpicius was higher on the list of successful candidates than Murena, that is, the majority of the former exceeded that of the latter. And this is now urged as a proof of the superior estimation in which Sulpicius was held by the people, and a sure indication that, had there been no bribery on the part of Murena, the other would have defeated him at the consular election. Cicero's answer is a very adroit one.

2. *Pergitisne vos,* &c. "What? do you proceed to deal with the people, as if by virtue of some written obligation?" *i. e.* as if they were tied down by the terms of some bond, and had no free agency left them. —We have here a very artful evasion of the argument adduced on the opposite side. What? if the people have done a thing once in a particular way, are they bound to do it always in that way? the people, too, who are so notorious for their fickle and changeable character?

3. *Syngrapha.* By this is meant a bond or obligation, by which a creditor got security from his debtor for the payment of a sum of money; or by which one person bound himself to another, for the performance of some particular act. It was generally signed and sealed by both parties, and a copy given to each, whence the name, συγγραφὴ from συγγράφω. The phrase *agere ex syngrapha* then denotes, to exact

something from another, as if it were the payment of a debt on bond, or the performance of some express written covenant.

4. *Reliquis honoribus.* "In the case of the other honours he may seek."—*Debeat.* Supply *dare.*

5. *Quod enim fretum,* &c. "For what straight, what Euripus, has as many changes, as violent and as varied fluctuations, as are the powerful tossings and impetuous tides which the comitia from their very nature possess?" Literally, "as the system," or, "plan of the comitia has."—We need hardly point to the beauty and justice of the allusion. The whole passage is cited by Quintilian, viii. 6. 29.

6. *Euripum.* The Euripus, or strait between Eubœa and the main land of Greece, was famed in the popular belief for its frequent changes. Consult *Geographical Index.*

7. *Totam opinionem commutat.* "Produces an entire change of opinion," *i. e.* respecting the merits of a candidate for public favour.—*Fit aliud, atque existimamus,* &c. "Something is done directly contrary to what we think is to be the result, so that even the people themselves wonder," &c.

8. *Nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum.* "Nothing more deceptive than the whole course of things at the comitia," *i. e.* than the issue of public elections.

9. *Opera.* Philippus was not only a public man, but an eminent speaker, and hence his aid was often given in the forum, at trials, to his friends and others. With *opera,* therefore, we may supply *forensi,* as Gruter directs, and render the term by "application at the bar." Compare Ernesti (*ad loc.*): "*Est ea quæ alias* industria *proprie dicitur.*" — Cicero alludes to the defeat of Philippus by Herennius, in the *Brutus,* ch. xlv.

10. *Q. Catulum.* This was the famous colleague of Marius, in the contest with the Cimbri. Consult *Historical Index.* — *Cn. Mallio.* A man of ignoble birth. The common text has *Manlio.*

11. *Hominem gravissimum.* "A man of the greatest weight of character." The individual referred to is the celebrated M. Æmilius Scaurus. — *Q. Maximo.* Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Eburnus. Consult *Historical Index.*

12. *Sæpe certo aliquo,* &c. "Are oft-times aroused by the influence of some particular constellation." This was an article of fixed and popular belief on the part of the Romans. — Quintilian (viii. 3. 80.) remarks, that Cicero expresses himself here with almost a poetical spirit: "*jam pæne poetico spiritu.*"

13. *Sæpe ita,* &c. We have inserted *causa* after *obscura,* on the conjecture of Lambinus, but have not adopted his other emendation of *ejus* after *sæpe,* as this seems quite unnecessary.

XVIII. 1. *Si est reddenda ratio.* "If a reason must be given," *i. e.* a reason for Murena's apparent want of popular favour, compared with the other successful candidates, who had received larger majorities in the application for the prætorship.

2. *Duæ res,* &c. "The want of two things was severely felt in this application for the prætorship, both of which proved of service to Murena, when suing for the consular office." More literally, "two things were very greatly missed in the case of the prætorship," &c. Cicero's meaning is, that two circumstances were deficient in Murena's canvass

for the prætorship, both of which afterwards occurred, and were of use to him when a candidate for the consulship.

3. *Exspectatio muneris,* &c. "The expectation of public shows, which had been increased as well by certain rumours, as by the zealous efforts and language of his competitors." Murena had not borne the office of ædile, and had therefore exhibited no public shows, as was customary with those who filled that station. There was no expectation consequently of his exhibiting any in case he were elected prætor, whereas rumour spoke loudly of what his competitors would do in the way of public exhibitions, and they themselves gave confirmation to these rumours by their conduct and language. All this, of course, would tend to lessen very materially the number of votes given for Murena, and it was no wonder, if the majorities of his competitors were larger than his own.

4. *Altera.* The second reason was, that the troops whom he had commanded in Asia had not yet returned home, by which circumstance he lost a number of votes, as well from these persons themselves, as from others who would be influenced by their commendations of Murena.

5. *Comitiis.* This is the conjectural emendation of Hotomannus, which Lambinus first adopted into the text, and of which Beck, Schütz, and others approve. The common text has *comes.*

6. *Munus amplissimum.* "The very splendid shows." Murena, having obtained the office of *Prætor Urbanus,* was called upon to give the *Ludi Apollinares,* which he did with great splendour. It will be borne in mind, that the magistrates who gave, or, in other words, presided at, public exhibitions and shows, generally lavished upon them a prodigious expence, to pave the way for future preferments. Compare Cic. *de Off.* ii. 16., where he speaks of a *magnificentissima ædilitas,* and of Pompey's *magnificentissima munera* in his second consulship.

7. *Voluntas militum?* "The good will of the soldiery?" — *Quæ cum per se,* &c. Compare note 4. — *Tum vero multum auctoritatis habet.* "And also possesses great influence."

8. *Verborum interpretes.* "Mere interpreters of words," *i. e.* mere expounders of law forms and phrases.

9. *Quare gravis est illa oratio.* "Of great weight therefore is language like the following."—*Me saucium recreavit.* A soldier is supposed to be here speaking of his commander to the by-standers who are about to vote at the consular comitia.

10. *Cum fortis, tum etiam felix.* "As fortunate as he is brave." Literally, "both brave and also fortunate."

11. *Hoc quanti putas,* &c. "Of how much importance do you imagine all this is, as regards the reputation of individuals, and the favour of others?"

12. *Etenim si tanta,* &c. "For if the influence of a religious feeling is so strong at those comitia, that, even to the present day, the omen afforded by the century, which is first called, has always exerted an effect on the election, why is it surprising, that, in the case of this individual, the reputation of his good fortune, and the language of his soldiers produced a similar result?" *Valuisse,* literally, "prevailed."

13. *Omen prærogativum.* At the *comitia centuriata* where the consuls were chosen, the centuries were called to give their votes by lot. The names of the centuries were thrown into a box, and the century which came out first was called *prærogativa,* because it was asked for its vote,

that is, consulted, before the rest (*præ* and *rogo*). Its vote was regarded as a kind of omen of the result of the election.

XIX. 1. *Leviora.* " As of too trifling a nature to be mentioned." — *Quæ sunt gravissima.* " Which are in fact of very great importance." More freely, " though they are," &c.

2. *Et hanc urbanam,* &c. " And prefer the votes of citizens here to those of the soldiery," *i. e.* consider them as carrying greater weight, as more worth having, &c.

3. *Ludorum hujus,* &c. " The elegance of the shows exhibited by this individual, and the magnificence of his scenery." Under the head of *ludi* are meant, not only games, but also scenic exhibitions (*ludi scenici*). Sometimes the latter were regular plays. Thus, the plays of Terence were acted on these occasions; at other times, what were called *pegmata* were exhibited. These were large stages or wooden machines, of several stories, which were raised or depressed at pleasure, and were magnificently adorned. They were intended to represent detached scenes of an interesting nature, such as a conflagration, the descent of a deity, &c. Pliny (*H. N.* xxxiii. 3.) says that Murena and his brother Caius were the first who exhibited one of these, and that it was richly adorned with silver. This is very probably the *argentea scena* mentioned a little farther on.

4. *Profuerunt.* They proved of great service to him in conciliating the favour of the people.

5. *Quamquam huic causæ,* &c. " Although the fact itself is sufficient for the purposes of the present case," *i. e.* to serve as a basis for my present argument.

6. *Negotiis.* " By the calls of business."—*In ipsa occupatione.* " In employment itself."

7. *Oblectamur et ducimur.* " Are gratified and attracted."— *Quid tu admirere,* &c. " Why need you wonder at this, in the case of the unlearned multitude ? "

8. *L. Otho.* Lucius Roscius Otho, who was tribune of the commons A. U. C. 686.—*Equestri ordini,* &c. The allusion is to the Roscian law, proposed by Otho, by which the fourteen seats next to those of the senators, in the theatre, were appropriated to the equestrian order. Consult *Legal Index.*—From Cicero's employing the term *restituit* here, it has been inferred, that the equites had previously possessed separate seats in some conspicuous part of the theatre, from which they had been dislodged ; unless we suppose, what is not very probable, that the term *restituit* is here employed, after the manner of the Roman lawyers, in the sense of *dedit* or *præstitit.* Compare Ernesti (*Ind. Leg.* s. v. *Roscia*). The Roscian law is the one that occasioned the famous disturbance at Rome. Consult *Historical Index,* s. v. *Otho.*

9. *Voluptatem.* " The means of gratification," *i. e.* in beholding, with more ease and comfort, the representations of the stage.

10. *Cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis.* " Along with the splendour of their rank, the enjoyment also of their diversions."

11. *In mea petitione.* " In my application for the consulship."

12. *Nam nos quoque,* &c. " For we too had, on the part of our opponent, a scene so splendid to contend against, that it actually seemed to be itself a competitor." We have here been compelled to express by a paraphrase, what the Latin gives in the compass of a few brief words,

The phraseology of *scenam competitricem* is peculiar and forcible. — The nature of the allusion is as follows: Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, had been also his colleague in the ædileship, and had, while filling this latter office, exhibited in the public shows, at which he presided, a splendid piece of scenery, loaded with silver. This gained him great popularity, and insured him a strong vote when he applied for the consulship. Cicero was his competitor on that occasion, and adopts a very forcible mode of expression in the text to show how much advantage Antonius had derived, in his opinion, from the silver scene which he exhibited. Antonius, it is well known, was elected to the consulship along with Cicero.

13. *Trinos ludos.* "Three different kinds of solemn shows." The first in honour of Ceres and Bacchus; the second of Flora; the third of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. (*In Verr.* v. 14.)

14. *Commovebar.* "Was alarmed."—*Casu.* "From the operation of lot." The *prætor urbanus,* whose duty it was to preside at the Ludi Apollinares, was appointed by lot; that is, the two prætors, after their election, determined by casting lots, which of them should be *prætor urbanus,* which *prætor peregrinus,* and which should exercise the other jurisdictions.

15. *Nihil adversatam.* "Proved of no injury," *i. e.* in your application for the consulship. Cicero asks, whether Sulpicius does not think that the silver scene, which Murena exhibited when prætor, gained the latter numerous votes, and facilitated his election to the consular office. Compare note 12.

16. *Sit par forensis opera militari,* &c. "Let the labours of the bar be equal to those of the camp, let the vote of the citizen be equal to that of the soldier."

17. *Inter tuam et istius sortem.* "Between your allotted duties and his." Compare note 14.

XX. 1. *Hujus sors ea fuit,* &c. "The sphere of duty, which fell to his lot, was, what all of us your friends wished might be yours, that of dispensing justice." Murena, as has already been remarked, obtained by lot the station of *prætor urbanus,* an office which opened for him a path to extensive popularity.

2. *Gloriam conciliat,* &c. "The importance of the charge gains high consideration for the individual, and the dispensing of liberal justice, the favour of others." By *æquitas* is here meant a decision according to the spirit, rather than the strict letter, of the law. Compare Manutius: "*Recte largitionis nomen ad æquitatem adjunxit, nam sæpe quod jus negat, æquitas largitur.*"

3. *Æquabilitate decernendi.* "By the impartiality of his decisions." —*Lenitate audiendi.* "By the affability with which he listens to all."

4. *Ad extremum,* &c. "Is terminated at last by the gratification derived from public spectacles," *i. e.* after having received the applause of others for the equity, uprightness and affability which characterise his deportment, the magistrate in question crowns all by a splendid exhibition of public shows.

5. *Quid tua sors?* Sulpicius drew for his lot the presiding at trials *de peculatu,* or embezzlement of the public money.—Besides the *prætor urbanus,* and *prætor peregrinus,* there were other prætors who each presided at particular trials throughout the year; namely, one at trials

concerning extortion (*de repetundis*); another concerning bribery (*de ambitu*); a third concerning crimes against the state (*de majestate*); a fourth about defrauding the public treasury (*de peculatu*); &c.

6. *Tristis, atrox*, &c. "A gloomy, a harsh one: the trial of questions of embezzlement." Literally, "inquiry into embezzlement." *Quæstio* is the technical term for each of the special jurisdictions mentioned in the previous note, and as these were assigned each to a particular prætor, for an entire year, they were hence termed *Quæstiones perpetuæ.*

7. *Squaloris.* Referring to the squalid and neglected garb of the accused, assumed by him for the purpose of exciting commiseration.

8. *Ex altera.* Referring to the side of the accusers.—*Plena catenarum atque indicum.* "Full of imprisonment and common informers."

9. *Cogendi judices inviti.* "The reluctant judges to be forced to sit." The *judices*, called also *assessores*, formed the council of the prætor. Compare *Orat. pro Arch.* ch. ii. note 4.

10. *Scriba damnatus*, &c. "A scribe condemned; the whole order in consequence alienated." A scribe had been condemned by Servius for embezzlement of the public money, and this lost him the votes of the whole order in his application for the consulship. As regards the scribes, compare *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. vii. note 16.

11. *Sullana gratificatio reprehensa.* "Sylla's bounty disapproved of," *i. e.* condemned or reversed. Several of Sylla's adherents had received from him gifts of money from the public treasury. This proceeding was now adjudged to be illegal; and regarded as *peculatus.*

12. *Prope pars.* "Almost an entire part." Schütz makes this the same as *magna pars;* and Lambinus, *dimidia pars.*

13. *Lites severe æstimatæ.* "Damages heavily assessed," *i. e.* a heavy amount of damages imposed. The allusion is to damages, or a fine awarded by the prætor, in favour of the state, against individuals who had been convicted of embezzlement. As the amount of damages rested with the prætor, Servius made many enemies by imposing heavy sums.

14. *Cui placet, obliviscitur.* "He to whom it affords pleasure, soon forgets it." The reference is to the accuser.—*Cui dolet, meminit.* "He to whom it occasions pain, long remembers the circumstance," *i. e.* he that is condemned.

15. *L. Murenæ provincia.* Transalpine Gaul, of which he had charge after his prætorship. — *Multas bonas gratias*, &c. "Brought with it many opportunities of conferring important favours, together with the highest reputation to himself."

16. *Dedit ei facultatem liberalitatis.* "Put it in his power to exercise indulgence," *i. e.* in excusing some from military service. The state of public affairs (*respublica*) allowed him this opportunity.

17. *Quæ municipiis*, &c. "Which are composed of the municipal town of Umbria."—*Ipsa autem in Gallia.* This is the very neat emendation of Ernesti, in place of the common reading *ipse autem in Gallia.* The province of Gaul is here opposed to Umbria, through which he was proceeding to the former.

18. *Ut nostri homines*, &c. "He enabled our countrymen by his equity and application to recover sums of money which were by this time despaired of," *i. e.* debts considered by this time as desperate. This result was brought about by mild and yet effectual remedies on the

part of Murena, so that he often made both parties, and not merely the creditor, his friends.

19. *Scilicet.* "It is true."—*Fateor.* "This I am willing to allow." —*Nonnullorum amicorum*, &c. The zeal of such friends cools because their patrons, by refusing a province, have put out of their hands the means of being serviceable to their followers and dependants.

XXI. 1. *Disparem fortunam.* "Unequal good fortune as regarded the affairs of a province." Murena held an important province. Sulpicius declined altogether going to his.

2. *Amisso jam tempore.* "The occasion having now gone by." Compare Manutius: "*Cum præterierit occasio.*"—*Re integra.* "While the matter was as yet undetermined," *i. e.* before the election took place.

3. *In iis rebus ipsis*, &c. Referred to immediately after. "*Primum accusandi terrores*," &c. The part Sulpicius here acted was no doubt a patriotic one, and showed "a spirited senator," but it was not that of "a politic candidate."

4. *Accusandi terrores et minæ*, &c. Referring to the language of Sulpicius, before the comitia had taken place, and while private canvassing was going on. He expressed, it seems, his firm determination to impeach any one of his competitors who should have recourse to bribery. Cicero says that this course showed the man of spirit, but it led the people to expect that he would fail in his election, because he acted as if he had lost all hope of success, and it made his friends, also, less zealous in his behalf.

5. *A spe adipiscendi.* "From any hope of obtaining office, on the part of the candidate," *i. e.* as cherished by the candidate. *Spe adipiscendi* does not refer to the people, but to the particular candidate himself, who seems by his desperate conduct and language, and by his threats of impeachment, to have lost all hope in his own case.

6. *In uno aut altero.* "In one or two," *i. e.* in the case of one or two candidates merely. — *Honorem desperasse.* "To have despaired of the office to which he aspires."

7. *Quid ergo?* &c. Cicero now proceeds to meet an argument that might be urged by Sulpicius in justification of his conduct; namely, that he was prompted to the course in question by a wish to retaliate upon his opponents, for the injury they had done him by their unfair proceeding.

8. *Aliud tempus est petendi*, &c. "There is one time for soliciting the consulship, another for prosecuting," *i. e.* for impeaching candidates who have been guilty of corruption.

9. *Magnis copiis.* "With great numbers attending him," *i. e.* numerously attended by friends, and clients. The candidates were accustomed to go down occasionally into the Forum and Campus Martius, to show themselves to the people and gain votes. They were accompanied at these times by large numbers of friends and dependants. To escort a candidate, in this way, was called *deducere*, and his escort *deductores*.

10. *Inquisitio candidati.* "A prying into the conduct of a fellow-candidate," *i. e.* to obtain matter for impeachment.—*Comparatio.* "A procuring."

11. *Declamatio potius, quam persalutatio.* "Declamatory accusations rather than assiduously paying court to the people," *i. e.* angry denun-

ciations against rival candidates, and accusations of bribery, when one ought to be going round and soliciting votes. — The old reading was *salutatio*, until changed by Gruter to the present one, which is much stronger, and is equivalent to *assidua salutatio.* — For a long time before the day of election, the candidates endeavoured to gain the favour of the people by every popular art, by going round to their houses, shaking hands with those whom they met, saluting every one by name, &c. This last was esteemed a very great compliment, and hence the candidate commonly had along with him a monitor or *nomenclator*, who whispered in his ears every body's name. In this way, *salutatio* and *persalutatio* become general terms for all kinds of canvassing, though literally, they only mean the latter.

12. *Et ex vultu candidatorum faciant*, &c. "And try to make out from the looks of the candidates, how much of hope and resources each may appear to possess." — *Animi*, literally, "of spirit," or "courage," for the approaching contest.

13. *Jacet.* "He's down." Used here in a familiar and colloquial sense. Compare chap. viii. note 4. — *Abjecit hastas.* "He has given up the day." Literally, "he has flung the spears aside." A figurative mode of expression, borrowed from the movements of those who confess themselves vanquished in battle, and, in consequence, throw away their arms. This is what the Greeks called ῥίψασπις. Compare Erasmus, *Chil.* ii. 3. 97. p. 415.

14. *Alium faciam.* "I'll make another my candidate."

15. *Debilitantur.* "Are dispirited." Literally, "are enfeebled in their efforts." — *Testatam.* "As manifest and known to all." The true reading here has been much disputed. Ernesti retains *testatam*, but suggests *desperatam.* Lambinus prefers *totam.* It is a case, however, where no emendation whatever appears necessary.

16. *Operam et gratiam.* "Their aid and influence."

XXII. 1. *Totum animum.* "His whole spirit."—*Non possit ponere.* "Cannot, when so situated, employ." The reference is still to a candidate who despairs of success, and is now thinking of an impeachment against his competitors.

2. *Non parva res*, &c. "No small matter in itself, but in reality the most important of all."

3. *Comparare ea.* "To get together those things," *i. e.* to supply yourself with the means of driving out, &c.

4. *Etiam per alienos.* "Even by mere strangers." From feelings of natural commiseration. This is explained immediately after.

5. *In capitis periculis.* "When their lives or privileges are in danger." *Periculum capitis* means not only "a capital trial," in our sense of the term, but also one involving the rights and privileges of a citizen, where, for example, the punishment in case of conviction would be exile, and not loss of life. We have been compelled, therefore, to give it a general translation here, embodying both meanings. Compare the remark of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v. caput): "*Causæ* capitis *porro, res* capitales, *in quibus caput hominis agitur, sunt, cum aliquis in judicium vocatus est publicum, quo condemnatus locum in senatu, aut alia sui ordinis commoda, civitatem, libertatemve amittit, solum vertere cogitur, aut vitam adeo perdit. Itaque quoties formula hujusmodi apud Latinos occurrit, semper de quibus hominibus, de quibusque causis sermo sit, videndum, et*

quibus ex legibus causa agatur, iisque quæ pœnæ propositæ fuerint. Nam ita demum, capitis quæ sit vis, intelligi poterit."

6. *Sic intellexi.* "Have perceived this."— *In petendo studium,* &c. "That in suing for office there is the most unremitting ardour: in defending another, the most anxious zeal; in accusing, the most active exertion," *i. e.* that suing for office requires the most unremitted ardour, &c.

7. *Sic statuo.* "I maintain this." The literal idea of *statuo,* when taken in this sense, is to set or place a thing in a particular position, with the determination of keeping it there as far as we may be able.

8. *Ut idem,* &c. "That the same individual can, with sufficient diligence, prepare the materials for an impeachment, and arrange an application for the consulship," *i. e.* at one and the same time. — *Adornare accusationem* literally means, to furnish or supply an accusation with what may be requisite for its success.

9. *Unum.* "The weight of merely one of these."

10. *Cum te de curriculo,* &c. "When you turned off from the career of a candidate." *Curriculum* properly denotes a chariot-course, or race, and is here figuratively applied to the contest for the consulship.

11. *In istam accusandi denuntiationem.* "Upon that announcement of your intention to accuse."—*In ista ratione.* "In that employment," *i. e.* in getting ready the materials for an impeachment.

XXIII. 1. *Legem ambitus,* &c. "You earnestly solicited a law against bribery; although there was one already for you," *i. e.* although there was a law of this nature already in existence, namely the Calpurnian.

2. *Erat enim,* &c. "For there was the Calpurnian, couched in terms of very great severity." Passed A. U. C. 686. Compare chap. xxxii., and consult *Legal Index.*

3. *Gestus est mos.* "Regard was paid." More literally, "obedience was paid," *i. e.* a new law was passed, as you entreated. This new law against bribery was the Tullian, proposed by Cicero himself, and which inflicted, in addition to the punishments ordained by the previous laws on this subject, the penalty of ten years exile. Consult *Legal Index.*

4. *Sed tota illa lex,* &c. "Now that whole law would perhaps have armed your accusation with new terrors, if you had had an accused person to deal with, who was actually guilty; as it was, however, it only served to oppose your application for the consulship," *i. e.* if you had had a real offender to impeach, and not Murena, the Tullian law might have done some good, in making your accusation the more formidable, and his punishment the more severe. But, having only an innocent man like Murena to threaten with the penalties of that law, you merely injured your cause with the people, who regarded your conduct toward my client as the offspring of a vindictive spirit.

5. *Gravior.* He means more severe than that already prescribed by the Calpurnian and other laws.—*In plebem.* Referring to those of the common people, who should suffer themselves to be corrupted by any candidate.

6. *Commoti animi tenuiorum.* "The minds of the lower orders were alarmed." The consequence was that he lost their votes.

7. *Exsilium in nostrum ordinem.* "The penalty of exile was entreated by you against our own order," *i. e.* against those senators who

should be guilty of bribery.—*Concessit.* The punishment of ten years exile was ordained.

8. *Sed non libenter*, &c. "But it was with reluctance that, in accordance with your suggestion, they decreed greater severity against the order at large." Literally, "they unwillingly established a harsher condition for our common fortune."—*Fortunæ communi* refers to the common condition of the order, and not, as some erroneously explain it, to the lower classes of the people. We must supply *omnium senatorum* after *fortunæ communi*, as Sylvius does.

9. *Morbi excusationi*, &c. "A punishment was annexed to every excuse of illness." The allusion here is extremely doubtful, and we have nothing to guide us but mere conjecture. Manutius thinks, that Servius got a law passed with the consent of the senate, ordering all persons to be present at the consular comitia, and directing that the excuse of illness should not be received, to account for a person's absence, but that he should be punished for non-attendance. Ernesti, however, gives a more reasonable interpretation. He thinks that the enactment in question was aimed at the judges, witnesses, and others, whose presence might be deemed of importance in a trial for bribery. These were punished if they stayed away, and the excuse of illness was not taken. The object of the law was to guard against any improper collusion, which might defeat the ends of justice.

10. *Voluntas offensa multorum*, &c. "The friendly feelings which many had entertained towards you, were hurt at this, since they must either exert themselves to attend court to the detriment of their health, or else, in addition to the evil of illness, the other advantages of life must be abandoned by them," *i. e.* the other advantages of life besides health.—From the language here employed by Cicero, Ernesti thinks, that the penalty to be inflicted on those, who gave the excuse of illness, was an exclusion from office and from the other rights and privileges of citizens.

11. *Hæc quis tulit?* "Who proposed the law enacting all this?" Literally, "who proposed these things?" The answer of course is Cicero himself.—From this passage it would appear, that all the enactments which have just been enumerated by Cicero, were contained in the provisions of the Tullian law.

12. *Is, qui*, &c. Cicero, as consul, proposed the law in question to the people, in accordance with the direction of the senate and the wishes of Sulpicius, although he himself by no means approved of the measure. Hence we have adopted Schütz's emendation, *qui minime probarat*, in place of the common reading *cui minime proderant.* Ernesti retains the common lection, but condemns it in his notes as incorrect. "*Vulgatum quidem verum non est. Ciceroni quidem ista non nocebant, aut nocere poterant.*"

13. *Illa, quæ mea summa voluntate*, &c. "Think you that the following, which a crowded senate rejected to my very great satisfaction, were only moderate impediments to your application for the consulship?" Literally, "opposed you in a moderate degree."

14. *Confusionem suffragiorum.* "A promiscuous intermingling of votes." The usual arrangement at the *comitia centuriata*, was for the centuries of the first class to give their votes in order, and then the centuries of the other classes, after them. This was favourable to bribery; for if a majority of votes had been purchased in any century, it could

easily be ascertained by the vote of that century, on the day of election, whether it had fulfilled its share of the bargain or not. In order to prevent this, Servius proposed to the senate, that all the votes of all the centuries should be considered as thrown into common, that is, that the old order of calling up the centuries in succession should not be observed, but that the individual citizens should be called upon for their votes, in no regular order whatever, but as it were confusedly. Hence the expression *confusionem suffragiorum.* Two advantages would result from this new arrangement. First, it could not be ascertained how a particular century voted, the different individuals composing it being scattered throughout the great body of voters; and in the next place, the vote of each citizen counted equally, which was not the case under the old system. Compare *Orat. pro L. M.* ch. i. note 17. — The senate rejected the proposition.

15. *Prorogationem legis Maniliæ.* "An extension of the Manilian law," *i. e.* which amounted, in fact, to an extension of the provisions of the Manilian law. By *prorogatio legis* is meant the extending of the provisions of a law, so as to make these same provisions apply in some other case, not originally contemplated by those who passed the law in the first instance. — Servius had not asked for an extension of this law, but Cicero, in order to excite some degree of odium against the latter, says that his proposition about blending the votes was equivalent to an extension of this statute. The Manilian law, here alluded to, was proposed by the same Manilius, who brought forward the other law of the same name, for investing Pompey with the charge of the Mithridatic war. The Manilian law, which we are at present considering, however, allowed freedmen to vote in all the tribes, whereas, previously to this, they voted in some one of the four city-tribes only. This law was very unpopular with the upper classes at Rome, since it made the freedmen equal with the free citizens, and the favour of the former would have to be sought as carefully at elections, by the haughty patricians, as that of the latter. (Ascon. *in Or. pro Cornel.*) Now the proposition made by Servius, about confounding together the votes, would have had the effect of making the votes of the lowest of the people equal to those of the highest, and in this sense Cicero says it would have been in fact an extension of the Manilian law, which made the votes of freedmen equal to those of freemen. This is merely said, however, to bring Sulpicius into odium with those who regarded the Manilian law itself in so unfavourable a light.

16. *Æquationem gratiæ,* &c. "An equalizing of influence, of rank, of suffrages." Such would have been the result, according to Cicero, of the proposition of Servius; amounting, in effect, to a perfect levelling system.

17. *Homines honesti.* "Men of honourable standing." — *Gratiosi.* "Of influence."

18. *Dignitatis et gratiæ.* "Of rank and influence." By *dignitas* is here meant the degree of consideration in which an individual would be held, who had exerted his influence in favour of any particular candidate, in case that individual were elected to office; and *gratia* denotes the influence so exerted. Compare Manutius, *ad loc.*

19. *Idem editicios judices,* &c. "You likewise wished, that the judges should be named by the parties." The *Judices,* or "judges," as the term is accustomed to be translated, were in fact a kind of

jury, though far more numerous. They formed a species of council over which the prætor presided, and were called his *assessores*. In ordinary cases, they were chosen by lot; but sometimes the law allowed the accuser and defendant to select them, in which case they were said *judices edere*, and the judges themselves were called *editicii*. Thus, by the Servilian law against extortion, the accuser was ordered to name 100 from the whole number of persons who were liable to be called upon as *judices* for that year, and from that 100 the defendant was to choose 50. By the Licinian law, *de sodalitiis*, the accuser was allowed to name the *judices* from the people at large. Whatever checks there might be on this strange practice, we should view it at the present day as one of the surest means of subverting all justice. — Servius wished, according to Cicero, this mode of selecting *judices* to be extended to trials of bribery, and the latter immediately after states the evil that would have resulted from such an arrangement.

20. *Ut odia occulta*, &c. "In order that the private animosities of citizens, which are now confined within the bounds of silent dislike, might break forth," &c. Cicero means, that, if an accuser were to be allowed to select the *judices*, it would be a very easy matter for persons to accuse and effect the condemnation of illustrious individuals, who chanced to have incurred their hatred.

21. *Adipiscendi obsæpiebant*. "They obstructed that of attaining to the consulship." After *adipiscendi* supply *consulatum*.

22. *Ex omnibus illa plaga maxima*. "That greatest of all wounds," *i. e.* that mortal blow. — *Hortensio*. Hortensius and Crassus were, as has already been remarked, engaged on the same side with Cicero in this case.

23. *Durior locus dicendi*. "A more difficult task in speaking."

24. *Ego in extremo*, &c. "I, in closing, should not have to handle merely some particular part of the case, but to state whatever might seem fit to me, respecting the affair at large," *i. e.* I, as the closing speaker, when Hortensius and Crassus have gone over the whole case with so much ability, should be compelled to follow in the same track, and not be allowed to discuss merely some particular head of this cause, although the latter arrangement would be easier for me, and certainly more agreeable to you.

25. *Itaque in iisdem*, &c. "Wherefore, I am now occupied with almost the same topics that they were; and, as far as lies in my power, I strive to facilitate the decision which you in your wisdom will make." Cicero means, that, being compelled to go over the same ground which had been travelled by his predecessors, he endeavours to do this in such a way, that it may serve as a brief recapitulation of the most important points in the cause, and thus render their task the less burdensome in coming to a decision. — Lambinus found *sapietati* in one of his MSS., which has been found also in another, and hence conjectured *satietati*, so that *occurro satietati*, &c., will mean, "I strive to diminish as much as I can the satiety you must necessarily feel," *i. e.* having to go over the same topics, I do so as briefly as possible. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this reading, although it is condemned very decidedly by Ernesti, and is followed by a very few. Ernesti, however, is wrong in the explanation which he gives of the whole passage, as may be seen from the remarks of Schütz. — The verb *occurro*, it must be remembered, is here used in the sense of *juvo*.

XXIV. 1. *Quam te securim*, &c. "What an axe do you think you laid," *i. e.* only think what an axe you laid.

2. *Deposita atque abjecta petitione.* "Your application for the consulship being given up, and cast aside as of no value," *i. e.* as quite hopeless. This retiring from the contest, on the part of Sulpicius, would cause Catiline's party to rally, and inspire them with the hope of success, and would alarm many lest that hope might be realised. These last would therefore throw the weight of their influence into the scale of Murena and Silanus.

3. *Inquirere.* "Collecting information."— *Observationes.* "Your investigations," *i. e.* your inquiries as to who had given and who received bribes. Compare Manutius: "*Quis largiretur, quis acciperet.*"

4. *Testificationes.* "The depositions that were made."— *Seductiones testium.* "The taking aside of witnesses," *i. e.* the being closeted with them, in order to arrange their testimony for the approaching trial.

5. *Secessionem subscriptorum.* "The consultations of the accusers." Literally, "the going apart of the accusers." The principal accuser was called *accusator*, and those who joined in the accusation *subscriptores*, from their subscribing their names to the impeachment.

6. *Indicibus atque sicariis.* "By informers and assassins." Grævius finds it difficult to understand who are meant by "informers" in this case. The answer is an easy one. They were false accusers and at the same time worthless persons, whom Catiline kept around him for the purpose of harassing and intimidating the good. Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v., and Cicero's language respecting Clodius (*pro Sext.* xliv.): "*Qui stipatus semper sicariis, septus armatis, munitus indicibus fuit.*"

7. *Collegæ mei.* Antonius. Compare Sallust (*B. C.* xxi.): "*Petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem,*" &c., and also (c. xxvi.): "*Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium,*" &c.

8. *Arretinorum et Fesulanorum.* Compare *Orat. II. in Cat.* ch. ix.— *Quam turbam*, &c. "Which crowd, most motley in its character, certain individuals, who had been sufferers by the calamities of Sylla's times, served to diversify," *i. e.* one might see scattered throughout this motley group, and serving to make the contrast more conspicuous, certain persons who had lost their all during the proscriptions of Sylla, and who were now, as desperate men, following a desperate leader.

9. *Perculsi.* The common text has *percussi*. But *perculsi* is the true reading. When speaking of the blow of calamity, where the mind and feelings are of course involved, the Roman writers use *percello;* when referring to mere bodily injury they employ *percutio*. Hence the distinction which Bentley (ad Horat. *Epod.* xi. 2.) lays down, that *percutere* is the weaker term, and denotes merely "to strike," whereas *percellere* means "to stun," "to prostrate" as it were.

10. *Domi conditus.* "Laid up for him at home." A forcible expression. The consulship appeared to Catiline to be as fully in his possession as any article of property under his own roof, and all that remained for him to do was to put forth his hand and take it when the occasion required.

11. *Accusatorem suum.* Because Sulpicius had declared his intention to bring to trial every one who should employ improper means in canvassing for the consulship.

XXV. 1. *Reipublicæ.* "Of the public welfare." — *Factus esset.* Supply *consul.*

2. *Percrebuissent.* "Had spread abroad." — *In concione domestica.* At the house of Læca. *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. iv.

3. *Eum, qui ipse miser esset.* Alluding to himself. The student will mark the use of the subjunctive here by Cicero, who is quoting the sentiments and language of Catiline. So *negasset* in the previous clause.

4. *Integrorum et fortunatorum.* "Of those who were uninjured and fortunate." Meaning the upper classes and the wealthy. *Integrorum* is here opposed to *saucios,* and *fortunatorum* to *miseros.*

5. *Consumpta replere.* "To repair their exhausted fortunes." — *Erepta.* "What had been wrested from them," *i. e.* by the oppression and power of the aristocracy. Compare Catiline's speech in Sallust (*B. C.* c. xx.): "*Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt,*" &c.

6. *Referente me.* "On my motion." More literally, "I referring the matter to them for their consideration." Cicero, as consul, laid this subject before the senate. Compare, as regards the affair to which he alludes, *Orat. I. in Cat.* chap. iii. note 4.

7. *Catilinam excitavi.* "I called upon Catiline." The literal force of *excitavi,* "I caused to rise," has reference to the custom that prevailed in the Roman senate of a member's always rising when he had any remark to make, and his remaining up until he had finished the observations he had to offer.

8. *Apertissimus.* "Very open in his declarations." — *Indicavit atque induit.* "Owned the charge and plunged into the very midst of the snare." *Indicare* differs from *confiteri* in denoting a voluntary and ready confession. Compare the remark of Donatus (ad Terent. *Adelph. Prol.* vs. 4.): "Indicat *is qui de se volens aliquid, et de aliis etiam, prodit: sed* confitetur, *qui de se tantum, et qui invitus.*"—With regard to *induit* in this passges, it may be remarked, that it is a metaphor taken from the deer plunging into the nets set for it. Catiline plunges into the very midst of the danger, boldly and fearlessly, although he sees it full before him. Compare *Orat. in Ver.* iv. 42.: "*Videte in quot se laqueos induerit, quorum ex nullo se unquam expediret.*"

9. *Duo corpora,* &c. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* chap. iii. note 4. — *Unum debile,* &c. The first of these denotes the senatorial party with Cicero at its head; the other the advocates for a change of affairs, who Catiline promises shall not be without a head.

10. *Congemuit senatus frequens.* "A crowded senate broke forth into one groan of indignation." The student will note the force of the compound verb.—*Pro rei indignitate.* "Considering the indignity of the insult."

11. *Tum erupit e senatu,* &c. What the senate decreed against Catiline, on this occasion, does not appear, but most probably, from the words here employed, and from his going to the Campus Martius as a candidate, no measures of any importance were taken against him. Dio Cassius, indeed, says that he did not venture to persist in his application for the consulship, being deterred by the law which had been passed against bribery, but Sallust (c. xxvi.) merely remarks that his application proved unsuccessful. Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* c. xiv.) states expressly, that he stood for the consular office on this occasion.

12. *Paucis diebus ante.* Sallust states that Catiline uttered the threat here alluded to on the occasion of Cicero's first oration against him. Cicero's authority, however, is of greater weight, and he gives the same account in his *Orator,* xxxvii. 129. Florus and Valerius Maximus agree with Sallust.

13. *Sed ruina.* "But by ruins." Alluding to the custom of stopping the progress of a fire, when ordinary means fail, by demolishing the buildings in the vicinity.

XXVI. 1. *Et cum illa lata,* &c. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* chap. v. note 10. — *Non quæ me tegeret.* "Not that it might protect me." When Cicero says that Catiline aimed only at the head and neck of his victims, he must be understood as alluding figuratively to his cruel conduct during the proscription of Sylla, when the heads of their political antagonists were brought in by the assassins of his party. Consult *Historical Index,* s. v. *Catilina.*

2. *Remissiorem.* "Relaxing your ardour."

3. *Magna est autem,* &c. This appears at first view harsh Latinity, since two epithets are seldom, if ever, employed, unless one of them come in as a participle. *Magna,* however, is not in fact an epithet of *inclinatio,* but a predicate of *repentina inclinatio.* "Of great importance is a sudden turn of popular feeling," &c. Compare Ernesti *ad loc.*

4. *Ad virum bonum.* Such as Murena is. — *Multis aliis adjumentis,* &c. These are enumerated immediately after.

5. *Modestissima.* Characterised by the utmost self-control. —*Legatione.* His lieutenancy under Lucullus.

6. *Prætura probata in jure,* &c. The prætorship of Murena is here considered in its three different aspects, — the dispensing of justice, the exhibiting of public shows, and the province that followed. Render, "approved of as regarded the discharge of its judicial duties, acceptable for the public shows connected with it, supplied with every thing requisite as regarded the province that succeeded." By *ornare provinciam* is meant, to supply a province with every thing that may tend to give it efficiency in its several operations, and consideration in the eyes of those who come under its jurisdiction. Compare the explanation of Facciolati: "Ornare provinciam *est, ex Senatus consulto decernere certum militum numerum, et iis stipendium, item viaticum in legatos et comitatum, terminare ipsius provinciæ fines, jurisdictionis formam modumque præscribere, et hujusmodi alia, quæ honori et ornatui erant tum provinciæ ipsi, tum magistratui eam regenti.*" Consult also Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Ornare.*

7. *Perpurgatus.* "Fully cleared up."—*Ab iis, qui ante,* &c. Referring to Hortensius and Crassus.

8. *Postumius* was associated in the accusation with Sulpicius and Cato. Consult *Introductory Remarks.*

9. *De divisorum indiciis,* &c. "Concerning the disclosures made respecting the distributors of bribes, and the sums of money that had been seized in their hands." The *divisores* were persons employed by the candidates to distribute bribes. This, though illegal, was often done: and was practised, on one occasion, against Cæsar, with the approbation of Cato himself.

10. *Ser. Sulpicio.* Son of Sulpicius, the accuser, and one of the *subscriptores.* Compare Manutius: "*Quis non intelligit, Ser. Sulpicii filium*

significari? qui et cum Postumio et Catone, patri, Murenam accusanti subscripserat."

11. *De equitum centuriis.* These are centuries that composed the whole body of the *equites.* They were eighteen in number, and voted in the first class. If unanimous in their agreement with that class, the election was decided. *Orat. pro L. M.* chap. i. note 17. Hence the importance attached to their vote by the respective candidates. L. Natta, Murena's step-son, had invited them to a banquet, and this was alleged to have been done with the view of securing their vote.

XXVII. 1. *A studiis ambitionis.* "From the pursuits of ambition." — *Secuti sunt.* "Have courted."

2. *Neque hujus eventum fortunamque.* "Nor the fate and condition of my friend," *i. e.* the hard lot which is his.

3. *Unum adscendere gradum,* &c. The father, the grandfather, and others of the progenitors of Murena, had held the office of prætor; but the consulship had not hitherto been attained to by any of the family.

4. *Ea, quæ relicta,* &c. The honourable name left him by his fathers. —*Hæc, quæ ab ipso,* &c. The honours conferred for previous services rendered to his country by Murena himself, exclusive of the consulship.

5. *Propter studium novæ laudis.* "On account of his eager puruits of a new honour." Literally, "of a new source of praise." The reference is to the consulship. Compare note 3.—*Veteris fortunæ.* The honours he had enjoyed previous to the consulship, and which have already been alluded to, in the words "*hæc, quæ ab ipso parta sunt.*"

6. *Odio inimicitiarum.* "Through the hatred engendered by private animosity." — *Qui studio accusandi,* &c. Cicero means, that Murena's old friends have, through their ill-timed and misdirected zeal for impeaching, been induced to become his accusers.

7. *Non injuria L. Murenæ,* &c. "Not by any personal injury received from Licinius Murena, but by a contest with him for preferment."

8. *Paternus amicus.* "An hereditary friend," *i. e.* whose father and Murena's had been friends. The sons inherited the friendship of their parents. — Some commentators make Postumius himself a friend of Murena's father, and translate *paternus amicus* "his father's friend." This, however, cannot be correct, since Postumius was younger than Murena the son.

9. *Qui necessitudinis,* &c. "Who has assigned, in fact, very many grounds for intimate friendship between them, has been unable to mention a single one for enmity," *i. e.* in all that he has said on this part of the subject, Postumius has only shown the more clearly that he and Murena were intimate friends, and consequently that he ought not to be here as his accuser.

10. *Ser. Sulpicius.* Son of Sulpicius the accuser. — *Sodalis filii.* "The companion of his son," *i. e.* of Murena's son. The son of Sulpicius and the son of Murena the accused had been companions.

11. *Cujus ingenio,* &c. "By the exercise of whose talents all his father's friends ought only to be rendered the more safe." The reference is to the son of Sulpicius, who ought not, according to Cicero, to be here accusing and endangering the safety of an old friend of his father's, but

ought rather to exert himself in behalf of that friend. The reproof is extremely delicate. The son of Sulpicius, when he finds his father at variance with an old friend, ought to do his best in order to reconcile them to each other.

12. *Alienus.* "Estranged in feeling."—*Multis etiam alienissimis.* "To many who were even the merest strangers to him," *i. e.* of whom he knew nothing at all. — *Exitio.* "Detrimental." The heathen doctrine of doing our utmost to retaliate upon and injure our private foes, needs, of course, no comment here.

13. *Qui, nescio quo pacto,* &c. "Who, I know not how it is, seems to me, being himself a candidate for the prætorship, to run full against a competitor for the consular office, just as if a vaulter on horseback should leap into a four-horse chariot."—Postumius, himself a candidate for the prætorship, desists from his own canvass, turns off, and accuses one of the competitors for the consulship. This is strange enough. Why did he not rather accuse some one of his own rival candidates, and not interfere in a case where his presence was unnecessary? This is the same, remarks Cicero, as if a vaulter in the sports of the circus, who is accustomed to leap from the back of one horse to that of another, should on a sudden vault from a steed into the seat of a chariot. What has such a vaulter to do with a chariot? And what has Postumius to do with the present impeachment?—With *desultorius* supply *eques.* The *desultorius,* or, as he was more commonly called, *desultor,* leaped from one horse to another as they were both proceeding at full speed.

14. *Cujus competitores,* &c. "If his competitors have been guilty of no act of delinquency, he yielded to their superior merit, when he desisted from being a candidate; but if, on the contrary, some one of them has been guilty of bribery, then it seems some friend is to be sought to prosecute another's injuries rather than his own." All this is said to show that Postumius has nothing whatever to do with the present impeachment, and ought to be away. If he yielded to his own opponents for the prætorship, because their claims to personal merit were superior to his, for the very same reason he ought not to be here accusing Murena, since the merit of the latter is equal to that of Sulpicius. If, on the other hand, he abandoned his own canvass because some one of his competitors had been guilty of bribery, and he left it to some one of his friends to prosecute this offence, when he ought to have done it in person, in this case also, he should not have taken part in the present impeachment, because the man who cannot advocate his own rights, is a very unfit peron to appear as an advocate for those of another.

XXVIII. 1. *Venio nunc.* The replies to Postumius and the younger Sulpicius do not appear in the MSS., and their absence is indicated, in our text, by the asterisks after *persequatur.* It has been thought by some, that they were suppressed by Cicero himself, in the copies of the speech prepared by him and published. The younger Pliny refers to this oration with several others, in one of his letters (i. 20.), and remarks: "*Ex his apparet illum permulta dixisse; cum ederet, omisisse.*" — Cicero wrote down his speeches after delivery, and does not appear to have prepared them in writing beforehand. Compare what he himself says on this subject (*Tusc.* iv. 25.): "*Jam, rebus transactis et præteritis, orationes scribimus.*"

2. *Quod est firmamentum,* &c. "And this forms the main support

and strength of the whole accusation," *i. e.* Cato's weight of character makes Sulpicius and his friends regard this as the strong-hold of their case.

3. *Qui tamen*, &c. "Who, notwithstanding, is so powerful and vehement an accuser, that I fear his weight of character far more than his accusation." The peculiar force of *ita* is lost, however, in a literal translation. A paraphrase will convey Cicero's meaning more clearly: "Who, notwithstanding the heavy and vehement attacks which he has made against Murena on the present occasion, appears to me far more formidable for his general weight of character, than for any thing he has alleged against my client."

4. *In quo accusatore.* "In the case of this accuser," *i. e.* as far as this accuser is concerned. — *Illius.* Referring to Cato. — *Expectatio tribunatus.* Cato was then tribune elect.

5. *P. Africanus.* The younger of this name.

6. *In ipso imperio*, &c. The pronoun *ipso* is not expressed in some MSS., and early editions. It appears, however, in the best modern editions, and imparts force to the clause.

7. *L. Cottæ profuisse.* This prosecution is also referred to in the oration for Fonteius, c. xvi., and in that against Cæcilius, c. xxi. Some farther details are given by Valerius Maximus, viii. 1. 11. but the same reason is assigned for his acquittal, although, to quote the words of the last mentioned writer, "*gravissimis criminibus erat confossa.*"

8. *Cadere in judicio.* Compare chap. iv. note 13.—*Abjectus.* "Borne down." *Abjectus* is here equivalent to *dejectus* or *prostratus.* Compare Cic. *in Verr.* vii. 54.: "*Ad tribunal ante pedes tuos, ad terram virgis et verberibus abjectum;*" and Senec. *de Benef.* v. 3.: "*Luctato rter abjectus perdidit palmam.*"

9. *Ser. Galbam.* Servius Sulpicius Galba was accused by L. Libo, a tribune of the commons, of having slain a large number of the Lusitani, in violation of his own plighted word. He was an ancestor of the emperor Galba. Valerius Maximus (viii. 6. 2.) says, that, having assembled the inhabitants of three cities of Lusitania, under the pretext of conferring with them in relation to their common interest, he disarmed them, and seized nine thousand of the flower of their youth, whom he partly slew and partly sold as slaves. Suetonius (*Vit. Galb.* iii.) says, that he massacred thirty thousand, and that this was the cause of the war of Viriathus. Compare Oros. iv. 21. Libo applied for a bill, the object of which was to bring Galba to trial before the people, although he was not expressly named in it. Cato, then at a very advanced age, supported the passing of the bill, and a short time before his death pronounced a long oration against Galba, which he inserted in his work entitled *Origines.* (Cic. *Brut.* xxiii.)

10. *Eripuit.* Cicero (*Brutus*, c. xxiii.) ascribes the acquittal of Galba to the commiseration felt by the people at the sight of the young children of Galba, who were brought into public for this purpose; and he quotes Cato to the same effect: "*Isque se tum eripuit flamma, propter pueros misericordia populi commota, sicut idem scriptum reliquit Cato.*" Compare also *de Orat.* i. 53., where some more details are given of this transaction.

11. *Multum in posterum prospicientes.* "Looking far into the future for the good of a coming age."

12. *Nolo accusator*, &c. "I do not like an accuser to bring with him

to trial any degree of power, nor any greater force than ordinary, nor any superior weight of character, nor too extensive influence."

13. *Valeant hæc omnia*, &c. "Let all these things have their full force for the safety of the innocent," &c., *i. e.* when exerted for the safety, &c.

14. *Nisi prius de causa judicasset.* "If he had not previously judged this cause in his own mind."

15. *Judicium accusatoris*, &c. "That the judgment passed by an accuser upon the accused ought to operate as a judicial precedent against him." By *præjudicium* is meant a judgment or sentence which affords a precedent to be afterwards followed. Compare Asconius (*in Or. contra Cæcil.* c. iv.): "*Præjudicium dicitur res, quæ cum statuta fuerit, affert judicaturis exemplum, quod sequantur.*"

XXIX. 1. *Tuum consilium.* "Your determination in the present case," *i. e.* to turn accuser against Murena. — *Propter singulare animi*, &c. "On account of the high opinion I entertain," &c.

2. *Conformare et leviter emendare.* "To mould and slightly amend it." Cicero means to say, that although his high respect for Cato prevents him from blaming his conduct, still he has a little reproach to make against him.

3. *Non multa peccas*, &c. "You do not often go wrong, says the aged preceptor in the play to a very valiant hero; but when you do, I am able to set you right." These words are thought to have been quoted by Cicero from some well-known play of Ennius or Attius, where Phœnix, the governor of Achilles is conversing with and imparting instruction to his pupil.— *Ille senior magister.* We have endeavoured to express the peculiar force of the pronoun *ille* in this clause. Its literal meaning is "that well-known," *i. e.* he that is known to all from the play that we have seen so often represented.

4. *Ut corrigendus*, &c. "As to appear to require to be made straight, rather than to be only slightly bent," *i. e.* as to stand in need of correction rather than gentle admonition. *Corrigere* is to straighten what is quite crooked; *inflectere* to bend back to a straight form what is only a little curved, and what therefore requires only a slight degree of inflection to restore it to its previous state.

5. *Accessit istuc.* The common text has *accessit his tot*, where *tot* cannot possibly be correct. One of the MSS. has *istuc*, which Ernesti commends in one of his notes. The peculiar force of *istuc*, as applying to the person who is addressed, makes the correction a very plausible one.

6. *Nec mitis*, &c. "Nor yet at the same time mild in its character, but as appears to me a little too harsh, and more intractable than either truth or nature allow."

7. *Cum*, &c. "In the presence of an illiterate multitude." Scheller has doubts respecting the correctness of this use of *cum*, and suggests *coram* in place of it. In his *Latin Lexicon*, however, he gives this as one of the meanings of *cum*, and quotes the following passage from Cæsar (*B. G.* vii. 47.): "*Legionisque decimæ, quacum erat concionatus.*" All the MSS. of Cæsar confirm this reading, but the editors have thought fit to substitute for *quacum erat concionatus* the lection *qua tum erat comitatus.* The author of the Greek translation of Cæsar sanctions, however, the common reading, for he has πρὸς ὃ αὐτὸς ἐδημηγορήκει.

8. *Imperita multitudine.* It is curious to observe how Cicero sometimes adapts his language to circumstances, and to the exigences of the case in hand. The very same individuals, whom he here praises for their intelligence, he actually calls an illiterate class of persons, on another occasion, when he was no longer pleading before them. Thus, in the fourth book of the treatise *de Finibus*, ch. xxvii., where he is supposed to be conversing in private with Cato, about the merits of the Stoic philosophy, Cicero remarks: "*Non ego tecum jam ita loquar, ut iisdem his de rebus, quum L. Murenam, te accusante, defenderem.* Apud imperitos *tum illa dicta sunt; aliquid etiam coronæ datum: nunc agendum est subtilius.*" On another occasion again (*Brut.* ch. 50.), he even makes a precept out of this docility of the imagination, and lays it down as a rule, that the first duty of an orator is to please the people.

9. *Studiis humanitatis.* Compare *Orat. pro Arch.* chap. i. note 16.

10. *Hæc bona divina et egregia.* "That these divine and admirable qualities." *Bona*, literally "goods," *i. e.* excellences. — *Quæ nonnunquam requirimus.* The verb *requiro* is here taken in the sense of *reprehendo.* Compare Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v., and Schütz, *Ind. Lat.*

11. *Fuit enim quidam*, &c. The art with which Cicero manages to attack, not the character and authority, but the doctrines of Cato, has often been a theme of remark. He is highly praised for it by Quintilian (xi. 1. 68.). In the treatise *de Finibus* (iv. 27.), already alluded to in a previous note, Cicero acknowledges that he had been too severe in his remarks on the Stoic sect.

12. *Zeno.* Consult *Historical Index.* — *Cujus inventorum æmuli.* "The followers of whose discoveries." *Æmulus* is here, not a rival, but a zealous follower. Compare Liv. 1. 28.: *Quem juvenum æmulantium studia cœtus habuisse constat,*" where H. Homer (*Gloss. Liv.*) explains *æmulantium* by *sequentium.* So Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 81.): "*Musonius Rufus, Equestris ordinis, studium philosophiæ et placita Stoicorum æmulatus.*"

13. *Stoici.* The name is derived from the *porch* (στοὰ) where Zeno was accustomed to lecture to his pupils. Hence "Stoics" are literally, according to the import of the term, "the men of the porch," οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς.

14. *Sententiæ et præcepta.* "The tenets and maxims."

15. *Sapientem*, &c. Cicero, in order to throw ridicule on the Stoic doctrines, advances here some of the extravagant assertions which the Stoics were accustomed to make respecting their wise man. For example, that he feels neither pain nor pleasure; that he exercises no pity; that he is free from all faults; that he is divine; that he can neither deceive nor be deceived; that he does all things well; that he alone is noble, great, ingenuous; that he alone is free; that he is a prophet, a priest, and a king; and the like. — In order to conceive, however, the true notion of the Stoics concerning their wise man, it must be clearly understood, that they did not suppose such a man actually to exist, but that they framed, in their imagination, an image of perfection, towards which every man should constantly aspire. All the extravagant things which are to be met with in their writings on this subject, may be referred to their general principle of the entire sufficiency of virtue to happiness, and the consequent indifference of all external circumstances.

16. *Gratia nunquam moveri.* Because all external things are matters

of indifference to him. — *Nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere.* Because every fault, great or small, is a deviation from the strict and unerring rule of right reason, which must ever be most implicitly obeyed. — *Neminem misericordem esse.* To show pity is to let feeling triumph over reason, and external things have sway.

17. *Solos sapientes,* &c. "That the wise, even though they be most distorted in appearance, are alone beautiful; rich, though in the most abject poverty; though in the lowest degree of slavery, kings." All this follows from the Stoical premises of the indifference of external things. True beauty, riches, and royalty are the beauty, riches, and royalty of reason and virtue. — Horace humorously ridicules these paradoxical vauntings. (*Sat.* i. 3. *sub fin.* — *Ep.* i. 1. 106.)

18. *Si servitutem serviant.* The accusative is often added to an intransitive verb, like an adverb, especially if the noun be of the same root. The object of this construction is to impart force to the passage. Thus we have, besides the instance in the text, such forms as *vivere vitam, somniare somnium, pugnare pugnam.* (Comp. Ter. *Adelph.* v. 4. 45.) In English, the construction is also found, "to live a life," "to dream a dream," &c. So in Greek, *βιῶναι βιόν*, &c. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 262. — Buttmann, *G. G.* § 131. 3.)

19. *Omnia peccata esse paria.* According to the Stoic doctrine, every virtue being a conformity to nature, and every vice a deviation from it, all virtues and vices are equal.

20. *Nihil opinari.* "Assents to nothing without full conviction." Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "*Opinari*, h. e. *rei incertæ assentiri.*" — *Sententiam mutare nunquam.* This follows of course, from his never making up his mind about any thing until the matter has become perfectly clear to him.

XXX. 1. *Auctoribus eruditissimis.* The various writers on the Stoic doctrines, such as Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, &c. — *Arripuit.* "Has eagerly caught at." — *Sed ita vivendi.* "But of living in accordance with them." *Ita*, literally, "in such a way" as they prescribe.

2. *Petunt aliquid publicani?* "Do the farmers of the revenue petition for some abatement?" The allusion is to cases where the farmers of the public revenues have suffered in their contracts by reason of war, or any other calamity, and have requested some abatement in the terms of the agreement. These applications were made to the senate. It seems that such requests were very often negatived by that body, and that Cato's influence was very instrumental in producing such a result. The evil policy of this opposition to the wishes of the equestrian order, who were the farmers of the revenue, soon displayed itself. The *equites* applied to Cæsar, when in power, for relief from a disadvantageous contract respecting the Asiatic revenues, and that artful leader, by granting them the favour which they could not obtain from the regular authority, turned in effect the resources of the republic against itself, the disunion of the senate and *equites* only serving to strengthen the more his usurped power, and pave the way for the downfall of freedom. Compare *de Off.* iii. 22.: "*Ego etiam cum Catone meo sæpe dissensi. Nimis mihi præfractum videbatur ærarium vectigaliaque defendere, omnia publicanis negare, multa sociis.*" Consult also Heusinger, *ad loc.*

3. *Cave quidquam,* &c. "Take care lest favour have any weight

with you." A wise man feels no favour or bias towards any individual.

4. *Dixisti quidpiam?* &c. "Have you said any thing? It is fixed and determined:" *i. e.* have you once said a thing, &c. A wise man does all things well, and whatever he once says cannot be improved.

5. *Non re ductus,* &c. "But you were influenced in what you said, not by a careful consideration of the case, but only by a casual opinion." This is supposed to be addressed to the Stoic (represented here by Cato), in order to induce him to change his mind. The answer is, *sapiens nihil opinatur,* "A wise man never acts from mere opinion;" *i. e.* never assents to any thing uncertain in its nature, but is always guided by the unerring rules of reason. Opinions are liable to error, because they are based on what is merely speculative; the deductions of right reason are true and unalterable.

6. *Errasti aliqua in re,* &c. "You were wrong in something or other: he conceives himself calumniated by the remark," *i. e.* does any one tell the Stoic that he has gone wrong in any particular matter? the latter is indignant at a charge which strikes at the very root of his peculiar doctrines, and he conceives himself calumniated and called a false Stoic. For a wise man can never go wrong.

7. *Hac ex disciplina,* &c. "From this system of philosophy we obtain the following results: I declared in the senate, says Cato, that I would impeach some consular candidate. O but you said this, Cato, when you were angry. A wise man, replies he, is never angry." Cicero's object is to lessen the weight of Cato's charge against Murena, by showing that the former was induced to come forward as an accuser, not so much on account of any known criminality in Murena, as in obedience to the peculiar doctrines of his sect. Cato accuses him, not because he had done any thing contrary to law, but because the Stoic had declared, in the senate, that he was resolved to impeach some consular candidate. Any other person, not infected with the obstinacy of Stoicism, would, according to Cicero's meaning, have made no scruple of owning, that he was angry when he said this, and therefore now chose to drop his design. But such an acknowledgment was by no means to be expected from Cato, who would thereby seem to deviate from the gravity and firmness of a wise man. Murena, therefore, must be impeached, because the Stoics thought anger inconsistent with the character of a wise man, and Cato claimed that character as belonging to himself.

8. *Dixi.* On account of this form, in the present clause, Manutius conjectures *iratus dixi,* in the succeeding one. But the emendation impairs the force and spirit of the passage.

9. *At temporis causa.* "Well then, you said it perhaps on account of the particular conjecture," *i. e.* this threat was uttered by you, perhaps, under particular circumstances; you were very probably engaged at the time in speaking for some friend.—The answer to this is in full accordance with the Stoic tenets: a wise man never deceives, never changes his opinion, &c.

10. *Nostri autem illi.* "Those masters of ours, however." Cicero here proceeds to show how directly opposite to the doctrines of the Stoics were the milder systems of philosophy from which he had culled his principles and rules of conduct. And he cites, in particular, Plato the founder of the Academic, and Aristotle the great head of the Peripatetic sect.

11. *Valere aliquando.* "*Does* sometimes exercise an influence." — *Viri boni esse misereri.* "That it *is* the part of a good man to show compassion." The substantive verb is emphatic in this and the succeeding clauses.

12. *Hominem constantem.* "One that is firm." The idea intended to be conveyed by the clause is, that firmness of purpose is not inconsistent with clemency.

13. *Sæpe aliquid opinari,* &c. "Oft-times hazards a mere opinion respecting that about which he knows nothing for certain," *i. e.* frequently contents himself with opinions, where he finds it impossible to arrive at absolute certainty.

14. *Omnes virtutes,* &c. "That all virtues are regulated by a certain degree of moderation," *i. e.* that moderation is an essential feature in the character of every virtue; meaning by moderation that barrier, beyond which we approximate to what is excessive and immoderate. This is nothing more than the well-known maxim of Horace, "*Est modus in rebus,*" &c. There is a mean in all things.

XXXI. 1. *Hos ad magistros,* &c. "If with those natural advantages that you possess, any lucky fortune had brought you to instructors such as these."

2. *Paullo ad lenitatem propensior.* He would have had, according to Cicero, less of the austere and rigid character with which the Stoic doctrines had unfortunately invested him.

3. *Pudentissimum hominem.* The epithet *pudentissimum,* besides the idea of modesty, carries with it here the general one also of moral worth.

4. *In ejusdem anni custodia.* "Under the care of the same year." Cato would be tribune, and Murena consul, during the ensuing year. — *Aliquo reipublicæ vinculo.* "By some political tie."

5. *Seposuisses.* "Would have put aside," *i. e.* would have suppressed. Instead of *aut seposuisses, aut,* Lambinus gives, on the conjecture of Hotomannus, *aut si potuisses.*

6. *Præceptorum.* The Stoics. — *Jam usus flectet,* &c. "Experience will one day bend, time soften down, age bring to milder views."

7. *Paullo longius, quam natura vellet.* It was this that made so many of the Stoics philosophers in words, rather than in actions. And hence their adversaries found so much room for satirical ridicule and invective against Stoical pride and hypocrisy. Nor is it surprising that this should have happened. For a system of philosophy, which attempts to raise men above their nature, must commonly produce either wretched fanatics or artful hypocrites. (Enfield, *Hist. Phil.* vol. i. p. 322.)

8. *Ut, cum ad ultimum,* &c. "So that, although we should strive in thought to reach the farthest limit, we ought nevertheless to stop where it behoves us so to do," *i. e.* our desires should prompt us indeed to aim at the highest perfection, yet we should ever stop at the point marked out by reason. — The common text has *oporteret,* for which we have substituted *oportet,* with Gruter and Grævius.

9. *Nihil ignoveris.* "Pardon nothing, you say." Cicero in this, and what follows, quotes several of the Stoic maxims, and subjoins his own replies. In other words, he proceeds to contrast the doctrines of Stoicism with those which he himself has pursued. The student will mark the use of the subjunctive as a softened form for the imperative.

10. *Immo aliquid, non omnia.* "Nay, indeed, pardon some things, not all."

11. *Immo resistito*, &c. "Nay, indeed, resist favour, when duty and honour shall demand this," *i. e.* not so: resist it when it comes in contact with what duty and honour prescribe; but allow it to have some influence on other occasions.

12. *Etiam; in dissolvenda severitate*, &c. "Certainly; when, for example, wholesome severity would be relaxed; but still there is some praise attendant on the exercise of humane feelings;" *i. e.* it is certainly right, not to yield to compassion, in those cases, where, by so yielding we may relax from a wholesome severity; but still, on many occasions, humanity is praiseworthy.

13. *In sententia permaneto*, &c. "Adhere to your opinion. True; unless some better one shall triumph over it," *i. e.* some more correct one, founded on a clearer view of the subject.

14. *Scipio.* The younger Africanus. Compare Cic. *de Off.* ii. 22. and Heusinger, *ad loc.* — *Eruditissimum hominem.* The Stoic Panætius. He was not, however, a strict follower of all the doctrines of Zeno, but seems rather to have borrowed opinions and sentiments with much freedom from philosophers of every sect. (Enfield, *Hist. Phil.* vol. i. p. 360.)

15. *Cujus oratione et præceptis.* "By whose converse and precepts." Literally, "by whose language," &c.

16. *Eadem.* Not exactly, however. Consult note 14. — *C. Lælio.* C. Lælius, surnamed *Sapiens*, or "the wise," the well-known friend of the younger Scipio, as his father had been the friend of the elder. He was also a hearer of the Stoic Panætius.

17. *L. Philo.* The common text has *L. Philippo*, but as L. Philippus was not remarkable for any great advances in learning and philosophy, Manutius conjectured *L. Philo*, which has been adopted by Beck, Matthiæ, and Schütz. The reference will then be to L. Furius Philus. Compare *Agr.* ii. 24. — *de Orat.* ii. 37.

18. *C. Gallo.* C. Sulpicius Gallus. Consult *Historical Index.*

19. *Catone.* Cato the Censor. — *Commodiorem.* "Milder." Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Commodus, *mitis, qui nec facile in rebus levibus, nec nimis irascitur.*" It has also the kindred meanings of "affable," "polite," "obliging," &c., and appears analogous to the Greek *εὐάρμοστος.*

20. *Comiorem.* "More unassuming in manners." Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 4. — Corn. Nep. *Vit. Att.* iii. — Grævius, Beck, and others give *communiorem* from some MSS.

21. *Moderatiorem ad omnem rationem humanitatis.* "More within due bounds as regarded all the social relations of life."

22. *Te habere dixisti.* "You told us that you had in him." — *Est illud quidem*, &c. "It is true, indeed, that this example of his has been set up for you at your own home." — *Naturæ similitudo illius.* "The resemblance of his natural endowments."

23. *Comitatem et facilitatem.* "Unassuming and affable deportment." The presence of *comitatem* here, as applied to Cato, is an argument in favour of the reading *comiorem* already referred to.

24. *Ista.* "Those qualities of yours." — *Condita jucundius.* "More agreeably seasoned," *i. e.* more amiable.

XXXII. 1. *Tolle mihi*, &c. "Away for me with the name of Cato from this cause: remove and pass by an authority, which either ought to have no weight at all in trials, or else ought to tend to the safety of individuals: join issue with me upon the charges themselves." The first part of this sentence is addressed to each individual who hears him, especially among the *judices*. The last clause, from *congredere*, is addressed to Cato. — *Congredere*, literally, "come to action with," "enter the lists with."

2. *Quid accusas?* "What do you accuse him of." — *Quid arguis?* "What do you seek to prove?" — *Non defendo.* "I have no defence to urge for such a crime," *i. e.* if your charge be true, I have nothing to say. But is it true? can you prove it so?

3. *Me reprehendis*, &c. "You blame me, for seeking to defend the very same offence which I have punished by a law," *i. e.* you blame me for defending bribery, when I myself proposed a law for the punishment of bribery.

4. *Punivi ambitum*, &c. Cicero here draws the proper distinction. My law was for the punishment of the guilty, not of the innocent. Murena is an innocent man: therefore the law can never affect him.

5. *Ambitum vero ipsum*, &c. Cicero means, that to such a degree does he disapprove of bribery, as to be willing to turn an accuser of it, along with Cato himself.

6. *Si mercede*, &c. "That if persons corrupted by a bribe should go to meet any candidate for office; if persons hired for that purpose should attend upon them; if at gladiatorial shows places had been assigned to the people gratuitously, and arranged by tribes; and also if entertainments had been given to the populace; all this seemed done in violation of the Calpurnian law."

7. *Corrupti.* Some of the Oxford MSS., and a few editions, have *conducti.* Both *corrupti* and *conducti* are probably mere glosses.

8. *Locus tributim.* Certain places might be assigned to certain individuals at the games, free of any charge. But this could not be done to the people by tribes, without incurring the suspicion of an attempt to bribe. (Grævius, *ad loc.*)

9. *Si facta sint.* "Only in case they have been committed." — *Decernit, quod nihil opus*, &c. "They decree what is not needed, when they comply with the wishes of the candidates themselves." The candidates in this very election asked for this senatus-consultum. Of course the senate could not be said to have decreed against them, when it only decreed in order to please them.

10. *Nam factum sit*, &c. "For the great question is, whether the act was committed or not. If it has been committed, then no one can doubt but that it is in violation of the law." Cicero insists, of course, that Murena has committed no act of bribery in the present case.

11. *Atqui id decernitur.* "Now, the decree in question is passed." We have given *atqui*, the conjecture of Pantagathus, as cited by Ursinus. The ordinary reading is *atque*.

XXXIII. 1. *Multi obviam*, &c. Cicero supposes, that Cato here takes him at his word, and proceeds to show that Murena has employed bribery. The first charge is, that many persons went out to meet him, when he returned from his province to stand for the consulship. The reply is, that this is a very customary thing.

2. *Eccui autem*, &c. " For to whom do not persons go out, on his returning from a province?"

3. *Quæ fuit*, &c. A second objection supposed to be made. " Yes, but who were that large concourse?"

4. *Istam rationem reddere.* " To give you an explanation of that." — *Quod nisi esset factum.* " Indeed, had this not been done," *i. e.* had not numbers gone out to receive him.

5. *Quod a consuetudine non abhorret.* " What is not at variance with the custom of the day," *i. e.* what is fully sanctioned by usage. — *Rogatos esse multos.* " That many persons were invited to meet Murena."

6. *Rogati.* " On being invited so to do."— *Infimorum hominum filios : i. e.* when candidates for office. — *Prope de nocte.* " While it is almost yet dark," *i. e.* even at the earliest dawn.

7. *Non esse gravatos.* " Think it no trouble." Literally, " are not burdened," or " weighed down."— *Hora tertia.* Answering to our nine o'clock. The first hour commenced at six in the morning, according to our way of computing.

8. *Omnes societates.* " All the companies of the knights." These were the several companies or copartnerships of knights, who contracted as farmers-general of the provincial revenues.

9. *Tota natio candidatorum.* Candidates for the prætorship, ædileship, quæstorship, &c. They would all come out, in order to secure if possible the vote of so distinguished a new-comer. Hence they are said to allow no one to enter the city " without paying him some mark of respect," or in the words of the text, " *non honeste.*" In this same sense is the epithet *officiosissima* applied to them. Compare note 12.

10. *Noster Postumius.* An amusing hit. Postumius, one of the very accusers of Murena, happened to have swelled with his retinue the very crowd whose numbers are now regarded as a sure indication of bribery.

11. *Clientes.* The clients of Murena are meant. — *Tribules.* " The members of his tribe."

12. *Frequentiam in isto officio gratuitam.* " That a disinterested concourse of friends, on such an occasion, has not only never been wanting to the merit, but not even to the wishes, of any individual." — *Officio.* The term *officium* is often employed to denote any compliment paid to an individnal, by going forth to meet him, escorting him, &c. Compare the explanation of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): " Officium, *honos qui ex more alicui, salutando, occurrendo, deducendo, sectando,* &c., *habetur.*"

13. *At sectabantur multi.* A new objection is here supposed to be started. " Aye, but a large concourse escorted him." — " Very well," replies Cicero, " show that they did this for hire, and I will allow it to be an offence. But if this be put out of the question, with what do you find fault?" *i. e.* if you cannot show any bribery, why do you blame him for his numerous escort?

XXXIV. 1. *Quid opus est, inquit, sectatoribus?* Another objection. " What need is there of a train of followers?" What good purpose does such an escort answer?

2. *Quo semper usi sumus?* Cicero refers not to himself particularly, but to all candidates heretofore. This custom of having a train of followers had been long in general use among the Romans, and it was

idle now to find fault with it. We may here quote the language of Cicero's brother, Quintus, in relation to the propriety of this usage: "*Qui autem tibi debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exige. . . . . . Valde ego te volo, et ad rem pertinere arbitror, semper cum multitudine esse.*"

3. *Homines tenues*, &c. "Men of humble condition have, in the aid thus lent, and in this species of attendance upon us during our applications for office, their only opportunity of conferring a favour upon our order, or of returning one already received."

4. *Neque enim fieri potest*, &c. The senators and *equites* cannot, from the press of public business and other matters, accompany their friends when candidates for office (*suos necessarios candidatos*) during whole days together. This the lower orders can better do, and therefore there is no impropriety in their doing it.

5. *A quibus si domus nostra celebratur*, &c. "If our dwelling is only often visited by them, if we are occasionally escorted by them down to the forum, if we are favoured with one turn during a walk in some *basilica*, we appear to be sufficiently respected and honoured by them," *i. e.* we candidates cannot expect to have the senators and *equites* attending upon and escorting us all day long, as the lower orders do. It is a sufficient mark of respect and esteem on their part, and will answer precisely the same purpose, if they pay us frequent visits at our houses, &c. The inference from all this is, that they too would escort us if their affairs and engagements permitted them; and, consequently, that this same escorting carries nothing improper with it.

6. *Basilicæ.* The *Basilicæ* were spacious halls around the forum where the courts of justice sat, and public business was occasionally transacted. They were adorned with columns and porticoes. From the crowds usually assembled here, to take a turn or two with a friend, in one of these porticoes or piazzas, would be almost tantamount to escorting him about the streets of the capital.—The *Basilicæ* took their name from their splendid construction, (*quasi* βασιλικαὶ στοαί,) and, when Christianity was introduced, many of them were converted into churches, while other churches were built after their model. Hence we find, in the early ecclesiastical writers, the term βασιλικὴ applied to a sacred edifice, and so *basilica* in Latin. Thus, "*Mox, usa regni viribus, basilicam in loco Dominicæ passionis, et resurrectionis, et ascensionis constituit,*" (Sulpic. Sev. ii. 2. 33.;) and again, "*In basilica Martyrum, extra oppidum sita.*" (Id. *ibid.* c. xxxviii.) The term remains at the present day in the Italian language: "*La basilica di San Pietro,*" "The church of St. Peter." It means, in the Italian, a cathedral church, but is sometimes applied to a royal mansion, or princely palace, and is then equivalent to *casa reale.*

7. *Tenuiorum et non occupatorum*, &c. "That constant attendance belongs to well-wishers in humble life, and who are not occupied by the calls of business."

8. *Hunc fructum officii.* "This fruit of their good offices."

9. *Si nihil erit, præter*, &c. "If they shall have nothing to bestow upon us except their mere vote, this is a thing of but little value; if, on the other hand, nothing except to support us by their interest, they really have none to exert." This passage is evidently corrupt. We have given Ernesti's reading as the best that offers. Schütz inserts *alii* after *suffragentur*, on conjecture, and opposes their own votes to those of others whom they might gain over, if they possessed any influence.

With the second *si*, as we have given the passage, *erit* must be supplied, not *nihil erit.* — When Cicero says, that the mere vote of the lower orders was of little value, he alludes to the peculiar system of voting which prevailed at the *comitia centuriata*, where the balloting seldom reached the lower classes, and where of course their suffrages were of comparatively little value.

10. *Non dicere pro nobis*, &c. "Cannot plead for us, cannot go surety for us, cannot invite us to their houses." — *Spondere.* Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "Spondere pro aliquo, *est fidem suam interponere pro aliquo in re pecuniaria. Nam si quis pecuniam mutuam petebat, cui tuto credi non posse videbatur, petebat creditor ab eo, ut aliquem daret, qui solutum iri promitteret*, h. e. sponderet."

11. *Hæc.* "These services," *i. e.* pleading for others, &c.

12. *Legi Fabiæ.* Very little is known about this law. Its object was to limit the number of followers that were to attend a candidate to the Campus Martius. The people, however, strenuously opposed it, and could be deterred by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate. — The distinction between the *salutatores*, *deductores*, and *sectatores*, is given by Quintus Cicero, *de Pet. Cons.* c. ix.

13. *L. Cæsare consule factum.* The year previous, when L. Julius Cæsar and C. Marcius Figulus were consuls. This was the year in which Cicero stood for the consulship. The practice of bribing was carried on so openly and shamefully by Antonius and Catiline, that the senate thought it necessary to give some check to it by a new and more rigorous law. But when they were proceeding with it, one of the tribunes, Q. Mutius Orestinus, interposed.

14. *Nulla est enim pœna*, &c. "For there is no penalty that can restrain the zeal of the lower classes from this long-established mode of testifying attachment."

15. *At spectacula*, &c. "But seats at the public shows were given to the people by tribes, and they were all invited to entertainments." We have here another objection of Murena's accusers, referred to by Cicero.

16. *More et modo.* "According to established usage, and in a moderate manner." — *Hæ quæstiones.* "These investigations." Compare Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "*Dicitur et* quæstio *de qualibet inquisitione publica*; Mur. xxxiv.; *quæstiones* in senatu habitæ."

17. *Punctorum.* "Of votes." The Romans counted votes by *points* marked on a tablet. Compare *pro Planc.* xxii.: "*Nonnullas tribus* punctis *pæne totidem tulerunt.*"

18. *Quo hæc*, &c. "When this, whether it be the result of ambition or of liberality, was not customary among us, namely, that a place," &c. *Non fuerit*, literally, "did not exist."

19. *Hæc homines tenuiores*, &c. A chasm occurs in the MSS., after *assequebantur.* The previous part of the clause is also very probably corrupt. In the Wolfenbuttel MS., there is a vacant space left for a line between the words *tenuiores* and *qui.*

XXXV. 1. *Præfectum fabrum*, &c. "That the præfect of the military artificers." This is in a great measure analogous to the modern station of "head of the engineer department," excepting that by *fabri*, in a military sense, the Romans meant actual artificers, rather than persons, who, like our modern engineers, planned and superintended

military works. According to Vegetius (ii. 11.), the legion contained various kinds of artificers: "*Habet præterea legio fabros lignarios, instructores, carpentarios, ferrarios, pictores, reliquosque artifices ad hibernorum ædificia fabricanda; ad machinas, turres ligneas,*" &c.

2. *Dedisse.* We may suppose this to be governed by *notum est* understood. The corrupt state of the previous part of the text, as well as the lacuna in the MS., make the true government of *dedisse*, of course altogether uncertain.

3. *Qui totas tabernas compararunt.* "Who have prepared whole booths." These were intended as places from which the games could be seen with more advantage and convenience.

4. *Hæc sectatorum,* &c. "All these accusations, Servius, about retinues, public spectacles, and entertainments, were ascribed by the multitude to your scrupulous exactness," *i. e.* all these minute charges have only led people to believe that you are over-exact in finding fault.

5. *Convince.* "Ay, prove that," *i. e.* prove that, if you can, against Murena.

6. *Doce.* "Show me that Murena has done this."

7. *Sed vulgo, passim.* "But indiscriminately, in every quarter. — What is indiscriminately? — All without any exception."

8. *L. Natta.* Already alluded to in a previous note. He was a member of the old Pinarian line, and Murena's step-son.

9. *In equitum centuriis,* &c. "Wished to become possessed of influence among the centuries of *equites*, both with respect to this duty imposed by relationship, and with reference to the time to come." Cicero means, that L. Natta, by the entertainment which he gave to the *equites*, merely discharged the ordinary duty of a relative towards Murena, and sought, at the same time, to establish his own interest and popularity as regarded some future application for office.

10. *Ejus vitrico fraudi, aut crimini.* "A source of injury or of accusation unto his step-father." *Fraus* is here used in its old sense, as equivalent to *pœna* or *detrimentum.*

11. *Virgo Vestalis.* Besides other privileges, the Vestal virgins had the singular one of being present at the gladiatorial combats. For this purpose, they had seats allotted them in front, in a conspicuous place; and the charge referred to in the text was, that one of them, a relation of Murena's, gave up her seat to that individual, in order that he might bestow it on some third person, whose vote he wished to gain by this act of courtesy. Compare Ernesti, *ad loc.*

12. *Gladiatoribus.* Equivalent to *cum ludi gladiatorii fierent.* It would not have been correct Latinity to have said *locum gladiatorium.*

13. *Non et illa,* &c. "Did both that female not act in the way that affection demanded, and is this friend of mine not far removed from all kind of censure?"

14. *Omnia hæc,* &c. "All these things are merely the duties of friends, the means of gratification on the part of the lower orders, the privileges of candidates."

15. *Austere et Stoice.* "Austerely, and like a Stoic," *i. e.* with all the austerity of a Stoic. — *Verum.* "Right and proper." *Verum* is here equivalent to *æquum.* — *Allici benevolentiam cibo.* "That favour should be conciliated by food." *Benevolentiam,* literally, "friendly feelings," "well-wishing."

16. *Judicium hominum*, &c. "The decision of individuals in assigning offices of magistracy," *i. e.* the votes at elections.

17. *Quippe, inquit*, &c. "For do you, pray, asks he, seek for," &c. We have paraphrased *mihi* in order to adapt it to our own idiom. Compare chap. ix. note 11.—*Fovendis sensibus*. "By pampering the senses."

18. *Utrum lenocinium*, &c. "Were you seeking for some impure gratification from a herd of effeminate youth," *i. e.* invited by you to an entertainment. Compare, as regards *lenocinium*, the remark of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Lenocinia corporum, *sunt res quibus corpus suaviter afficitur.*"

19. *Horribilis oratio*. "Horrid speech!" Uttered ironically. — *Sed eam usus*, &c. "But our usages, our mode of life, our manners, our political institutions themselves reject it," *i. e.* furnish a direct refutation.

20. *Auctores istius vitæ atque orationis*. "The authors of that mode of living and speaking which you have adopted." The student will note the force of *istius* here, as applying to Cato, the person addressed.—*Qui quotidianis epulis*, &c. "Who, at their daily meals, sit on bare boards." The reference is to the public meals or συσσίτια of the ancient Spartans, where all ate in common, and the utmost plainness and frugality prevailed. Their seats were boards, not cushioned as the Roman couches were, nor did they recline after the Roman fashion, but sat upright.

21. *Cretes*. The common meals of the Cretans were also of a plain and frugal nature.—*Cubans*. "Reclining," *i. e.* as the Romans did. Compare *Orat. II. in Cat.* chap. v. note 14.

22. *Melius, quam Romani homines*, &c. Cicero's object is to show, that their frugal mode of life did not save the Spartans and Cretans from being subdued, and by the very nation too who were less abstemious in their diet. This is urged as a kind of argument in favour of a moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of the table, and as an answer to Cato's harsh remark just quoted, *utrum lenocinium*, &c.

23. *Qui tempora voluptatis*, &c. "Who distinguish between their moments of relaxation and serious enjoyment," *i. e.* who have times set apart for both pleasure and business.

24. *Quorum alteri*. The Cretans. — *Uno adventu nostri exercitus*. If we believe the voice of history, Q. Metellus, surnamed Creticus, took three years to conquer Crete. (Eutrop. vi. 11.) Cicero therefore exaggerates a little the facility of this conquest. As for the Lacedæmonians, they had already passed with the rest of Greece under the Roman dominion.

XXXVI. 1. *Res ipsa*. "The present state of our affairs themselves," *i. e.* the present flourishing condition of our affairs.

2. *Eodem ex studio*. "Of the same school of philosophy," *i. e.* the Stoic. Literally, "of the same study."

3. *Epulum*. This term denotes a banquet connected with some solemn celebration, such as the dedication of a temple, a triumph, public games, &c. In the present case it was a funeral entertainment. *Epulæ*, on the other hand, denotes an entertainment or banquet in the usual form.

4. *Africani patrui*, &c. "In memory of his uncle Africanus." More literally, "on account of his uncle Africanus." *Nomine patrui* is here equivalent to *propter patruum*, i. e. *in memoriam patrui*. Lucius

Æmilius Paullus (more commonly known by the name of Paullus Æmilius) had two sons by his wife Papiria. One of these was adopted by Quintus Fabius Maximus, and took the name of his adoptive father. He had a son himself, who is the Quintus Maximus mentioned in the text. The other son of Paullus Æmilius was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus Major, and was himself named Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus. This is the younger Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage, and is the one also mentioned in the text. Paullus Æmilius had, by another wife, two daughters, one of whom was married to Quintus Ælius Tubero, father of the Tubero of whom Cicero here speaks.

5. *Ut triclinium sterneret.* "To make the requisite preparations." We have been compelled to resort to a paraphrase here, in order to convey more clearly the meaning of Cicero. *Triclinium,* in its primitive acceptation, denotes a couch for reclining on at supper, large enough to hold three persons (τρεῖς and κλίνη). Thus we have in Varro (*R. R.* iii. 13): "*Ibi erat locus excelsus, ubi triclinio posito cœnabamus.*" It is then taken to denote the place of entertainment itself, from the circumstance of three couches (τρεῖς κλίναι), each holding three guests, being used at private feasts. For Varro says, that the number of the guests ought not to exceed that of the Muses, nor be less than that of the Graces. (Aul. Gell. xiii. 11.) The phrase *triclinium sternere* has in like manner two meanings. The first is to spread a couch, that is, to cover it with what was termed the *stragula vestis,* a species of covering put upon it previous to a banquet, plain and neat for ordinary entertainments, but sumptuous and highly ornamental when the feast was to be a splendid one. Compare Cic. *in Verr.* v. 25.: "*Cum Apronius e palæstra rediisset, et in triclinio, quod in foro straverat, decubuisset.*" The second meaning of *triclinium sternere,* is to arrange the couches in a banqueting room, that is, to prepare the place for an entertainment. Thus we have in Varro (*L. L.* c. iv.): "*Qui triclinium constrarunt, si quem lectum de tribus unum imparem posuerant,*" &c. Now, from all that has been here premised, we may ascertain, very clearly, in connection with the context, the meaning of Cicero on the present occasion. The feast was to be a public one, and Tubero was requested to prepare accommodations for the guests, that is, not only to see that the place itself was got ready in a proper manner, but that the tables were supplied with a sufficient number of couches, and that these couches, as well as the other articles connected with the banquet, were of such a kind as might best comport with the occasion.

6. *Stravit pelliculis,* &c. "Spread low Carthaginian couches with little goat-skins, and set out vessels of Samian earthenware." The Carthaginian couches were low, small, and made of wood. The vessels also were cheap and mean. The little goat-skins were purposely substituted for the more usual and expensive couch-coverings. Seneca alludes to this same circumstance, in one of his letters, where he also speaks of the couches as being of wood, on this occasion, and the vessels of earthenware, and where his language also confirms the view we have taken, in the previous note, of the meaning of *ut triclinium sterneret.* Thus (*Ep.* xcv. p.607. ed. Lipsii) he has the following: "*Tuberonis ligneos lectulos, cum in publicum sternerentur, hædinasque pro stragulis pelles, et ante ipsius Jovis cellam preposita convivis vasa fictilia: quid aliud est, paupertatem in Capitolio consecrare?*" Compare Isidorus (*Orig.* xx.

11. 3.): "*Punicani lecti parvi et humiles, primum a Carthagine advecti, et inde nominati.*" And in relation to the Samian vases, consult Plautus, *Captiv.* ii. 2. 40. and Taubmann, *ad loc.*

7. *Hanc perversam sapientiam Tuberonis.* "This ill-judged wisdom of Tubero." *Perversus,* in its literal acceptation here, approximates very closely to our plain English epithets, "wrong-headed," cross-grained."

8. *Homo integerrimus.* "This most upright man." Referring to Tubero. — *Cum esset.* "Although he was." As regards the relationship between Tubero and the individuals mentioned in the text, consult note 4.

9. *His hædinis pelliculis,* &c. "Lost the prætorship through these same little goat-skins." More literally, "was dislodged from his application for the prætorship by these same little goat-skins." The people were so offended at what they considered his parsimony, in the case of the funeral honours rendered to Scipio, that they would not vote him into the prætorship. His stoical frugality, therefore, like Cato's strictness and simplicity on the present occasion, was completely out of place.

10. *Non amat profusas epulas,* &c. "They are not fond of profusion at repasts; but much less of sordidness and meanness." The term *inhumanitas* is well explained by Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.): "Inhumanitas *est ejus, qui facit abhorrentia a vitæ humanæ cultu et elegantia.*"

11. *Distinguit rationem,* &c. "They know how to distinguish between the relative bearing of duties and of occasions," *i. e.* they know very well when a duty is urgent and imperative in its character, and admits of no alternative but prompt performance, and when it is of a less binding character and may be passed by without any impropriety. So again, they know well what occasions are to be strictly attended to, and what to be regarded with less care.

12. *Hoc tu ipse,* &c. "You yourself, in whom there is the highest merit, do not adhere to this." — *Cur enim quemquam,* &c. The idea intended to be conveyed by the whole passage is as follows: — If merit alone ought to influence the minds of men, in conferring public honours, why do you, who have so much merit of your own, go about and solicit votes, and not leave the result to be determined by merit alone. Perhaps you will say in reply, that you do not ask any favour of me, when soliciting my vote, but, on the contrary, merely intend something for my own good; to have me place myself, namely, under your guardianship and care, in order that you may the better provide for my welfare. Do you not think, however, Cato, that this request would come with more force from me to you? Is it not rather my business to ask you to expose yourself to dangers and fatigues for my sake?

13. *Nomenclatorem.* "A nomenclator." A slave who accompanied candidates for office, and whispered in their ears the names of the different individuals whom they met, in order that the candidate might salute them by name, and conciliate their favour by this species of compliment, which had always great weight with the Romans. Compare chap. xxi. note 11. Plutarch (*Vit. Cat. Min.*) says, that a law having been passed, ordaining that no man who solicited any office should take a nomenclator with him, Cato was the only one that obeyed it; and that in order not to need such an assistant, he made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Cicero's language, however, is

directly the other way, and very probably he is the more correct of the two.

14. *Fallis et decipis.* "You mislead and deceive." The distinction between *fallere* and *decipere* appears to be as follows: *Fallere* implies, that we are misled by something negative or indirect in another's words or actions: *decipere* always denotes, that the person deceived is imposed upon by something positive and express in the person deceiving. (Crombie, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 411.)

15. *Nam, si nomine*, &c. Cicero's argument may be briefly stated as follows: If you employ a nomenclator, Cato, you impose upon and mislead your fellow citizens, whether you yourself actually know their names or not. If you do not know their names, but obtain them from the nomenclator, you of course deceive others, by saluting them after you have learnt their names, as if you had been long acquainted with them. If, on the other hand, you actually know their names, and only take a nomenclator with you because it is customary so to do, here again you are guilty of deception, for you do not merely let him whisper the name of the party into your ear as a matter of form, but you actually ask him first about the name, as if you were quite ignorant of it, although you know very well all the time what the person's appellation is.

16. *Sin, etiam si noris.* The common text has, *Sin etiam noris.* We have adopted the conjectural emendation of Lambinus. — *Tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt.* Namely, as a matter of mere form and custom, the candidate asking and the slave whispering the name, although the former knows very well already what it is.

17. *Cur ante petis quam insusurravit?* "Why do you actually ask the person's name before he has whispered it into your ear?"

18. *Hæc omnia*, &c. "If you measure all these things by the usages of the state, they are correct enough: but if you wish to weigh them carefully by the precepts of your own philosophy, they will be found to be very wicked in their nature." More freely, "if you refer all these things to the usages of the state," &c.

19. *Fructus isti ludorum*, &c. "That gratification which is derived from public shows," &c. — *Comparaverunt.* "Prepared for them," *i. e.* instituted for their gratification.

20. *Nec candidatis*, &c. "Nor are candidates to be deprived of that exercise of friendly feelings which is a proof rather of their generosity than of a wish to corrupt." More literally, "which indicates generosity more than bribery."

XXXVII. 1. *At enim te*, &c. The particles *at enim* are here, as elsewhere, elliptical. "*But* all else you will say is of comparatively trifling importance, *for* the interests of the public led you in fact to undertake this accusation," *i. e.* a regard for the public welfare led you, &c.

2. *Credo, Cato*, &c. "I easily believe, Cato, that you came here with those feelings and with that intention. But you make a slip, through want of reflection," *i. e.* you go wrong, you defeat your own purpose.

3. *Clamo atque testor.* "Loudly proclaim, and call you all to witness." — *Audite, audite consulem.* "Hear, hear your counsel." — *Usque eo.* "To such a degree." So far.

4. *Latius patet*, &c. Cicero now argues on the importance of having a person of energy and military experience in the consulship during the ensuing year.

5. *Equus Trojanus.* A highly figurative allusion to the seeds of the conspiracy that were still lurking at Rome.

6. *Copias illius.* "Those troops of his." His secret partisans, with whose movements Cicero was in a great degree acquainted. It will be borne in mind, that Lentulus and the other accomplices had not yet been detected and punished.

7. *In capite atque in cervicibus nostris.* Equivalent here to *in caput atque in cervices nostras*, with the idea of continuance, or lasting harm, annexed. Similar examples occur in many of the ancient writers. Consult Forcellini *Lex. Tot. Lat.* s. v. *In*, sub init.

8. *Integrum consulem.* "An upright consul," *i. e.* an honest patriotic consul, and not one contaminated by any union of principle or action with Catiline. Compare Manutius: "*Integrum consulem*, h. e. *malis consiliis non infectum.*"

9. *Et natura, et fortuna.* "In both principles and fortune," *i. e.* a man of correct principles and ample means. Such a person would, of course, be attached to the interests of the republic, and the existing state of things, and would have no wish for any revolution or change, because not a man of needy fortune.

10. *Vestris sententiis.* "By your sentence," *i. e.* by your opinions as judges in the present case. For Murena is such a man as has just been described by me, and the partisans of Catiline would rejoice in having him driven from the consulship, by your sentence of condemnation.

11. *In campo.* Compare chap. xxvi. and *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. v.—*Domi meæ.* Alluding to the attempt to assassinate him at his own home. *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. iv.

12. *Kalendis Januariis.* Compare chap. ii. note 22.

13. *Aut.* A chasm occurs here in the MSS. Schütz proposes to fill it up, and remodel the whole sentence as follows: "*Nolite arbitrari, Catilinam ejusque socios mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis viis in rempublicam grassari.*"

14. *Reipublicæ quæritur.* "Is sought for against the republic," *i. e.* the republic is not sought to be injured by ordinary means, such as "a hurtful law," or "the pernicious influence of bribery," &c.

15. *In exitu.* "Near its close." This speech was delivered in the month of November, and the new consuls would be installed on the first of January coming.

16. *Vicarium meæ diligentiæ.* "Who is to succeed me in my vigilance."

XXXVIII. 1. *Tempestatem anni tui.* "The storms that impend over your own year," *i. e.* over your magistracy as tribune.

2. *Designati tribuni.* The allusion here is, most probably, to Q. Metellus Nepos, the same who afterwards prevented Cicero from making the customary address to the people, at the close of his consulship.—Ernesti thinks, that *designati* ought to be removed from the text, because, according to him, the new tribunes had already entered on office when this speech was delivered. He observes, that had they not entered already on office, they could not have held an assembly the day previous. But the text only speaks of an assembly that had been held, without

specifying by whom. The expression *vox perniciosa,* moreover, does not necessarily imply a speech on the part of the new magistrate, it may denote a mere remark made by him, on being presented to the people by the tribunes of the current year. The chief argument, however, against Ernesti's emendation, is in the dates. The new tribunes did not enter upon office until the fourth day before the Ides of December, and every thing connected with this speech plainly shows, that it was delivered before the Nones of the same month, for on that day the conspirators arrested by Cicero were condemned.

3. *Tua mens.* "Your own foresight." — *Qui te ad tribunatus,* &c. "Who requested you to stand candidate for the tribuneship," *i. e.* in order that you might thwart the nefarious schemes of Metellus and others.

4. *A. L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone,* &c. At the close of the consulship of M. Lepidus and Volcatius Tullus. Compare *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. vi. : "*Protestne hujus vitæ lux,*" &c.

5. *Meo nomine.* "On my own account." Equivalent to *propter me ipsum.* Compare chap. xxxvi. : "*Africani patrui sui nomine.*" Cicero means that they did not seek his destruction so much out of personal hatred, as in order to remove a faithful guardian of the public welfare.

6. *Et agunt, et moliuntur.* "They are both attempting, ay, and striving earnestly to effect." — *Quantum animi, quantum ingenii.* "How much courage, how much talent."

7. *Consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliatam.* By the condemnation of Murena.

8. *Ne sufficiatur consul.* "Lest a new consul be substituted," *i. e.* in place of Murena, if condemned. Compare, as regards the force of *sufficere,* the explanation of Ernesti : "Sufficere, *in locum alterius creare : de magistratibus, inprimis consulibus, qui in locum mortui consulis, aut de ambitu damnati,* &c., *creantur.*"

9. *Vident te in tuorum,* &c. We have inserted *te* after *vident* on the conjecture of Matthiæ, who thinks that it has been accidentally omitted by the copyists.

10. *Sibi objici posse.* "May be exposed to them," *i. e.* to their attacks. — *Silanum.* Plutarch says (*Vit. Cat. Min.* c. xxi.), that after Cato had declared his intention of prosecuting every one who should have recourse to bribery, he took very good care, that Silanus, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. This would seem to imply that Silanus, in common with Murena, lay open to the charge of bribery, for which we find elsewhere no authority whatever.

11. *Non cupidum.* "Not ambitious." Manutius understands *rerum novarum,* "not desirous of a change." — *Fortuna constitutum,* &c. Alluding to his private wealth.

12. *Animo et usu,* &c. "Of spirit and experience for executing whatever you may wish."

XXXIX. 1. *Hujusce rei potestas,* &c. "The means of accomplishing this result are placed wholly in your hands. You hold, in the present case, the whole republic under your care. You are its pilots," *i. e.* the helm is in your hands, and it is for you to guide us safely through the storm.

2. *Petunt rationes illius.* "His plans demand." — *Auxilio.* "Of her wonted aid." — *Ut minuatur,* &c. "That the number of her leaders, capable of resisting his fury, be diminished."

3. *Depulso adversario.* Alluding to Murena, and to the stand he would take against the conspirators, in support of the government and laws. Hence he is called the opponent of the turbulent tribunes, and hence his condemnation (*depulso adversario*) would leave them more at liberty to excite commotions in the state.

4. *Idemne igitur delecti*, &c. "Will men distinguished for integrity and wisdom, men selected from the first orders of the state, come then to the same decision with that most audacious gladiator, that foe to the republic?" The address is to the *Judices*, the gladiator is Catiline.

5. *Apud Anienem.* "At the Anio." Here, in the second Punic war, Hannibal pitched his camp, at three miles' distance from Rome. Compare Livy (xxvi. 10.): "*Inter hæc, Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium, tria millia passuum ab urbe castra admovit.*"

6. *Nonnemo*, &c. "There are some, there are some foes even in that sanctuary of the republic, I say, in the very senate itself." *Nonnemo* is here equivalent to *aliquis*, but our idiom requires the plural. — It is well known that several of the senators were implicated in the conspiracy. Consult Sallust, *B. C.* c. xvii.

7. *Faxint.* The old form for *fecerint.* The earlier mode of conjugating this verb was *facio*, facsi (faxi), *factum, facere.* Compare Struve, *über die Lat. Decl. und Conj.* p. 171. *seqq.*—This old form, *faxint*, was retained, in common with *faxit* and other similar ones, principally in solemn adjurations, &c. Comp. Terent. *Heaut.* i. 1. 109.

8. *Meus collega.* Antonius. — *Ego togatus.* Compare *Orat. II. in Cat.* chap. xiii. note 1. —*Hoc, quod conceptum*, &c. "Will dispel and crush that danger which, conceived in its bosom, the republic is now on the point of bringing forth."

9. *Hæc.* These same dangers. — *Unus erit consul*, &c. If Murena be condemned, Silanus will be the only consul in office; and his time will be occupied, not by the affairs and dangers of the state, but by the election of a colleague; for the seditious tribunes will oppose him in all his movements, and in this way much valuable time will be lost to the republic.

10. *Impedituri sint.* There is here another chasm in the MSS., though smaller than the one previously mentioned. Some editors insert *videtis*, others *parati sunt*, on conjecture.

11. *Importuna.* The common text has *Catilinæ* after *importuna.* But many editors regard it as a mere gloss, and we have therefore thrown it out.

12. *Versabitur in castris furor.* "Wild fury will reign in your camp." — *In campo exercitus.* "An armed force in the Campus Martius." The allusion is to the partisans of Catiline, who will come armed to the *comitia*, when Silanus shall convene the people to vote for a new consul in the place of Murena.

13. *Si ornata suis præsidiis*, &c. "If the republic shall be furnished with other means of protection."

XL. 1. *Potior.* "Dearer," *i. e.* to exercise a more powerful sway. — *Pro consulari auctoritate*, &c. "I exhort you in consideration of my consular authority," *i e.* by my consular office.

2. *Defensoris.* The common text has *vel defensoris*, but we have rejected *vel* with Ernesti and Schütz. Beck encloses it within brackets. — Manutius doubts whether it be correct latinity to say *oro atque obsecro*

fidem, and Grævius inclines the same way. But we have in Plautus, (*Amph.* i. 1. 217.) "*obsecro tuam fidem.*" Compare Ernesti, *ad loc.*

3. *Corporis morbo.* Murena was then labouring under severe indisposition. — *Recentem gratulationem.* "His recent felicitations." A thanksgiving had been decreed, in the name of Murena, for his successes against Mithridates.

4. *Municipium antiquissimum.* Lanuvium, of which Murena was a native. Consult *Geographical Index.*

5. *Squalore sordidus.* "Of squalid appearance and in neglected attire." It was customary at Rome for those accused of capital or heavy offences, to appear in public arrayed in such a manner as might be best calculated to excite compassion. —*Lacrymis ac mærore perditus.* "Spent with tears and sorrow."

6. *Intuetur.* "He looks with an earnest eye to."

7. *Hac re.* "On that very account," *i. e.* the consulship to which he had been elected. Orellius suggests *hac eum cum re.* Schütz proposes either *una cum hac eum re*, or else *cum ac eum re.* No change, however, is requisite.

8. *Atque ita*, &c. "For thus does Murena," &c., *i. e.* in terms such as the following. — *Si nullius aures*, &c. "If he has wounded the ears or the feelings of no individual," *i. e.* if moderation has always dictated his words, always regulated his conduct.

9. *Modestiæ locus.* "An asylum for moderation." — *Demissis hominibus.* "For the dejected."

10. *Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus*, &c. "To be stripped of the consulship ought, O judges, to carry with it a strong claim to our compassion." Literally, "the being despoiled of the consulship," &c.

11. *Una enim eripiuntur*, &c. Cicero means to express the idea, that in losing the consulship the person referred to loses his all. — *Invidiam nullam.* "No claims to envy," *i. e.* nothing worth enjoying in the office.

12. *Objicitur.* "The holder of it is exposed." — *Concionibus seditiosorum.* Referring to the tribunes of the commons.

13. *In hoc præclaro consulatu.* "In this distinguished post of consul." *Præclaro* is said with a tinge of irony: in this distinguished post, as many call it, and take it to be.

XLI. 1. *Hunc vestris sententiis afflixeritis.* "You shall dash this man in sorrow to the ground by your decision," *i e.* shall condemn him.

2. *Quo se miser vertet?* The peroration here is extremely beautiful. "*Locus*," says Manutius, "*ad commovendam misericordiam aptissimus.*"

3. *Laureatam in sua gratulatione*, &c. "Decked with laurel amid his own felicitations."

4. *Lugentem.* "Plunged in mourning." Cicero purposely uses this form of expression, instead of *lugenti similem*, for the sake of greater strength.

5. *Misera.* "Wretched parent."

6. *Nova pœna legis.* The Tullian law (*Lex Tullia*) had only recently been passed, which added ten years' exile to the penalties before inflicted by the laws upon the crime of *ambitus.*

7. *At habet magnum dolorem*, &c. "Ah! but it brings with it a deep pang of sorrow," &c.

8. *Summo cum imperio.* "When invested with supreme command."

9. *C. Murenam, fratrem suum.* C. Licinius Murena. He was governor of Transalpine Gaul, and is the same individual of whom Sallust speaks, *B. C.* xlii.

10. *Qui hujus dolor?* *Qui* for *quis.* Compare Zumpt, p. 254. So also, *qui illius mœror erit?* — The student will note the distinction here between *hujus* and *illius.* "What anguish on the part of the former? What deep affliction on that of the latter?" The same remark applies here, that was made in a previous note respecting an apparent violation of the rule concerning *hic* and *ille.* *Hujus* refers to Murena, Cicero's client, and *illius* to his distant brother.

11. *Quanta autem perturbatio,* &c. "What a reverse of fortune, what a change of language," *i. e.* how changed the condition of the one, how altered the language of both.

12. *Conservate populi Romani beneficium.* "Preserve unto him the favour which the Roman people have conferred," *i. e.* establish by your decision his claims to the consulship.

13. *Junonis Sospitæ.* There was at Lanuvium, whence the family of Murena came, a temple sacred to Juno Sospita. The Romans had a joint right of sacrificing to this goddess, and an annual offering was made by the Roman consuls. According to Livy (viii. 14.), the people of Lanuvium were allowed by the Romans to continue the worship of this goddess, on condition that the latter people shared in it along with them. Compare, as regards the same deity, Liv. xl. 19. — Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 60. — Sil. Ital. xiii. 364., and Cic. *N. D.* i. 29. The last-mentioned writer describes the effigy of the goddess, as arrayed in a goat-skin, bearing a small shield and a spear, and having on little slippers turned up at the toes. "*Cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis.*" Consult also Montfaucon, *Antiq. Explic.* Lib. ii. ch. 5. fig. 10.

14. *Facere.* Supply *rem divinam,* or, what is much simpler, *sacra* from the previous *sacris patriis.* The analogy between this usage of *facere,* and that of the Greek ῥέζειν or ἔρδειν is worth noting.

INDEXES.

HISTORICAL INDEX.

Absyrtus, son of Æetes, king of Colchis, and brother of Medea. His sister, when accompanying Jason, who was bearing off the golden fleece, is fabled by the poets to have put to death the young prince, and to have scattered his limbs along the route which her father must take in pursuing her. The stratagem succeeded, since Æetes stopped to collect the mangled remains of his son, thus enabling his daughter and Jason to make their escape. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 9.— Senec. *Med.* 963.— Lucan. *Phars.* iii. 190.

Æmilius, Paullus. *Vid.* Paullus.

Æmilius, Scaurus. *Vid.* Scaurus.

Afranius, a celebrated Roman, elected consul a. u. c. 694, b. c. 60, and one of Pompey's lieutenants during the civil wars. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he crossed into Africa and fought at the battle of Thapsus. He was taken prisoner along with Faustus Sylla, in the rout that ensued of the Pompeian army, and put to death with him by order of Cæsar. Suet. *Vit. Jul.* ch. lxxv.—Cæs. *B. Afric.* ch. xcv.—Dio Cass. xliii. 12.—Oros. vi. 16.

Ahala, Caius Servilius, master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus. Spurius Melius, who had been accused of aspiring to regal power, having refused to appear before the dictator when ordered so to do, Ahala, who bore the summons to him, slew him in the very midst of the assembled people whom he was endeavouring to excite in his behalf. The dictator commended the act. Ahala, though he at first incurred the resentment of the populace for this bold discharge of duty, was subsequently, however, raised to the consulship. Liv. iv. 14. and 30.— There is a great variation, as regards the prænomen of this individual, in the MSS. and the editions of Cicero. In the first oration against Catiline, (ch. i.) he is called in the common text, *Quintus*, where Muretus and Pighius give the true reading *Caius*, which Ernesti adopts. In the oration *pro Domo*, ch. xxxii., he is styled, on the other hand, *Marcus* Servilius Ahala. In this latter passage, Cicero informs us, that he was exiled by the people for slaying Melius, though subsequently, as above stated, advanced to the consular office.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great, king of Syria, and the third of the name. He came in collision with the Romans, on attempting to reduce under his sway the cities of Asia Minor as well as the whole of Greece. These cities implored the protection of the Romans, who sent deputies to Antiochus, commanding him to give up the conquests he had made in this quarter. Antiochus, urged on by Hannibal, to whom he had given an asylum in his dominions, paid no regard to these orders, and became, in consequence, involved in war with the republic. Neglecting, however,

to follow the plan of operations marked out for him by Hannibal, he soon experienced the fatal effects of his error. Acilius Glabrio defeated him at Thermopylæ, and compelled him to fly into Asia; and Scipio Asiaticus gained a decisive victory over him at Magnesia in the latter country. Compelled to sue for peace, he only obtained it on very hard conditions. The Romans made the range of mount Taurus the limit of his power on the side of lower Asia, and reduced to the form of provinces all the countries which he had possessed on this side of the mountains just mentioned. They obliged him also to stipulate for the payment of an annual tribute of two thousand talents. As his treasury could not support this heavy tax, he resolved, in order to replenish his resources, to pillage the temple of Belus, in Susiana, but the inhabitants of this country, irritated at the sacrilegious attempt, slew him with his followers, B. C. 187. He had reigned 36 years. Justin. xxxi. 32.—Florus. ii. 1.—Liv. xxxiv. 59.

ANTONIUS, Caius, son of M. Antonius the orator, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus the father of the triumvir. He was originally in habits of very great intimacy with Catiline, and the arrangement was, that these two should stand for the consulship, and, if they succeeded, commence, while in this high office, their plans of revolution. Cicero defeated this scheme, and being elected consul, with Antonius for his colleague, succeeded in detaching him from the conspiracy, and from every other design formed against the state. He effected this desirable object by yielding to Antonius the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. After the conspiracy was crushed, Antonius went to his province of Macedonia, where he continued for two years; but, on his return to Rome, he was brought to trial, and banished, for having been guilty of extortion and having made war beyond the limits of his province. He was a man of very dissolute habits, and, before he obtained the consulship, had been expelled by the censors from the senate for immoral conduct. Sallust, *B. C.* xxvi.—Liv. *Epit.* ciii.—Cic. *in Vat.* xi.—Id. *pro Cœl.* xxxi.

ANTONIUS, Marcus, a celebrated Roman orator, grandfather of the triumvir. After having been prætor, and having during his prætorship obtained a victory over the pirates of Cilicia, he was raised to the consulship, A. U. C. 655, B. C. 99. He is more eminent, however, in Roman history, as an orator than a statesman. He was the most employed patron of his time: being more courted by clients than any of his contemporaries, as he was ever willing to undertake any cause which was proposed to him. He possessed a ready memory, and a remarkable talent of introducing every thing where it could be placed with most effect. He had a frankness of manner, which precluded any suspicion of artifice, and gave to all his orations the appearance of being the unpremeditated effusions of an honest heart. But, though there was no apparent preparation in his speeches, he always spoke so well, that the judges were never sufficiently prepared against the effects of his eloquence. His language was not perfectly pure, nor of a constantly sustained elegance, but it was of a solid and judicious character, well adapted to his purpose. His gesture, too, was appropriate; his voice strong and durable, though naturally hoarse; but even this defect he turned to advantage, by frequently and easily adopting a mournful and querulous tone, which, in criminal cases, excited compassion, and won the sympathy of the judges. He left, however, as we are informed by Cicero, hardly any orations behind him, having resolved never to publish

any of his pleadings, lest he should be convicted of maintaining in one cause something that was inconsistent with what he had alleged in another.—During the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, Antonius declared for the latter, and was in consequence proscribed by Marius. His place of concealment having been discovered through the indiscretion of a friend, a party of soldiers was sent to put him to death. The eloquent appeal of the orator, however, checked their murderous purpose, and drew tears from their eyes, when Annius, their leader, who had remained without, impatient at their delay, was compelled to enter the place himself, and despatch Antonius with his own hand. Dunlop, *Hist. Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 211.—Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 2.—Id. *Brut.* xxxvi. —Id. *de Orat.* iii. 3.—Val. Max. vii. 3.

Antonius, Marcus, surnamed Creticus, son of Antonius the orator, and father of the triumvir. Having obtained the prætorship, A. U. C. 678, through the interest of the consul Cotta, and the faction of Cethegus, he was charged with the war against the pirates. He pillaged, however, the provinces which had been intrusted to his defence, and having advanced toward Crete, was defeated in an engagement off that island. The appellation of Creticus was given him from this circumstance, as a mark of derision. He is said to have died of chagrin at his defeat. Florus, iii. 7.— Liv. *Epit.* xcix.—Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 3.— Id. *in Verr.* iii. 91.

Archias, Aulus Licinius, a Greek poet, born at Antioch in Syria, and better known by the discourse which Cicero pronounced in his favour, than by any productions of his own. He came to Rome at an early age, and passed the greater part of his life there, teaching the Greek language and literature, and giving instruction particularly in the department of poetical composition. Among his pupils was Cicero, who has returned the favour by transmitting the name of his preceptor to posterity. Archias lived on terms of great intimacy with several distinguished Roman families, and accompanied the celebrated L. Lucullus in his expedition against Mithridates, and also in his travels through Asia, Greece, and Sicily. It was during his visit to Magna Græcia, in company with this illustrious patron, that he obtained the rights of citizenship at Heraclea in Lucania, which led subsequently to his procuring the same privilege at Rome. This latter point, however, having been contested by a certain individual named Gratius, led to the delivery of the celebrated oration in his favour, by his old pupil Cicero.—The works of Archias are lost, except some epigrams in the Anthology. While still quite young, he composed a poem on the Cimbric war, which gained for him the favour of Marius, who was in general but little alive to the charms of poetic composition. At a later period of his life the Mithridatic war became a theme for his Muse. In a third poem he gave a prophetic interpretation to a circumstance which had happened to the infant Roscius; and Cicero speaks also of a poem which he had commenced on the subject of his consulship. The Anthology contains thirty-five epigrams under the name of Archias, but some of them are attributed by the commentators to a certain Archias of Macedonia, or another of the same name, a native of Byzantium; others again ascribe them to Archias the grammarian, or the younger. Hence, it is probable that very few, if any, of them are by Archias of Antioch. Cic. *pro Arch.* — Id. *de Divin.* c. xxxvi. — Jacobs, *Anthol. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 92. — Schöll. *Hist. Lit. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 43.

and when he was asked by his friends why he was so anxious to put a mere boy to death, his answer was, "In that boy I see many Mariuses." —Of the eventful life of this eminent Roman our limits forbid even any thing like a rapid sketch. His various successes are touched upon by Cicero in the oration for Marcellus, but a full account of his numerous conflicts and of the remarkable events which have rendered his name so conspicuous in history will be found in the pages of Plutarch. It will only be necessary here to speak of Cæsar as connected, in a covert manner, with the conspiracy of Catiline. His principal aim, in the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes was to gain the favour of the populace, and weaken the power of the nobility. This brought him at once in contact with Catiline, and, in favouring the views of that daring conspirator, his object was to destroy by these means the liberty of his country, and then to crush the conspirators themselves and make himself master of Rome. The opinion which he gave in the senate, with respect to the punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other accomplices of Catiline; the threatening conduct of the Roman *equites*, who guarded the temple where the senate met; and his being arraigned as an associate in the conspiracy before the senate itself, all tend to show the opinion of the public respecting his secret movements, as well as his own actual participation in the daring attempt of Catiline. Sallust. *B. C.* xlix. *seqq.*—Plut. *Vit. Cic.* xx.—Id. *Vit. Cæs.* vii. *seqq.*

Cæsar, Lucius Julius, enjoyed the consulship with C. Figulus, A. U. C. 689. His sister was married to Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline, notwithstanding which relationship he gave his opinion in the senate, in favour of that individual's being put to death. He was uncle also to Mark Antony the triumvir, the latter being his sister's son by a former marriage, previous to her union with Lentulus. Cic. *Orat. IV. in Cat.* ch. vi.—*Pro Muren.* xxxiv.—*Ep. ad Fam.* x. 28.

Cæsar, Lucius, a young Roman, who, though related to Julius Cæsar, attached himself nevertheless to the party of Pompey. He was the son of Lucius Cæsar, who had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in the Gallic war. Cicero calls him, in one of his letters to Atticus, "not a man, but an untied broom," intending by this proverbial form of expression to indicate a person of no value whatever. When Cæsar was marching toward Utica after the battle of Thapsus, he surrendered himself to that commander, and, according to the author of the commentaries on the African war, obtained his life by his own earnest entreaties. According to Dio Cassius, however, he was put to death. Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* i. 8.—*Bell. Afric.* lxxxix.—Dio Cass. xliii. 12.—Sueton. *Vit. Jul.* lxxv., and Crusius, *ad loc.*

Capito, Publius Gabinius, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls Cimber. He appears to have been one of the most worthless of the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment along with Lentulus and the rest. Sallust, *B. C.* lv.

Capito, Publius Gabinius, a Roman prætor, A. U. C. 664, the year when Archias the poet was registered. After returning from his government of Achaia, he was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned; and hence his disgraceful fall destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had greatly impaired. Cic. *pro Arch.* v.—*In Cæcil.* xx.

Carbo, Caius Papirius, an eminent Roman orator, contemporary with the Gracchi, and the friend of Tiberius, the elder of the two. He was

concerned in some seditious movements the year that Tiberius was slain, but seems to have changed his sentiments at a subsequent period; for we find him, when consul, defending before the people, L. Opimius, who had slain Caius Gracchus, the brother of his former friend. He is thought to have been concerned in the death of Publius Africanus. Being accused at length by L. Crassus, consul elect, on account of the part he had taken in the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, he destroyed himself, by swallowing cantharides, in order to escape from the impending trial. — He is spoken of by Cicero, in the oration for Archias, as having proposed, in conjunction with Silvanus, a new law respecting the rights of citizenship. Cic. *Brut.* xxvii. 43.— *Orat.* i. 34.—*In Verr.* iii. 1.—*Ep. ad Fam.* ix. 21.

Cassius, Caius, was consul with M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, and not with Gellius, as Manutius maintains (*Or. pro Rab.* c. vii.) His consulship is to be assigned to A. U. C. 680, the first year of Verres' Sicilian prætorship. He is mentioned by Cicero as having advocated the passing of the Manilian Law. *Or. pro L. Manil.* xxiii. — *Pro Cluent.* xlix.—*In Verr.* i. 23.—*In Verr.* iii. 41.

Cassius, Lucius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, and a competitor of Cicero's in suing for the consulship. It is uncertain whether he be the same with the one mentioned in the oration for Cluentius, c. xxxviii. —*Or. III. in Cat.* ch. iv.

Catilina, Lucius Sergius, a Roman of patrician rank, and the last of the *Gens Sergia.* Of his father and grandfather little is known. The former would seem to have been in indigent circumstances, from the language of Quintus Cicero (*de Pet. Cons.* c. ii.), who speaks of Catiline as having been born amid the poverty of his father. The great-grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, or Silo, distinguished himself highly in the second Punic war, and was present in the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Trasymenus, and Cannæ. Pliny speaks of his exploits in a very animated strain.—The cruelty of Catiline's disposition, his undaunted resolution, and the depravity of his morals, fitted him for acting a prominent part in the turbulent and bloody scenes of the period in which he lived. He embraced the interests of Sylla, in whose army he held the office of quæstor. That monster, in his victory, had in Catiline an able coadjutor, whose heart knew no sympathy, and his lewdness no bounds. He rejoiced in the carnage and plunder of the proscribed, gratifying at one time his own private resentments, by bringing his enemies to punishment, and executing at another the bloody mandates of the dictator himself. Many citizens of noble birth are said to have fallen by his hands, and, according to Plutarch, he had assassinated his own brother, during the civil war, and then, to screen himself from prosecution, persuaded Sylla to put him down among the proscribed, as a person still alive. He murdered, too, with his own hands, his sister's husband, a Roman knight of a mild and peaceable character. One of the most horrid actions, however, of which he was guilty, would seem to have been the killing of M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relation of the celebrated Marius. Sylla had put the name of this individual on the list of the proscribed; whereupon Catiline entered the dwelling of the unfortunate man, exhausted upon his person all the refinements of cruelty and insult, and having at length put an end to his existence, carried his bloody head in triumph through the streets of Rome, and brought it to Sylla, as he sat on his tribunal in the forum. When this

was done, the murderer washed his hands in the lustral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which stood in the immediate vicinity. — Catiline was peculiarly dangerous and formidable, as his power of dissimulation enabled him to throw a veil over his vices. Such was his art, that, while he was poisoning the minds of the Roman youth, he gained the friendship and esteem of the severe Catulus. The close of his career is detailed in the pages of Sallust. Being driven from the city by the eloquence of Cicero, he betook himself with a body of followers to the camp of Manlius in Etruria, and in the action which ensued with the forces of the republic, whose movements had cut him off from all communication with lower Italy, while another army prevented his passage into Cisalpine Gaul, he fell bravely fighting near the Etrurian town of Pistoria. Plin. *H. N.* vii. 29.—Plut. *Vit. Syll.* c. xxxii.—Id. *Vit. Cic.* c. x.—Sallust, *B. C.* lvi. *seqq.*

Cato, Marcus Porcius, surnamed for distinction sake, "the Elder," and also "the Censor," was born B. C. 234, at Tusculum, of a family in no respect remarkable. After having passed his earlier years in the country, he came to Rome, through the persuasions of Valerius Flaccus, a nobleman who had an estate contiguous to Cato's. Valerius had heard of Cato through his domestics. They told him that he used to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him; that thence he would return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock if it was winter, and naked if it was summer, he would labour along with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and partake of their bread and wine. At Rome, Cato's pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; and the interest of Valerius likewise greatly assisted him, so that he was at first appointed tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards elected quæstor. Among all the more aged senators he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus. He was at first quæstor in Africa, under Scipio Africanus, and afterwards prætor in the island of Sardinia, which he brought under the Roman sway. Being elected to the consulship, along with his early friend and patron Valerius Flaccus, he obtained for his province the government of Hispania Citerior, where he greatly signalised himself, and for his successes in which country he was honoured with a triumph. He was chosen censor, with Valerius again for his colleague, B. C. 184, and discharged the duties of that high office with such inflexible severity, as to obtain from it one of the titles usually appended to his name. Cato occupies a conspicuous place in Roman history for his obstinate perseverance in insisting on the destruction of Carthage, and is said to have ended every speech, no matter what the subject was, or with what business the senate might be engaged, by repeating the well-known phrase, "*Censeo quoque Carthaginem esse delendam*," or, as it is more commonly given, "*Delenda est Carthago.*" His advice was at last followed; but the tide of corruption that flowed in upon Rome, when the fear of her great rival was at an end, shows plainly how feeble, in this respect, were Cato's claims to political sagacity. This distinguished man ended his days B. C. 149, at the age of 85, and at the very moment when the third Punic war had broken out, which ended in the fulfilment of his long-cherished wish concerning Carthage. — As a magistrate, a general, a lawyer, and a public speaker, Cato the censor merits a high degree of reputation. His rigour and austerity, brought to bear with no less strictness on his own life than on that of others, obtained for him from

his countrymen a degree of consideration fully equal to that which he had acquired by the exercise of his talents. He was the inveterate and sworn foe of luxury, and so keenly did he pursue it under all the various shapes which it assumed, as even to cut off the pipes by which private individuals conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and to demolish all the buildings that projected into the streets. He is well known also for his strenuous opposition to the introduction of the fine arts and the sciences into the capital of Italy, through fear that the refinements of Greece and Asia would corrupt the principles of his countrymen. He pressed also the departure of the Greek philosophers who had come to Rome as ambassadors from Athens, for he dreaded lest the habit of speaking on both sides of a question, on which Carneades, one of the number, particularly prided himself, might convert the Roman youth into mere sophists, and render them indifferent to glory and virtue. And yet he himself took up the study of the Greek language at an advanced period of life.—Cato, by the universal consent of his contemporaries, passed for the best farmer of his age, and was held unrivalled for the skill and success of his agricultural operations. He is the author of a work on husbandry, entitled "*De Re Rustica*," which has come down to our times, though in a somewhat imperfect state, since Pliny and other writers allude to subjects as treated of by Cato, and to opinions as delivered by him in this book, which are nowhere to be found in any part of the work as we now have it. In its present state, it resembles merely the loose and unconnected journal of a plain farmer, expressed with rude, sometimes with almost oracular, brevity. It consists solely of the dryest rules of agriculture, and some receipts for making various kinds of cakes and wines. The most remarkable feature in the work, however, is its total want of arrangement. Cato left also one hundred and fifty orations, which were existing in Cicero's time, though much neglected. They are now lost. Cicero admits, that, if number and cadence and an easier turn of expression were given to his sentences, there would be few who could claim the preference to Cato. He wrote also a book on Military Discipline, a good deal of which has been incorporated into the work of Vegetius. His principal production, however, was an historical treatise in seven books, entitled "*De Originibus.*" Its object was to discuss and settle the history and antiquities of the Roman people, with a view to counteract the influence of the Greek taste, introduced by the Scipios. Only fragments of it remain. He wrote also on Orators and on the Medical art. The former of these productions was a treatise addressed to his son, and entitled "*De Oratore ad filium.*" The work on medicine would appear to have been a singular affair; and his great object was to decry the compound drugs of the Greek physicians, whom he accuses of having formed a league to poison all the barbarians, among whom they classed the Romans. Cato, finding that their patients lived, notwithstanding this detestable conspiracy, began to regard the Greek practitioners as impious sorcerers, who counteracted the course of nature, and restored dying men to life by means of unholy charms; and he therefore advised his countrymen to remain steadfast, not only by their old Roman principles and manners, but also by the venerable unguents and salubrious balsams which had come down to them from the wisdom of their grandmothers. Such as they were, Cato's old medical saws continued long in repute at Rome. — Aulus Gellius mentions Cato's

"*Libri quæstionum epistolicarum*," and Cicero his *Apophthegmata* (*De Off.* i. 29.), which was probably the first example of that class of works which, under the appellation of *Ana*, became in after-ages so fashionable and prevalent in France. — Cato wrote also a work entitled "*Carmen de Moribus.*" This, however, was not in verse, as might be supposed from the title; precepts, imprecations, and prayers, or any set formula whatever, were called *Carmina*. Dunlop, *Roman Lit.* vol. ii. p. 12. *seqq.*

Cato, Marcus Porcius, afterwards surnamed in history *Uticensis*, on account of his having destroyed himself at Utica, was the great-grandson of Cato the censor. His parents died when he was very young, and he was educated under the roof of his mother's brother, Livius Drusus. He was austere in his morals, a strict follower of the tenets of the Stoic sect, and so great a lover of what was virtuous and right, as to pursue every object of such a nature with undeviating steadiness, regardless of the difficulties which he might have to encounter, or of the dangers to which he might be exposed. Cato exerted himself, though in vain, to stem the torrent of Roman luxury and corruption, and in his own person he copied the simplicity of earlier days. He often appeared barefooted in public, and never travelled but on foot. In whatever office he was employed, he always reformed its abuses, and restored the ancient regulations. To the qualities of a virtuous man, and the rectitude of a stern patriot, Cato added the intrepidity of a brave soldier and the talents of an able general. In the affair of the conspiracy of Catiline, he gave Cicero his constant and vigorous support; and it was chiefly through his efforts, in opposition to those of Cæsar, that the accomplices of Catiline were capitally punished. This virtuous Roman put an end to his existence at Utica, after the defeat of Juba and Scipio by Cæsar in the battle of Thapsus. Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.*

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, a noble Roman, conspicuous for both his love of country and private virtues. He was the colleague of Marius, in the consulship, when the Cimbri and Teutones came down upon the south of Europe; and he was engaged with that commander in the sanguinary conflict at the Raudii Campi, where the Cimbri were so signally defeated by the Romans. We afterwards find him censor with Crassus; and, subsequently to this, opposing the attempt of Crassus to make Egypt tributary. Catulus was in politics on the aristocratic side, and was of course a warm opponent of Julius Cæsar. He was competitor also with the latter for the office of pontifex, but was unsuccessful in his application. The character of Catulus stood deservedly high. A stranger to flattery and adulation, he reproved, with equal openness, the levity of the multitude, and the misconduct of the senate. After a long life of honourable usefulness, Catulus was compelled to put an end to his days, by order of the sanguinary Marius. In order to effect this, he shut himself up in a narrow chamber, newly plastered, and suffocated himself by the vapour produced by a large fire. Cic. *pro Font.* xv.— Id. *pro Muren.* xvii.— Id. *Orat.* iii. 3.— Plut. *Vit. Mar.* xiv. *seqq.* — Id. *ibid* xliv. — Id. *Vit. Crass.* xiii.

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, son of the preceding. He obtained the consulship along with Lepidus, B. C. 78, and opposed the views of his colleague, who was in favour of rescinding the acts of Sylla. He dedicated the new capitol, the old one having been destroyed by fire. Catulus was the first who hailed Cicero as "the father of his country," and

it was he who accused Cæsar of participation in the conspiracy of Catiline. This is also the Catulus who opposed the passing of the Manilian Law, and of whom Plutarch relates the anecdote which we have mentioned in *Orat. pro Leg. Manil.* chap. xx. note 3. His character for patriotism and integrity stood as high as his father's had. Cic. *Or. III. in Cat.* ch. x.—Id. *in Verr.* iv. 31.—Id. *pro Manil. Leg.* xvii. *seqq.*—Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 72.—Vell. Paterc. ii. 31.

Cethegus, Caius Cornelius, a Roman of corrupt morals and turbulent character. He filled at one time the office of tribune, and was also a warm partisan of Sylla, after having originally sided with Marius. Subsequently, however, losing the influence which he had possessed, he joined in the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero informs us, that, in rashness and daring, he surpassed Catiline himself, and almost equalled him in strength of body, love of arms, and dignity of birth. In arranging the details of the plot, the conspirators assigned to Cethegus the task of posting himself at the door of Cicero's house, and, after he had forced an entrance, of murdering that illustrious Roman. The vigilance of Cicero frustrated this design. Cethegus was apprehended along with Lentulus and the rest, and strangled in prison.—Sallust, *B. C.* xliii.—Id. *ibid.* xlv.—Cic. *Or. III. in Cat.* iii.

Cicero, Quintus Tullius, brother of the orator. He attained to the dignity of prætor, A. U. C. 693, and afterwards held a government in Asia, as proprætor, for four years. Quintus returned to Rome at the moment when his brother was driven into exile; and for some time after was chiefly employed in exerting himself to obtain his recall. Subsequently to this, we find him serving as one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul, and displaying much courage and ability on many trying and important occasions. During the civil war, however, he abandoned the side of Cæsar, and espoused the party of Pompey. But, after the battle of Pharsalia, he followed Cæsar into Asia, in order to obtain a pardon; and that he might the more easily accomplish this, he threw all the blame of his defection upon his brother the orator. For this purpose, he made it a point, in all his letters and remarks to Cæsar's friends, to rail at the orator in a most unfeeling and disgraceful manner. At a subsequent period he was proscribed by the triumvirate, and concealed himself at Rome, but was discovered and put to death together with his son.—We have remaining, at the present day, the correspondence of Cicero, the orator, with his brother Quintus. The first letter in the collection is one of the noblest productions of the kind that has ever been penned. It is addressed to Quintus on occasion of his government in Asia being prolonged for a third year. Availing himself of the rights of an elder brother, as well as of the authority derived from his superior dignity and talents, Cicero counsels and exhorts his brother concerning the due administration of his province, particularly with regard to the choice of his subordinate officers, and the degree of trust to be reposed in them. He earnestly reproves him, but with much fraternal tenderness and affection, for his proneness to resentment; and he concludes with a beautiful exhortation, to strive in all respects to merit the praise of his contemporaries, and bequeath to posterity an untainted name.—Along with Cicero's letters to Quintus there is usually printed an epistle or memoir, which the latter addressed to his brother when he stood candidate for the consulship, and which is entitled "*De Petitione Consulatus.*" It gives advice with regard to the measures he should pursue to attain his object,

particularly inculcating the best means to gain private friends and acquire general popularity. But though professedly drawn up merely for the use of his brother Marcus, it appears to have been intended by the author as a guide or manual, for all who might be placed in similar circumstances. It is written with considerable elegance, and great purity of style, and forms an important document for the history of the Roman republic, as it affords us a clearer insight, than we can derive from any other work now extant, into the intrigues resorted to by the heads of parties to gain the suffrages of the people. We have also remaining a small poem by Quintus Cicero, in twenty-one verses, on the signs of the zodiac, and two epigrams preserved in Burmann's *Anthology*. He is said to have composed tragedies, which are now lost. Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* v. 3.—Id. *ibid.* xi. 8.—Id. *ibid.* 9.—Dio Cassius, xlvii. 10.—Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.—Bähr, *Gesch. Rom. Lit.* p. 85.—Schöll. *Hist. Lit. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 141.—Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 493.

Cinna, Lucius Cornelius, a Roman nobleman of considerable influence and personal bravery. He was consul with Cn. Octavius, B. C. 91, but was deprived by his colleague of his consular authority, and driven by him out of the city because he had by force procured the enactment of several injurious laws. Obtaining possession of the army of Appius Claudius, he declared war on the government, and called to his assistance Marius and other exiles from Africa. Cinna and Marius eventually triumphed; Rome opened her gates, and the most cruel excesses were committed by the victors. All the leading men of the party of Sylla were put to death, and their property confiscated. Cinna and Marius then declared themselves consuls, and the latter died on the very first day of his entering upon office. L. Valerius Flaccus succeeded him. In his third and fourth consulships, Cinna had Cn. Papirius Carbo for his colleague, with whom he made preparations for a war against Sylla, who was then engaged in the operations against Mithridates. During the fourth consulship of Cinna, Julius Cæsar married his daughter Cornelia. Cinna eventually, after raising a powerful armament against Sylla was slain by a centurion of his own army, a rumour having been spread among his soldiers that he had put Pompey, then quite a young man, to death. Haughty, violent, always eager for vengeance, addicted to debauchery, precipitate in his designs, but nevertheless pursuing them with courage, Cinna had passions that caused him to aspire to tyranny, and but few of those talents that would otherwise have led to it. Florus, iii. 21.—Vell. Paterc. ii. 20.—Appian, *B. C.* i. 64. *seqq.*—Plut. *Vit. Syll.* x.—Id. *Vit. Mar.* xli.

Claudius, Appius, called for distinction sake "*Minor*," or "the younger," having a brother of the same name, who was called, for a similar reason, "*Major*," or "the elder." He was prætor in the year when Archias was registered, and afterwards consul with P. Servilius Isauricus. Cic. *pro. Arch.* v.—*Pro Planc.* xxi.

Clodius, Publius, a Roman of noble birth, but infamous for the corruption of his morals. Among other offences, he is said to have violated the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, by penetrating into the house of Cæsar, during their celebration, disguised in female attire. He was led to the commission of this act by a guilty attachment for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Being tried for this impiety, he managed to escape by corrupting the judges. Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, for the purpose of being elected tribune of the commons, and while hold-

ing this office had a number of laws passed, favourable to the people, but contrary to the principles of the Roman constitution. He caused the command of an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to be given to Cato, whom he detested, in the hope that he might fail in this enterprise, and lose in consequence the credit and influence which he enjoyed at Rome. He cherished also a bitter hatred against Cicero, and procured his banishment from Italy, on the ground that he had violated the laws in the punishment inflicted upon the accomplices of Catiline. He even caused his house to be demolished, and put up his effects at auction, but no one would purchase them. Clodius was eventually assassinated by the retinue of Milo, on an accidental rencontre having taken place between the two, as Milo was journeying towards Lanuvium, his native place, and Clodius was on his way to Rome. Cic. *Or. post Red. in Sen.* — Id. *pro Dom.* — Id. *de Har. Resp.* — Id. *pro Milone.* — Id. *Ep. ad Att.* i. 12. — Id. *ibid.* i. 18.

Cœparius, Quintus, a native of Terracina, and accomplice in the conspiracy of Catiline. He was preparing to set out for Apulia, to rouse and arm the slaves against the state, at the time the conspiracy was discovered. Having learnt that the plot was detected, he fled from Rome, before the officers, sent by the consuls to apprehend him, arrived at his house, but was afterwards taken and strangled in prison. Sallust. *B. C.* xlvi. — Id. *ibid.* lv.

Cotta, Lucius, the colleague of Lucius Torquatus in the consulship. During his magistracy the capitol was struck by lightning, A. U. C. 688. Cic. *de Div.* i. 12. — Id. *Or. III. in Cat.* viii.

Crassus, Lucius Licinius, a celebrated Roman orator highly commended by Cicero, who has made him one of the principal interlocutors, in his dialogues *de Oratore.* He commenced his oratorical career at the early age of nineteen, when he acquired much reputation, by his accusation of Caius Carbo; and not long afterwards he greatly heightened his fame, by his defence of the virgin Licinia. Another of the best speeches of Crassus, was that addressed to the people in favour of the law of Servilius Cæpio, restoring in part the judicial power to the senate, of which they had recently been deprived in order to vest it solely in the *equites.* But the most splendid of all the public displays of Crassus was the immediate cause of his death, which happened A. U. C. 662, a short time before the commencement of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla; and a few days after the period in which he is supposed to have borne a part in the dialogue *De Oratore.* The consul Philippus had declared, in one of the assemblies of the people, that some other advice must be resorted to, since, with such a senate as then existed, he could no longer direct the affairs of the government. A full senate-house being immediately summoned, Crassus arraigned, in terms of the most glowing eloquence, the conduct of the consul, who, instead of acting as the political parent and guardian of the senate, sought to deprive its members of their ancient inheritance of respect and dignity. Being farther irritated by an attempt on the part of Philippus to force him into compliance with his designs, he exerted, on this occasion, the utmost effort of his genius and strength; but he returned home with a pleuritic fever, of which he died seven days after. This oration of Crassus, followed as it was by his almost immediate death, made a deep impression on his countrymen; who, long afterwards, were wont to repair to the senate-house, for the purpose of viewing the spot where he had last stood, aud where he fell,

as it may be said, in defence of the privileges of his order. — Crassus left hardly any orations behind him, and he died while Cicero was still in his boyhood; yet that author, having collected the opinions of those who had heard him, speaks with a minute and apparently perfect intelligence of his mode of oratory. He was what may be called the most ornamental speaker that had hitherto appeared in the Forum. He was master of the most pure and accurate language, and of perfect eloquence of expression, without any affectation, or unpleasant appearance of previous study. Great clearness of exposition distinguished all his harangues, and, while descanting on topics of law or equity, he possessed an inexhaustible fund of argument and illustration. In speaking he showed an uncommon modesty, which went even the length of bashfulness. This diffidence never entirely forsook him; and, after the practice of a long life at the bar, he was frequently so much intimidated in the exordium of his discourse, that he was observed to grow pale, and to tremble in every part of his frame. Some persons considered Crassus, as only equal to Antonius; others preferred him as the more perfect and accomplished orator. Crassus possessed a greater acquaintance with literature, and showed off his information to the most advantage. His language was indisputably preferable to that of Antony; but the action and gesture of Antony were as incontestably superior to those of Crassus. Dunlop, *Roman Literature*, vol. ii. p. 215.

Crassus, M. Licinius, a celebrated Roman, surnamed "the Rich," on account of his great opulence. At first he was very circumscribed in his circumstances, but by educating slaves, and selling them for a high price, he soon enriched himself. Crassus distinguished himself in the war against Spartacus, after which he was chosen consul with Pompey; and on laying down the consulship, obtained after a short interval the office of censor. His supposed participation in the conspiracy of Catiline was probably without any foundation in truth. What purpose could Crassus, in fact, propose to himself, by entering into a plot to burn a city, in which his own property was so considerable? The enmity which arose between Cicero and Crassus, in consequence of the alleged guilt of the latter, was so bitter, that, according to Plutarch, it would have shown itself by some act of violence on the part of Crassus, had not his son Publius, who was very intimate with Cicero, prevented it. He even prevailed on his father, eventually, to become reconciled to the orator. Crassus became afterwards a member of the first triumvirate; and, obtaining Syria for his province, marched against the Parthians, by whom he was defeated and slain. Plut. *Vit. Crass.*

Crassus, P. Licinius, held the consulship with Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, A. U. C. 656. He was afterwards censor, A. U. C. 664, along with L. Julius Cæsar, and during his censorship no part of the people were rated. This Crassus was father of the preceding. In an ancient inscription his prænomen is given as Marcus. *Or. pro Arch.* v. — Ernesti, *Ind. Hist.* s. v.

Curius, Quintus, a Roman of good family, whose disgraceful and immoral conduct had caused his expulsion from the senate by the censors. He was connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, but divulged the secret to Fulvia, a female of high rank, but corrupt principles, with whom he was intimate. Fulvia communicated the danger which threatened the state and the lives of the citizens; and the alarm which this occasioned caused the election of Cicero to the consulship. Cicero subsequently

prevailed upon Curius, through the means of Fulvia, to discover to him all the movements of Catiline, and was thus enabled to baffle the schemes of that daring conspirator. In return for these services, rewards were voted him from the public treasury; but Cæsar, whom Curius had named among the conspirators, exerted himself against the fulfilment of the public promise, and the rewards were not given. Sallust. *B. C.* xxiii. — Plut. *Vit. Cic.* xi.

Didius, Titus, a Roman, who, although of lowly origin, rose notwithstanding to the highest offices in the state. In his prætorship he triumphed over the Scordisci. He was afterwards consul, along with Q. Metellus, A. U. C. 655. Cic. *Or. pro Planc.* xxv. — Id. *in Pis.* xxv.

Diogenes, a celebrated philosopher of the Cynic sect, born in the third year of the ninety-first Olympiad, at Sinope, a city of Pontus. He was a pupil of Antisthenes, and entirely adopted the principles and character of his master. Renouncing every other object of ambition, he determined to distinguish himself by his contempt of riches and honours, and by his indignation against luxury. He wore a coarse cloak, carried a wallet and a staff, made the porticoes and other public places his habitation, and depended upon casual contributions for his daily bread. He practised the most rigid self-control, and the strictest abstinence, exposing himself to the utmost extremes of heat and cold, and living upon the simplest diet. He died in the 90th year of his age. Diogenes left behind him no system of philosophy. After the example of his master, he was more attentive to practical than theoretical wisdom. Enfield, *Hist. Phil.* vol. i. p. 305. *seqq.*

Drusus, Marcus Livius, a Roman tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 662, who, among other ordinances, proposed a law that the allied states of Italy should be admitted to the freedom of the city. Drusus was a man of great eloquence, and of the most upright intentions; but endeavouring to reconcile those whose interests were diametrically opposite, he was crushed in the attempt, being assassinated at his own house, by Quintus Varius, as was thought, and as Cicero expressly states, although other writers omit the name. The states of Italy considered his death as the signal for revolt, and endeavoured to extort by force, what they could not obtain voluntarily. In other words, the Social war arose. Vell. Paterc. ii. 13. *seqq.* — Liv. *Epit.* lxx. — Cic. *N. D.* iii. 33.

Ennius, a native of Rudiæ, in Calabria, who lived from A. U. C. 515 to 585. He has generally received the glorious appellation of the Father of Roman song. In his early youth he went to Sardinia; and, if Silius Italicus may be believed, he served in the Calabrian levies, which, in the year 538, followed Titus Manlius to the war which he waged in that island against the favourers of the Carthaginian cause. After the termination of the campaign, he continued to live for twelve years in Sardinia. He was at length brought to Rome by Cato the censor, who, in 550, visited Sardinia, on returning as quæstor from Africa. At Rome, he instructed the patrician youth in Greek, and acquired the friendship of many of the most illustrious men in the state. Being distinguished in arms as well as in letters, he followed M. Fulvius Nobilior, during his expedition to Ætolia in 564; and in 569 he obtained the freedom of the city, through the favour of Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the son of his former patron, Marcus. He was also protected by the

elder Africanus. He is said to have been intemperate in drinking, which brought on the disease called *Morbus Articularis*, a disorder resembling the gout, of which he died at the age of 70. A bust of the poet was placed on the family tomb of the Scipios. — To judge by the fragments of his works that remain, Ennius greatly surpassed his predecessors, not only in poetical genius, but in the art of versification. By this time, indeed, the best models of Greek composition had begun to be studied at Rome. We find, accordingly, in the works of Ennius, innumerable imitations of the Iliad and Odyssey. It is, however, the Greek tragic writers whom he has chiefly imitated; and, indeed, it appears from the fragments which remain, that all his plays were rather adapted from the dramas of Sophocles, than original tragedies. Ennius was also a satirical writer, and the first who introduced this species of composition into Rome. His satires, however, appear to have been merely a kind of *cento*, made up from passages of various poems, which, by slight alterations, were humorously or satirically applied, and chiefly to the delineation of character. It is much to be regretted, that we possess such scanty fragments of these satires, which would have been curious as first attempts at a species of composition, which was carried to such perfection by succeeding Latin poets, and which has been regarded as almost peculiar to the Romans. But the great work of Ennius, and of which we have still considerable remains, was his Annals, or metrical chronicles, devoted to the celebration of Roman exploits, from the earliest periods to the conclusion of the Istrian war. These annals were written by him in his old age; at least, Aulus Gellius informs us, on the authority of Varro, that the 12th book was finished by him in his 67th year. We have fragments also of some other works of his. On the whole, the productions of Ennius are rather pleasing and interesting, as the early blossoms of that poetry, which afterwards opened to such perfection, than estimable from their intrinsic beauty. Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. *seqq.*

Falcidius, Caius, a tribune of the commons, who is mentioned in the oration for the Manilian law, as having been appointed to a lieutenancy the year after he had filled the tribuneship. *Or. pro L. M.* xix.

Flaccus, Lucius, was one of the prætors during the consulship of Cicero, and arrested, by order of the latter, in conjunction with Caius Pomptinus, the ambassadors of the Allobroges, at the Mulvian bridge. He was also military tribune, under P. Servilius, in Cilicia, and quæstor with M. Piso in Spain. We have an oration remaining which Cicero delivered in his behalf, when he was accused of extortion in his government of Asia by D. Lælius. He had obtained this government after going through the quæstorship at home. *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. ii.—*Pro Flacc.* i., &c.

Flaccus, Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, who was charged with the execution of the Agrarian law, proposed by the Gracchi, and who seconded the efforts of Tiberius Gracchus to procure for all the Italians the rights of Roman citizenship. Having been sent against the Gauls, he defeated them and obtained the honours of a triumph. Four years after this, he was cited by the consul Opimius, along with Tiberius Gracchus, to render an account of his conduct. Flaccus refused to answer the summons, and seized on mount Aventine. Opimius attacked him here, and having put to flight his followers, forced him to take

refuge in an old and neglected public bath, where he was slain with his eldest son. Vell. Paterc. ii. 7. — Plut. *Vit. C. Gracch.*

Flamininus, Titus Quintius, a celebrated Roman commander, who obtained the consulship A. U. C. 556, before he was thirty years old. Macedonia and the war with Philip fell to his lot. He defeated the enemy on the banks of the Aous, detached the Achæan league from the party of Philip, and crowned his successes by the victory at Cynoscephalæ, after which the king of Macedon found himself compelled to give freedom to the Greek cities in Europe and Asia. Flamininus announced this intelligence, kept secret till then, to the multitude assembled at the Isthmian games, and it was received with the loudest acclamations. Flamininus respected the laws, and adopted the usages and manners of the Greeks, and by this wise course of conduct merited the name of their father and liberator. He was afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, where Hannibal had taken refuge, with a demand that the latter should be put to death; and his prudence and address contributed not a little to remove from existence a man who had so long been a terror to the Romans. After having held the consular office a second time, Flamininus was found dead in his bed. Plut. *Vit. Flam.*

Flavius, Cneius, the son of a freedman, but an artful and eloquent man. Livy calls him Caius Flavius, and makes his father's name to have been Cneius, but Caius is given as the true prænomen by Drakenborch (ad Liv. ix. 46.). He was scribe to Appius Cæcus, the ædile, and published, for the use of the people, an account of the *dies fasti*, or days on which legal proceedings could be had, which was called from him *Jus Flavianum.* The people in return made him curule ædile. The mode which he adopted of making the days in question known to all was to hang up to public view, round the forum, the calendar on white tablets. His elevation was of course extremely unpalatable to the patricians, nor did his own behaviour towards them at all tend to diminish this feeling. To the great displeasure of the nobles, he performed the dedication of the temple of Concord, and the Pontifex Maximus was compelled to dictate to him the form of words, although he affirmed, that consistently with the practice of antiquity, no other than a consul, or commander in chief, could dedicate a temple. Livy says, that Flavius owed his appointment to the ædileship to a faction composed of the lowest of the people, which had gathered strength during the censorship of Appius Claudius; for Appius was the first who degraded the senate, by electing into it the sons of freedmen; and when he found that no one allowed that election to be valid, and that his conduct in the senate-house had not procured him the influence in the city, which it had been his principal object to attain, he distributed men of the meanest order among the different tribes, and thus corrupted the assemblies both of the forum and Campus Martius. To these men Flavius owed his preferment. Liv. ix. 46.

Fulvia, a Roman female of high rank, but corrupt principles, who gave Cicero secret information of all the movements of Catiline's party. Her informant was Curius. Sallust. *B. C.* xxiii. — Id. *ibid.* xxvi.

Fulvius, Marcus. *Vid.* Nobilior.

Furius, Lucius, was consul A. U. C. 617, along with Sextus Atilius Serranus. He was distinguished in some degree by a taste for literature, and Cicero remarks of him, "*perbene Latine locutus est, et literatius quam ceteri.*" *Brut.* xxviii.

Furius, Publius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, remarkable for his active and daring spirit. He is supposed to be the one to whom Sallust alludes under the epithet *Fesulanus*. He fell fighting among the foremost, at the battle of Pistoria, where Catiline was defeated by the forces of the republic. Sallust. *B. C.* lx.

Gabinius, Aulus, a tribune of the commons, who proposed the law by which Pompey was invested with supreme command in the war against the pirates. He appears to have been a man of very corrupt and profligate character. For an account of the provisions of this law, consult *Orat. pro Leg. M.* chap. xii. note 20.; and for some remarks respecting the private character of Gabinius, chap. xix. note 4. of the same oration. Cicero states, that Gabinius was the only one to whom a "*supplicatio*" had not been allowed. *Philipp.* xiv. 8.

Gabinius, Publius, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls Cimber. This individual appears to have been one of the most worthless among the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment with Lentulus and the rest. *Orat. III. in Cat.* iii. — Sallust. *B. C.* lv.

Gabinius. *Vide* Capito.

Galba, Publius Sulpicius, a Roman senator, who held also at one time the office of Pontifex Maximus. He was a competitor of Cicero's for the consulship, but did not succeed. *Or. in Verr.* vii. — *De Har. Resp.* vi. — *Ep. ad Att.* i. 1. — *Or. pro Muren.* viii.

Galba, Servius Sulpicius, was consul along with Marcus Æmilius Scaurus. Cicero speaks highly of his power, as an orator, in arousing and swaying the feelings of his auditors. He was accused by L. Libo, a tribune of the commons, of having cruelly slain a large number of the Lusitani, in his government of Spain, contrary to his own plighted word, and was only acquitted by exciting in his behalf the commiseration of the people. (Consult *Orat. pro Murena*, chap. xxviii. note 9.) He was an ancestor of the emperor Galba. Cic. *de Or.* ii. 65. — *Pro Rabir.* vii. — *Brut.* xxi. — Sueton. *Galb.* iii.

Gallus, Caius Acilius, an eminent lawyer, highly praised by Cicero. *Brut.* xxiii. — *Top.* xii. — *Pro Muren.* xxxvii.

Gellius, Lucius, held the censorship, A. U. C. 683, along with Cn. Lentulus, who had also been his colleague in the consulship, 681. It was he who declared that a civic crown ought to be voted to Cicero, for his preservation of the republic. Cic. *pro Cluent.* xlii. — *Ad Quir. post Red.* vii. — *In Pis.* iii.

Glabrio, Manius Acilius, held the consulship A. U. C. 684. He was named as the successor of Lucullus, in the government of Bithynia and Pontus, and in the management of the Mithridatic war, but was soon after superseded by Pompey. He appears to have been a person of very little military talent, and not very upright in the discharge of his duties as commander. *Orat. pro Leg. Man.* ix. — *Brut.* lxviii.

Glaucia, Caius, a seditious and profligate individual, put to death while holding the prætorship, when Marius and Valerius were consuls. The senate had passed the usual decree, directing the consuls to see that the republic sustained no injury. Saturninus and Glaucia, who were acting in concert, fled into the capitol, with a number of their followers. Here they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith.

Marius tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail. They no sooner came down into the forum, than they were all put to the sword. Such, at least, is the account of Plutarch. Florus, however, says that the people despatched them with clubs and stones. Cicero indulges in some degree of oratorical exaggeration, when he makes Glaucia to have been put to death by the immediate act of Marius. Plut. *Vit. Mar.* xxx. Cic. *Orat. III. in Cat.* vi. — *Pro Rab.* vii. — Flor. iii. 16.

Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. He was twice consul, and once censor, and was distinguished as well for his integrity, as his prudence and superior ability, both in the senate and at the head of armies. He carried on military operations in Gaul and Spain, and met with much success in the latter country. He married Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus, by whom he had the Gracchi. Plut. *Vit. Gracchorum.* — Cic. *Brut.* xx. — *Prov. Cons.* viii.

Gracchi. There were two brothers of this name, Tiberius Gracchus, and Caius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major. Tiberius, the elder, was of a mild and unruffled temper; but Caius, violent and irascible. The object of the two brothers, begun by the elder and followed up by the younger, was to have the public lands divided among the citizens. Appian says, that the nobles and rich men, partly by getting possession of the public lands, partly by buying up the shares of indigent owners, had made themselves masters of all the lands in Italy, and had thus, by degrees, accomplished the removal of the common people from their possessions. This abuse stimulated Tiberius Gracchus to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 *jugera*, or about 350 acres of land. The owners, however, were to be indemnified for the land they had thus lost. The attempts of the Gracchi cost them their lives. Tiberius was slain in a collision between his adherents and the party of the nobility headed by Scipio Nasica. Caius was slain some years afterwards by the consul Opimius and his party. Plut. *Vit. Gracch.*

Gratius, the accuser of Archias, probably some obscure individual. The earlier reading was *Gracchus*, which induced Ilgen to think that Numerius Quinctius Gracchus was meant, who was tribune of the commons, A. U.C. 697; but consult *Orat. pro Arch.* chap. iv. note 9.

Herennius, Marcus, a public speaker of only moderate ability, who nevertheless triumphed over L. Philippus, in a contest for the consulship, A. U. C. 660. — *Brut.* xlv. — *Pro Muren.* xvii.

Hortensius, Quintus, an orator and statesman, whose name has been handed down to us by Cicero, with great commendation. He filled in succession the offices of prætor and consul, and died B. C. 50, in the 63d year of his age. His first appearance at the bar was at the early age of 19, and his excellence, says Cicero, was immediately acknowledged. The imminent perils of the Social war, which broke out in 663, that is, about four years after his first appearance, interrupted in a great measure the business of the forum, and hence we find Hortensius serving in this alarming contest for one year as a volunteer, and in the following season as military tribune. When, on the re-establishment of peace in Italy, in 666, he returned to Rome, and resumed the more peaceful avocations to which he had been destined from his youth, he found himself without a rival. Crassus died in 662, before the troubles of Marius and Sylla; Antonius, with other orators of inferior note, perished in 666, during the

temporary and last ascendancy of Marius, in the absence of Sylla. Sulpicius was put to death the same year, and Cotta driven into banishment, from which he was not recalled until the return of Sylla to Rome, and his elevation to the dictatorship in 670. Hortensius was thus left, for some years, without a competitor; and, after 670, with none of eminence but Cotta, whom also he soon outshone. His splendid, warm, and animated manner was preferred to the calm and easy elegance of his rival. Accordingly, when engaged in a cause on the same side, Cotta, though ten years his senior, was employed to open the case, while the more important parts were left to the management of Hortensius. He continued the undisputed sovereign of the forum, till Cicero returned from his quæstorship in Sicily, in 679, when the talents of that orator first displayed themselves in full perfection and maturity. Hortensius was thus, from 666 till 679, a space of thirteen years, at the head of the Roman bar; and being, in consequence, engaged, during that long period, on one side or other, in every cause of importance, he soon amassed a prodigious fortune. He lived, too, with a magnificence corresponding to his wealth. His house at Rome, which was splendidly furnished, formed the centre of the chief imperial palace, which increased from the time of Augustus to that of Nero, till it nearly covered the whole Palatine mount, and branched over other hills. Besides his mansion in the capital, he possessed sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentum, where he was accustomed to give the most elegant and expensive entertainments. — Hortensius was prætor in 682, and consul two years afterwards. The wealth and dignities he had obtained, and the want of competition, made him gradually relax from that assiduity by which they had been acquired, till the increasing fame of Cicero, and particularly the glory of his consulship, stimulated him to renew his exertions. But his habit of labour had been in some degree lost, and he never recovered his former reputation. Cicero partly accounts for his decline from the peculiar nature and genius of his eloquence. It was of that showy species called Asiatic, which flourished in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and was infinitely more florid and ornamental than the oratory of Athens, or even Rhodes, being full of brilliant thoughts and sparkling expressions. This glowing style of rhetoric, though deficient in solidity and weight, was not unsuitable in a young man; and, being farther recommended by a beautiful cadence of periods, met with the utmost applause. But Hortensius, as he advanced in life, did not correct this exuberance, nor adopt a chaster eloquence; and this luxury and glitter of phraseology, being totally inconsistent with his advanced age and consular dignity, caused his reputation to diminish with the increase of years. His elocution, too, became eventually much impaired by a constant toothach, and swellings in his jaws, and this complaint became at length so severe, as to accelerate his end. The speeches of Hortensius suffered greatly by being transferred to writing, his chief excellence consisting in action and delivery. None of his speeches have come down to us. Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 222.

Julius. *Vid.* L. Julius Cæsar.

Julia, a Roman female, of the house of the Cæsars, but of a different branch from that whence sprang Julia, the aunt of Julius Cæsar, and wife of Marius. She was first maried to M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she had Antony the triumvir; and after the death of Creticus,

she was united to Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline. The punishment of her second husband was the origin, according to Plutarch, of the enmity that prevailed between Mark Antony and Cicero. Plut. *Vit. Anton.* c. ii.

Læca, Marcus Porcius, an accomplice of Catiline's, who, in the dead of night, convened the leading members of the conspircay at his own house, just before the discovery of the plot. He was a descendant of M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, who had a law passed prohibiting magistrates from punishing a Roman citizen with death, and substituting for capital punishment, banishment and confiscation of property. Sallust, *B. C.* xxvii.

Lælius, Caius, a Roman, celebrated for his intimate friendship with the elder Africanus, which commenced in early life. He followed that eminent commander in all his campaigns, and was the confidant of all his secrets. Lælius commanded the Roman fleet which blockaded the port of Carthage, while Scipio pressed the siege by land; and after the capture of the place he was presented by Scipio with a golden crown and thirty oxen, besides receiving the highest encomiums for his signal services. He was afterwards elected ædile, and finally attained to the consulship, B. C. 190. Liv. xxvi. 42. — Id. xxvii. 7. — Id. xxviii. 23. &c.

Lælius, Caius, surnamed *Sapiens*, or "the Wise," was the son, or, according to some, the grandson of the preceding, and equally celebrated for his friendship with the younger Africanus. While prætor, he successfully prosecuted the war against Viriathus, B. C. 146, and subsequently, B. C. 140, was chosen to the consulship. Lælius was more eminent, however, for private virtues and intellectual endowments than military abilities; and it is to him that Cicero assigns the eulogium on Friendship, in his dialogue "*de Amicitia.*" Scipio and Lælius were reported, though without any truth, to have aided Terence in the composition of his dramatic pieces. Cic. *de Inv.* i. 7. — Id. *de Off.* ii. 11. —Id. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 19.

Lentulus, Cneius Cornelius, was consul with L. Gellius, A. U. C. 681, and afterwards censor with the same. He is described by Cicero as producing considerable effect, in public speaking, by the management of his tones and looks, but to have been by no means a solid or fluent speaker. Cic. *in Verr.* v. 7.—*Pro Cluent.* xlii.—*Brut.* lxvi.— *Or. pro L. Man.* xxiii.

Lentulus, Cneius, was tribune of the commons, and the next year enjoyed a lieutenancy. *Or. pro L. Man.* xix.

Lentulus, Lucius, was prætor, when P. Gabinius was condemned for extortion. *Or. pro Arch.* v.

Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, was consul A. U. C. 591, and subsequently *princeps senatus.* He was the grandfather of Lentulus the accomplice of Catiline, and is highly commended by Cicero for his patriotism. *Or. in Cæcil.* xxi.— *Orat. III. in Cat.* v.

Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Sura*, a Roman nobleman, possessed of some share of talent, but extremely corrupt in his private character. The interest of his family, and the affability of his manners, proceeding from a love of popularity, raised him through the usual gradation of public honours to the office of consul, which he obtained B. C. 73, in conjunction with Cn. Aufidius Orestis. Expelled from the senate

on account of his immoral conduct, he had procured the prætorship, the usual step for being again restored to that body, when Catiline formed his design for subverting the government. Poverty, the natural consequence of excessive dissipation, added to immoderate vanity and extravagant ambition, induced him to join in the conspiracy. The soothsayers easily persuaded him, that he was the third one of the *Gens Cornelia* destined by the fates to enjoy the supreme power at Rome. L. Cornelius Sylla, and L. Cornelius Cinna, had both attained to that elevation. His schemes, however, all proved abortive, and he was strangled in prison with the other conspirators who had been arrested. Plutarch informs us, that he received the name of *Sura*, in consequence of his having wasted a large sum of public money, in his quæstorship, under Sylla, who, enraged at his conduct, demanded a statement of his accounts, in the senate; when Lentulus, with the utmost indifference, declared he had no accounts to produce, and contemptuously presented to him the *calf* of his leg (*sura*). Among the Romans, particularly among the boys, the player at tennis, who missed his stroke, presented the calf of his leg to receive as a punishment a certain number of blows upon it. Lentulus, in allusion to that game, acted in the manner just described, which accounts for the surname, or rather nickname, of *Sura*. Such is the account of Plutarch; but it may be doubted whether the explanation be correct, as regards the conspirator Lentulus; the name, as appears from Livy (xxii. 31.), being one of earlier date. Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. xvii. —Sallust, *B. C.* c. lv.

Lepidus, Manius, was consul with L. Volcatius Tullus, A. U. C. 687. Consult *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. vi. note 14.

Lepidus, Marcus, was consul with Catulus, A. U. C. 675. Consult *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. x. note 10.

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, a Roman noble, celebrated both for his munificence and military talents. He distinguished himself at first by his rapid progress in literary pursuits, and particularly in eloquence ana philosophy. His first campaigns were made in the war with the Marsi, where he acquired considerable reputation by his valour. He conciliated the favour of Sylla by his agreeable disposition, and by his constancy in friendship. This new connection procured for him in succession the offices of quæstor in Asia and prætor in Africa. In this latter province he won two naval victories over Hamilcar, and gained the affections of all by his justice, moderation, and humanity. Raised to the consulship, B. C. 74, and charged with the prosecution of the war against Mithridates, he commenced by delivering his colleague Cotta, who was besieged in Chalcedon. This success was followed by a great victory, gained over the forces of Mithridates, on the banks of the Granicus, and by the reduction of Bithynia. Similar success attended the Roman arms by sea; and Mithridates, stripped of his former power, was compelled to fly for refuge to his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia. Lucullus, on ascertaining his flight, hastened to cross the Euphrates, gave battle to a numerous army of the Armenian monarch, and gained a signal victory, although his own forces were far inferior in point of number to those of the foe. The capture of Tigranocerta, and the seizure of the royal treasures contained in it, were the fruits of this brilliant success. The following year was marked by the capture of Nisibis. The pride and severity of Lucullus, however, alienated from him the affections of his soldiers, and proved injurious to his interests at home. The defeat of

Triarius, his lieutenant, furnished a pretext for the attacks of the malevolent, and Pompey was appointed to succeed him in the command, and to continue the war against Mithridates. Their common friends brought Lucullus and Pompey to an interview. They met at first upon polite terms, but soon broke out into open variance, and parted greater enemies than ever. Lucullus upon this set out for Rome, with but 1600 men, which were all that Pompey allowed him to take home with him, in order to attend his triumph, and even the triumph itself he obtained with difficulty, such was the coldness with which he was received in the capital. The days of his glory terminated with this ceremony; and he lived after this in complete retirement, without taking any part in those civil disorders, which soon after arose in Rome, and in which, if he had been possessed of a little more ambition, he might have taken a very prominent place. He devoted the remainder of his days to literary pursuits, and to the society of his intimate friends, and had a large and valuable library, to which he took pleasure in admitting the wise and learned of the day. He himself wrote with equal excellence in both Greek and Latin, and composed a history of the Marsic war, in which he had served. Lucullus was remarkable for his lavish and expensive style of living, the means of supporting which he had obtained in abundance from his Asiatic campaigns. He died at the age of 67, or 68 years. The people, rendering tardy justice to his merits, insisted on burying him in the Campus Martius, and it was with great difficulty his brother obtained leave to inter him, in accordance with his own wish, on his estate at Tusculum. Plut. *Vit. Lucull.*

Mælius, Spurius, a Roman of equestrian rank, A. U. C. 315, who was possessed of extraordinary wealth for the times in which he lived, and strove to make it the means of attaining to sovereign power. Having, through his connections and dependants, brought up a large quantity of corn from Etruria, — which very step, most probably, obstructed the endeavours of the magistrates to lower the price of provisions,—he began the practice of bestowing largesses of corn; and having gained the favour of the commons by this munificence, he became the object of general attention. Assuming thence a degree of consequence, beyond what belonged to a private citizen, he drew the people after him in crowds wherever he went; and they, by the attachment which they expressed towards him, encouraged him to look up to the consulship with a certain prospect of success. He was disappointed, however, in his application for this office, and T. Quintius Cincinnatus and Agrippa Menenius were elected. The designs of Mælius becoming gradually known, he was denounced to the senate, by Minucius, president of the market, who stated that arms were getting collected in the dwelling of Mælius, that he held assemblies in his house, and that there remained not a doubt of his having formed a design to possess himself of absolute power. On this information being received, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, and the latter named Caius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse. The next day, after fixing proper guards, the dictator went down to the forum, and despatched Ahala with a summons for Mælius to appear before him. Mælius declined obeying the mandate, and endeavoured to excite the bystanders in his behalf, who actually rescued him from a lictor sent by the master of the horse to seize him. Betaking himself thereupon to flight, he was pur-

sued and slain by Ahala in person; and the deed was highly applauded by the dictator, who declared to Ahala that he had preserved the commonwealth. Liv. iv. 13. *seqq.*

Manlius, Caius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, whom the latter sent into Etruria to levy troops, and adopt whatever measures he might deem necessary for the success of the plot. He commanded the right wing of Catiline's army, in the final encounter, and fell fighting with the most desperate valour. Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable experience as an officer, and had accumulated great wealth, which, however, he soon squandered away. He engaged in the conspiracy to retrieve his ruined fortunes. Sallust, *B. C.* xxvii. — Id. *ibid.* lix. — Cic. *Orat. I. in Cat.* iii.

Manlius, Cneius, a man of humble origin, who is alluded to by Cicero as having triumphed over Catulus in an application for office. The orator describes him, as not only a person of ignoble birth, but also without merit, without talents, and sordid and contemptible in private life. He was defeated by the Cimbri, along with his colleague Cæpio, and was defended by Antonius when accused on this account by Sulpicius. Cic. *Orat. pro Muren.* xvii. — *Pro Planc.* v. — Vell. Paterc. ii. 12. — Drakenborch ad Liv. *Epit.* lxvii. — Ernesti ad Tac. *Germ.* xxxviii.

Marcellus, Caius, the brother of Marcus Marcellus whom Cæsar pardoned. He was consul with Cn. Lentulus, at the beginning of the civil war, and is not to be confounded with the Marcellus who held the consulship along with Lucius Paullus. Cic. *Orat. pro Marcell.* iv. — Manut. *Ep. ad Fam.* xv. 7.

Marcellus, Marcus, an accomplice and intimate friend of Catiline. *Orat. I. in Cat.* viii.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, held the consulship with Servius Sulpicius, B. C. 51. He was remarkable for his attachment to republican principles, and his uncompromising hostility towards Cæsar; and it was he who proposed to the senate to recall that commander from his province in Gaul. After the battle of Pharsalia, Marcellus went into voluntary exile, and was not pardoned by Cæsar until some considerable interval had elapsed, and then only at the earnest intercession of the senate. It was on this occasion that Cicero delivered his speech of thanks to Cæsar. Marcellus, however, did not long survive to enjoy the pardon thus obtained, having been assassinated by an adherent of his, P. Magius Cilo. Consult the concluding remark to the oration for Marcellus, page 269. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* iv. 12. — *Ep. ad Att.* xiii. 10. — Val. Max. ix. 11.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, the celebrated opponent of Hannibal, mentioned incidentally in the 16th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law. He is famous for the check which he gave Hannibal at Nola, for the capture of Syracuse, and for his subsequent successes against the Carthaginians in Southern Italy. He lost his life, by being entrapped into an ambuscade, at the age of 70, and in his fifth consulship. Marcellus was no less celebrated for his private than his public virtues. Liv. xxii. 35. — Id. xxiii. 14. — Id. xxiv. 9. — Id. xxv. 3. &c.

Marius, Caius, a native of Arpinum, remarkable for his military talents, but still more for his cruel and vindictive disposition. Having preserved the state by his bravery, he afterwards brought it to the brink

of ruin by his reckless and uncompromising violence. In early life he was a ploughman, and wrought for hire. Quitting that employment, he entered the ranks of the army, and distinguished himself under Scipio at the siege and capture of Numantia. From the condition of a common soldier, he gradually rose to the command of the Roman forces, and the office of consul. After bringing the war with Jugurtha to a close, he defeated, in two terrible encounters, the Teutones and Cimbri, slaying an immense number, and taking a vast multitude prisoners. After these signal victories, his ambitious feelings brought him into collision with Sylla, and a desolating civil war was the consequence. To crush the power of his rival, Sylla marched the troops, which he had raised to carry on the war against Mithridates, to the Roman capital, and Marius was obliged to flee. In his banishment he underwent uncommon hardships, from which he was in the end released by Cinna's embracing his interests. He then returned to Rome to satiate his inhuman resentment, and butchered many thousands of the citizens. Tired at last with murder and assassination, he and Cinna appointed themselves consuls. But Marius, worn out by infirmities, age, and excessive intoxication, to which he probably had recourse in order to blunt the stings of a guilty conscience, died on the first day of his being invested with the consulship for the seventh time. Plut. *Vit. Mar.* — Sallust, *B. J.* lxiii. &c.

Maximus, Quintus Fabius, an illustrious Roman, the well-known opponent of Hannibal, and styled *Cunctator*, from having saved his country by his wise delay and cautious operations. He is incidentally alluded to by Cicero in the 16th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law. Plut. *Vit. Fab. Max.*

Metellus, Quintus Cæcilius, surnamed *Numidicus*, enjoyed the consulship with M. Junius Silanus, B. C. 111. He obtained Numidia as his province; and had nearly brought the war against Jugurtha to a close, by his military talents and incorruptible integrity, when he was removed from the command by the intrigues of Marius. For defeating Jugurtha, and desolating Numidia, Metellus received the surname of Numidicus, and, according to Eutropius (iv. 27.), a triumph. Sometime after, he was summoned to trial by Saturninus, a tribune, for having refused to swear to observe the Agrarian law, which this individual had carried by force; and, although all the good citizens supported him, he went, in order to prevent any commotion, into voluntary exile at Rhodes. Marius pronounced sentence of banishment against him, B. C. 104; two years after which, however, he was honourably recalled. Sallust, *B. J.* xxx. *seqq.* — Vell. Paterc. ii. 9. — Aul. Gell. xvii. 2. — Val. Max. xiii. 8. — Cic. *pro Arch.* iii. &c.

Metellus, Quintus, surnamed *Pius*, was the son of Metellus Numidicus. He served under his father in Numidia, and is alluded to by Sallust in his history of the Jugurthine war. He obtained the consulship, B. C. 80, and was sent against Sertorius in Spain. The latter, however, proved far superior to him in talents and activity, though Metellus occasionally gained some advantages over him. The surname of *Pius* was given him on account of the sorrow he testified at the exile of his father, and his eager efforts to have him recalled. Plut. *Vit. Sert.* xxii. — Vell. Paterc. ii. 1. &c. — Sallust, *B. J.* xliv.

Metellus, Quintus, surnamed *Creticus*, was consul, B. C. 70, along with Q. Hortensius. On the expiration of his consulship, he obtained,

as pro-consul, the island of Crete for his province, and reduced it beneath the Roman sway, for which he obtained the surname above mentioned. He was honoured besides this with a triumph, notwithstanding the opposition of Pompey. Consult *Orat. pro Leg. Man.* chap. xii. note 27. — Sallust. *B. C.* xvii. — Vell. Paterc. ii. 34. — Cic. *Orat. in Verr.* i. 9. — *Pro Flacc.* xiii. — *Ep. ad Att.* i. 19.

Mithridates, a celebrated king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, surnamed Eupator, and the seventh in succession. He was distinguished for his personal bravery and military talents, and for the long resistance which he made to the armies of Rome. At last, however, being deserted by his allies, betrayed by his son Pharnaces, and frequently defeated by the Romans, he was, at his own request, slain by a Gaul, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies. The constitution of this monarch was so fortified by antidotes, of many of which he is said to have been the inventor, that the strongest and most active poisons had no effect upon him. The true form of the name appears to be *Mithradates*, the root being the appellation of the solar deity among the Persians, i. e. *Mithras* or *Mithra.* Custom, however, has sanctioned the other form. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* — Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* — Id. *Vit. Syll.*, &c.

Mummius, Lucius, surnamed *Achaicus*, from his overthrow of the Achæan league, and reduction of Southern Greece, was consul B. C. 146. He was sent into the Peloponnesus, against the Achæans, defeated their general Diæus, put an end to the famous league which bore their name, took and burnt Corinth, and reduced the whole of Southern Greece to a Roman province under the name of Achaia. He received the honours of a triumph, and the surname above mentioned. Mummius is celebrated for his disinterestedness, and his ignorance of the fine arts. He would not enrich himself with the spoils of Corinth; while so little acquainted was he with the value of paintings and statues and other masterpieces of art obtained from the captured city, as to enjoin upon those who were to convey them to Rome, that they should supply their places by others at their own expense, in case these were lost. Flor. ii. 6. —Vell. Paterc. i. 13. — Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7. — Id. *ibid.* xxxvii. 1. — Pausan. vii. 24.

Munatius, Titus, one of the associates of Catiline, described by Cicero as of dissolute habits, and deeply involved in debt. *Orat. II. in Cat.* ii.

Murena, Lucius Licinius, an eminent Roman general, who commanded one of the wings of the army of Sylla, in the battle with Archelaus, general of Mithridates, near Chæronea, B. C. 87. Sylla, shortly after this, having made an armistice with Mithridates, returned to Rome, leaving Murena in command of the Asiatic forces. This officer, pretending ignorance of the treaty, which had only been orally made between Sylla and Mithridates, invaded the territory of that monarch, and took and plundered Comana; but was subsequently defeated by Mithridates, and compelled to retire into Phrygia. These contests form in history what is termed the second Mithridatic war. Murena subsequently obtained a triumph at Rome, which, in the opinion of historians, was granted him by Sylla for no other reason than to match it against the trophies raised by Mithridates. His movements in Asia certainly do not appear to have entitled him to one. Appian, *B. M.* lxiii. *seqq.*

Murena, Lucius Licinius, son of the preceding, was one of the

lieutenants of Lucullus in Asia, and distinguished himself in the war against Mithridates. Not long after he stood candidate for the consulship, and was successful in his application, but was accused of bribery. Cicero defended him, and succeeded in procuring his acquittal. *Or. pro Muren.*

Murena, Caius Licinius, brother of the Murena whom Cicero defended. He was governor of Transalpine Gaul when Catiline's conspiracy broke out, and secured a number of the malcontents, who were endeavouring to excite commotions in his province. Sallust, *B. C.* xlii.

Natta, Lucius, a member of the old Pinarian line, and step-son to Murena. He is praised by Cicero, in his oration for that individual; but far different language is used by the orator concerning him, in one of his letters to Atticus. Natta, it seems, subsequently to the period of Cicero's pleading for Murena, was Pontifex Maximus, and dictated the form of words, when Clodius consecrated, for the erection of a temple, the ground on which Cicero's house had stood. *Or. pro Muren.* xxxv. — *Ep. ad Att.* iv. 8.

Nævius, Cnæus, a native of Campania, and the first imitator of the regular dramatic works which had been produced by Livius Andronicus. He served in the first Punic war; and his earliest plays were represented at Rome, A. U. C. 519. The names of his tragedies are still preserved, and a few fragments of the pieces themselves. He was accounted however, a better comic than tragic poet. Nævius, unfortunately, indulged, in the course of his productions, in personal and offensive sarcasms against some of the most distinguished patricians of the day. The Metelli, in particular, were the objects of his satire, and retaliated upon the poet by having him thrown into prison. Here he wrote some comedies, which were intended, in some measure, as a recantation of his former invectives, and he was accordingly liberated. But relapsing soon after into his former courses, and continuing to persecute the nobility in his dramas and satires with implacable dislike, he was at length driven from Rome by their influence, and having retired to Utica, died there, according to Cicero, in the year 550; but Varro fixes his death somewhat later. Besides his comedies, Nævius was also author of the Cyprian Iliad, a translation from a Greek poem called the Cyprian Epic. He likewise wrote a metrical chronicle, relating chiefly to the events of the first Punic war. Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. p. 74. *seqq.*

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and the third of the name, succeeded his father, Nicomedes 2d, B. C. 92. He was at first dethroned by Socrates, his brother, and then by Mithridates, who protected Socrates. The Romans, however, re-established him in his dominions. Having in his turn attacked the king of Pontus, he was defeated, and driven once more from his dominions, but was replaced upon the throne by Sylla. He governed for the space of ten years after this, and then died without issue, leaving the Roman people his heirs. Appian, *B. M.* — Florus, iii. 5. — Justin, xxxviii. 3. — Sueton. *Vit. Jul.* ii. — Vell. Paterc. ii. 4.

Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius, was prætor in Spain, A. U. C. 558, and carried his arms as far as the Tagus, making himself master of Toletum, until then regarded as impregnable. Being appointed to the consulship in the year 565, he was intrusted with the war in Greece. Having

with the aid of the Epirots taken the city of Ambracia, considered as the key of the neighbouring country of Ætolia, he compelled the Ætolians to sue for peace, which was only granted them on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the cities and territories which they had conquered since the consulship of Flamininus; of paying the expenses of the war; of sending forty hostages, and of engaging to have no other friends and enemies than those of Rome. Two years after this, he was accused before the senate of having inflicted injuries on the allies of the Roman people; but his only reply to the charge was to demand a *supplicatio* and triumph, which were actually awarded him. He was appointed censor, A. U. C. 575, with Æmilius Lepidus, his mortal enemy, and consented for the good of the state to become reconciled to him. Liv. xxxiii. 42. — Id. xxxv. 7. — Id. xxxvii. 3. &c.

Octavius, Cneius, a partisan of Sylla's, who held the consulship, A. U. C. 667, and drove out his colleague Cinna from the city. Consult *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. x. note 6.

Opimius, Lucius, a Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with C. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, and who, while in that office, overpowered Caius Gracchus, the advocate of the Agrarian law. No fewer than three thousand persons were slain on this occasion, according to Plutarch; and along with Gracchus perished M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular dignity. Opimius subsequently allowed himself to be bribed by Jugurtha; and being brought to trial for this offence, was condemned, and went into banishment at Dyrrhachium, where he died in great poverty. — The name of this individual has also descended to later times in another way. The wine made during his consulship was remarkable for having attained to a very great age, and was called *Vinum Opimianum.* There appears to have been an uncommon vintage during the year in which he was consul. Cicero states that he tasted some Opimian wine seventy-five years after; and Pliny informs us, that it was still to be found when he wrote, at the distance of two hundred years, and that it had the appearance of candied honey. Cic. *pro Planc.* lxix. — *Pro Sext.* cxxii. — Sallust. *B. J.* xii. — Vell. Paterc. ii. 6. — Plut. *Vit. Gracch.* xvii. — Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 4. — Henderson, *Anc. and Mod. Wines*, p. 69. *seqq.*

Otho, Lucius Roscius, was tribune of the commons during the consulship of Cicero, and had a law passed by which seats were set apart for the *equites* at the public spectacles. On his appearance in the theatre, after this ordinance had been made, a serious disturbance ensued; the knights applauding, and the people hissing him: Cicero, on being informed of the tumult, hastened to the spot, and, calling out the people to the temple of Bellona, he so calmed them by the magic of his eloquence, that, returning immediately to the theatre, they clapped their hands in honour of Otho, and vied with the knights in giving him demonstrations of respect. Plut. *Vit. Cic.* — Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 332.

Paullus, Lucius Æmilius, more commonly called Paullus Æmilius, a celebrated Roman commander, was the son of L. Æmilius Paullus, who was slain at Cannæ. He rendered himself famous by his victories, and was surnamed *Macedonicus*, from his conquest of Macedonia. He distinguished himself, from early youth, by his zeal for military disci-

pline, and it was to his valour and skill that the Romans owed the great success which attended their arms in Spain, during his prætorship, B. C. 190, when he was employed in reducing some of the revolted tribes of that country. Being elected consul, B. C. 182, he reduced the Ligurians, and obtained a triumph. Having failed, however, in a second application for the consulship, he for a long time renounced public affairs entirely, and turned his attention to the education of his children. But in the year 168 B. C. he was, almost in spite of himself, elected consul a second time, and was sent against Perses, king of Macedonia. Although now sixty years of age, he nevertheless prosecuted the war with the greatest vigour, and, at the decisive battle of Pydna, destroyed the power of Perses, and overthrew the empire of Macedon. His triumph at Rome was a most brilliant one, and not the least remarkable object in it was Perses himself, led along as a prisoner, and accompanied by the members of his family. The conquest of Macedonia enriched the Roman treasury to such a degree, that the people were exempted from taxation, and continued so until the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. Paullus Æmilius alone remained poor in the midst of so much wealth, having merely appropriated to his own use the library of the fallen monarch. Elevated some time after to the dignity of censor, he conducted himself in that office with the greatest moderation. His death, which happened B. C. 158, was the signal for general mourning, not only among the Romans, but the inhabitants also of the countries which he had conquered. Paullus Æmilius had by his first wife Papiria, whom he subsequently repudiated, two sons, one of whom was adopted into the Fabian family, and the other by the son of Africanus Major. By his second wife he had two other sons, the sudden death of whom gave the Romans a strong proof of the firmness of his character. He saw the elder one expire five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after. Plut. *Vit. Paul. Æmil.* — Liv. xxxiv. 45. — Id. xxxv. 10. — Id. xxxvii. 46. — Id. xxxix. 32. &c.

PAULLUS, Lucius, mentioned in the 14th chapter of the oration for Murena, the same with the preceding.

PERPENNA, Marcus, a Roman proscribed by Sylla. He passed, upon this, into Spain, and became one of the lieutenants of Sertorius; but becoming jealous of the glory of that commander, and irritated at playing only a secondary part himself, he conspired against him and assassinated him at a banquet. Being taken prisoner after this, he was put to death by Pompey. Plut. *Vit. Sert.* — Vell. Paterc. ii. 30.

PERSES, king of Macedonia. He was the son of Philip V. by a concubine, and therefore inferior to Demetrius, the legitimate son of that monarch. By a false accusation, however, he induced the monarch to put Demetrius to death. Philip, on being informed of the truth, resolved to disinherit Perses, and secure the crown to his younger son Antigonus; but his own death, which happened soon after, frustrated his design. One of the first acts of Perses, on coming to the throne, was to put Antigonus to death, both because he had been intended as successor to Philip, and because it was through him that the innocence of Demetrius was made known. Becoming involved, however, in war with the Romans, he was conquered, and stripped of his kingdom by Paullus Æmilius, who led him in triumph through the streets of Rome. He was afterwards sent as prisoner to Alba, where he ended his days. The Romans treated him with more kindness than he deserved, allowing

him to retain his attendants, money, &c. With Perses fell the Macedonian empire. He was the twentieth monarch, reckoning in succession from Caranus, the first king of the country. Liv. xxxi. 28.—Id. xxxviii. 5. — Id. xxxix. 23.— Justin, xxxii. 2.—Id. xxxiii. 12.—Vell. Paterc. i. 9. *seqq.* — Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55. — Florus, ii. 12. — Plut. *Vit. Paull. Æmil.*

PHILIPPUS, Lucius, a distinguished Roman orator, considered the best of his time after Crassus and Antonius. In applying for the consulship, he was defeated by M. Herennius, a man of low origin and inferior character. He afterwards, however, obtained the consulate in conjunction with Sextus Julius Cæsar. In his consulship, he opposed the proceedings of the tribune Drusus, and sided with the *equites.* Mention has already been made, under the article *Crassus,* of his having inveighed against the senate, and been replied to with great power and eloquence by that orator. Cic. *Brut.* xxx.—*Pro Rabir.* vii.—*Pro L. Manil.* xxi. &c.

PHILIPPUS, the 5th of the name, king of Macedonia, became embroiled in a war with the Romans, by allying himself to Hannibal, who was then in Italy. The consul Lævinus was charged with the war against him, and, having surprised him near Apollonia, put him to flight, and destroyed his fleet by fire. This defeat was followed by a peace of but short continuance. The Romans, having learnt that Philip had furnished succours to Hannibal, declared war anew against him; a contest which is known in history as the second Macedonian war, the previous one having been the first. Philip lost successively the battles of Astacus, Aous, and Cynoscephalæ, the last of which was decisive in its nature, and compelled him to sue for peace. This was only granted him on the most humiliating conditions, and domestic sorrows came to increase the chagrin occasioned by these disasters. (*Vid.* Perses.) He ended his days, B. C. 179, in the 42d year of his reign, and was succeeded by Perses. Liv. xxii. 33.—Id. xxiv. 40.—Id. xxvi. 22.—Id. xxvii. 30. &c.—Val. Max. iv. 8.—Justin, xxiii. 3. — Id. xxix. 1. &c.—Plut. *Vit. Flamin.*—Pausan. vii. 8.—Oros. iv. 20.

PHILUS, Lucius Furius, a Roman distinguished for the advances he had made in learning and philosophy. Consult *Orat. pro Murena,* ch. xxxi. note 17., and compare Cic. *de Am.* iv. 7. 19.

PISO, Caius Calpurnius, Cicero's son-in-law. He neglected the quæstorship of Pontus and Bithynia, in order to have more time to devote to the interests and safety of his father-in-law. He is praised as a good speaker in the *Brutus,* lxxviii. Compare *Or. ad Quir. post Red.* iii. —*In Senat.* xv.

PISO, Cneius, a Roman of good family, but profligate and needy. The urgency of his wants, uniting with the depravity of his disposition, instigated him to any measures, which had for their object the convulsion of the state, as the only remedy which could free him from his difficulties and embarrassments. He readily entered into the conspiracy of Catiline, and, in the execution of the plot, he was to be put at the head of an army to hold the Spaniards in subjection. The design transpired, and necessarily prevented its execution. Soon after, although only quæstor, he obtained the government of Hither Spain, with the authority of proprætor, by the interest of Crassus, who wished to set him up in opposition to Pompey. The senate assented, in order to have so dangerous a citizen at a distance from the seat of government. Some of the Spanish

cavalry, however, who formed part of his train, assassinated him soon after his arrival in that country. Sallust, *B. C.* xviii. *seqq.*

Plotius, Lucius, a Roman poet, contemporary with Marius, whose praises he sang. He is supposed by some to be the same with the Plotius, who was born at Lugdunum, and who was the first that taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin language. In this he was very successful, and had Cicero among his hearers. *Or. pro Arch.* ix. — Sueton. *Clar. Rhet.* ii.—Quintil. ii. 4. 42.—Id. ix. 3. 143.

Pompeius, Cneius, son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and the well-known opponent of Cæsar. His earlier movements, down to the period of the Mithridatic war, have been so fully detailed in the notes to the oration on the Manilian war, as not to need recapitulation here. A sketch of his character will be found in the dialogue on the life and writings of Cicero.

Pompeius, Quintus, surnamed *Nepos*, an individual of humble origin, the son, according to Plutarch, of a flute-player. He attained, however, to the highest honours of the state, and was consul A. U. C. 612, and afterwards censor with Metellus Macedonicus. *Or. pro Muren.* vii.— *In Verr.* v. 70. — *de Off.* iii. 30. — *Brut.* lxxvi. — Plutarch, *Apophth.* p. 200. (*Op.* ed. Reiske, vol. vi. p. 755.)

Pomptinus, Caius, a prætor during Cicero's consulship. He was one of the officers appointed by the latter to arrest the Allobrogian ambassadors and their retinue. On the expiration of his prætorship, Pomptinus obtained the government of Gallia Narbonensis, defeated the Allobroges, who had revolted, and reduced their country to tranquillity, for which he was honoured with a triumph. Cicero employed him as one of his lieutenants in the government of Cilicia, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. Sallust, *B. C.* xlv.—Cic. *Orat. III. in Cat.* ii.—*Pro Flacc.* xl. —*de Prov. Cons.* xiii.—Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 47.—Id. xxxix. 65.— *Ep. ad Fam.* xv. 4. &c.

Postumius, Cneius, one of the assistant accusers (*subscriptores*) against Murena, and an unsuccessful applicant for the prætorship in the consulate of Cicero. *Or. pro Muren.* xxvii.

Publicius, one of the dissolute companions of Catiline. *Orat. II. in Cat.* ii.

Roscius. *Vid.* Otho.

Roscius, Quintus, a celebrated Roman actor, from his surname Gallus supposed to have been a native of Gaul, north of the Po, although educated in the vicinity of Lanuvium and Aricia. His acting is highly commended by Cicero, who, according to Plutarch, studied the art of gesticulation under him. Valerius Maximus informs us, that Roscius practised with the utmost care the most trifling gesture which he was to make in public; and Cicero relates, that, though the house of this actor was a kind of school where good performers were trained, yet Roscius declared that he never had a pupil with whom he was completely satisfied. Roscius died about 62 B. C. Cic. *pro Q. Rosc.* vii.—*N. D.* i. 28. —*Divin.* i. 36.—*Pro Arch.* viii.—Val. Max. viii. 7.—Macrob. ii. 10.

Saturninus, Lucius, a tribune of the commons, and violent partisan of Marius, who abetted him in his numerous misdeeds. It was Saturninus who proposed the agrarian law, for refusing to take the oath prescribed by which, Metellus was sentenced to banishment. He it was

also that hired assassins to take away the life of Caius Memmius, when the latter was seeking the consulship, B. C. 102. Memmius fell under repeated strokes by the bludgeons of these miscreants, in open assembly: and the motive of Saturninus in causing the deed to be perpetrated was the apprehension that Memmius would oppose him in his evil career. At last, however, strong measures were taken against him. He was driven into the capitol with his adherents (*vid. Glaucia*) where he was compelled to surrender. On coming down into the forum he was put to death. Plut. *Vit. Mar.* xxx.—*Orat. IV. in Cat.* ii.—*Orat. I. in Cat.* ii.

SCAURUS, Marcus Æmilius, a Roman nobleman, of great ability, who held the consulship with M. Cæcilius Metellus, B. C. 116. He triumphed over the Carni; and made the road from Placentia to Parma, hence called the Æmilian Way. He had the honour of being appointed *Princeps Senatus;* and would have ranked in history with the very first characters of the Roman state, had not his splendid talents been tarnished by cupidity. Pliny agrees with Sallust in giving the unfavourable side of the picture. On the other hand, Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements. It is more than probable, that Sallust endeavours to depreciate the merits of Scaurus, because the latter was a member, and strong advocate for the power, of the nobility; while Cicero, on the other hand, strives for this same reason to exalt his character. The truth undoubtedly lies between either extreme. Scaurus afterwards held the office of censor, and the consulship a second time. His name often occurs in the writings of Cicero, who speaks in great praise of a work of his, in three books, recording the principal occurrences and transactions of his life. The orator considers it equal to Xenophon's *Cyropædia.* Sallust, *B. J.* xv. — Cic. *de Off.* i. 22. — *Brut.* xxix. — Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 1.—Quintil. v. 12.—Val. Max. iii. 7. 8.—Cic. *pro Muren.* vii.

SCIPIO, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Africanus Major*, the celebrated conqueror of Hannibal, in the battle of Zama. He is only alluded to incidentally by Cicero, in the course of this volume.

SCIPIO, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Æmilianus* from having been the son of Paullus Æmilius, adopted into the Scipio line. He is also known by the additional agnomen of *Africanus Minor*, from his having destroyed the city of Carthage, which ended the third Punic war. He was likewise the conqueror of Numantia.

SCIPIO NASICA, Publius Cornelius, son of Scipio Nasica, surnamed *Corculum*, and grandson of the Nasica who was pronounced the most virtuous man in Rome. He held the consulship with D. Brutus, A. U. C. 615, and had a very stormy period, having come into collision with the tribunes of the commons, and been imprisoned by them along with his colleague. His private character stood so high in the estimation of the people, that he was the first and probably the only Roman ever chosen Pontifex Maximus without being present at the time of election. While holding this latter dignity, he took an active part against the operations of the Gracchi, and headed the body of the nobility by whom Tiberius was slain. Some even ascribed the death of the latter to Nasica's own hand. The partisans of the aristocracy exalted the deed, while their opponents regarded it as nothing else but an act of open murder. So highly was the fury of the multitude excited, that Nasica could no longer appear in public without being exposed to their invectives and even menaces. A public prosecution was threatened; and as sovereign pontiff

also he was regarded by his enemies as having been guilty of sacrilege. The senate, justly alarmed for a man, whom they considered a benefactor to the state, found themselves obliged to remove him from Italy. This again was a violation of the pontifical duties, since no *pontifex maximus* could ever leave Italy. Nasica was sent, however, into Asia, under the pretext of appeasing some troubles which had been excited in Pergamus by Aristonicus. He did not live long in this honourable exile, but died of chagrin A. U. C. 622. Cicero bestows on him the highest eulogiums, and declares that the best citizens regarded him as the deliverer of his country. Velleius Paterculus also praises him for having preferred the interests of his country to the ties of consanguinity; Tiberius having been his own cousin. Cic. *Brut.* xxii.—*Orat. I. in Cat.* 1.—*Pro Dom.* xxxiv. *De Amic.* xii. — *De Off.* i. 22. — *Pro Flacc.* xxxi. — Liv. *Epit.* lv.— Plin. *H. N.* vii. 12.—Val. Max. ix. 14. 3.—Vell. Paterc. ii. 3. 1.

SCIPIO, Lucius Cornelius, surnamed *Asiaticus*, elder brother of Africanus Major, enjoyed during life a degree of glory, which appears to have been in reality but little more than a reflection from the brilliant character of the conqueror of Hannibal. According to Polybius, Lucius Scipio was not a favourite with the people; but the historian is silent respecting the cause. He served under his brother in Spain; and the tender union which existed between them, does more honour perhaps even to the elder than the younger brother, since it shows how little susceptible the heart of Lucius was of any feeling of jealousy towards one so far his superior, although younger in years. After distinguishing himself in Spain, he obtained the prætorship A. U. C. 561 (B. C. 194), and the consulate A. U. C. 564. In this latter magistracy he was sent against Antiochus; the senate having given him the charge of this war, on his brother Africanus promising to go with him as his lieutenant. Africanus, however, soon after his arrival in Asia, was taken ill; or more probably, being desirous not to rob his brother of any share in the glory which he perceived was to be easily won against the present enemy, he affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp. Lucius, thus left alone to command the Roman army, advanced against the king, attacked him in the post he had chosen, and in a decisive victory dispersed his numerous forces. This battle ended the war, and Lucius on his return was honoured with a triumph and the surname of *Asiaticus*. After the death of Africanus, he was violently assailed by some of the tribunes of the commons, particularly Cato and Petilius, and charged with having extorted, or else received, for his own private benefit, large sums of money from Antiochus and his subjects. In vain he protested his innocence; he was fined four millions of sesterces, ordered to be led to prison, and was now in the act of being conducted thither, when Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, who was then tribune, interposed his authority, and obtained his release. His effects, however, were sold; but the comparatively small sum obtained from them was a triumphant answer to the charge made against him. After this, the conqueror of Antiochus passed into the obscurity of private life, until at last he was sent as arbitrator to settle a difference which had arisen between Eumenes and Seleucus. On his return, the people, ashamed of their former severity, bestowed such recompences upon him, that he was enabled, at his own expense, to celebrate games in honour of his victory over Antiochus. The year of his death is unknown. *Or. pro Muren.* xiv.—*De Prov. Cons.* viii.

—*Brut.* xlvii.—*Phil.* xi. 7.—Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 11.—Liv. xxxvii. 58. Id. xxxviii. 55.—Id. xxxix. 44.

SERTORIUS, Quintus, a celebrated Roman commander. He distinguished himself at first at the bar, but soon quitted this profession to follow the career of arms. Sertorius made his first campaign under Cæpio, against the Cimbri and Teutones, and acted against the same enemy, under Marius. Entering Rome, at a subsequent period, with this latter commander, he could not but condemn his conduct, when he saw him fill the city with carnage and desolation. The acts of Sylla, in like manner, met with his severest censure. Proscribed by this latter individual, he fled to Spain, about 78 B. C., and maintained his authority for a long time in that country by his valour and address. Here he soon found himself surrounded by a numerous body of Romans, whom the cruelty of Sylla had driven from home. In imitation of the government established at Rome, he formed a senate out of these illustrious exiles, and presided over it in capacity of consul. Every effort was also made by him to civilise the native tribes; public schools were established, and the young Spaniards of the higher class of families were instructed in all the arts of Greece and Rome. In order to strengthen his ascendancy over the lower orders, he called in the aid of superstition, and pretended to have, in a white fawn, which he said had been given him by Diana, a sure means of communication with the gods, and the organ of their will. The Romans, alarmed at the progress made by Sertorius, exerted their utmost endeavours to overthrow his power. Four armies, however, sent in succession against him, were defeated, and even Pompey himself had but little of which to boast. Metellus also, who had been despatched to co-operate with Pompey, found himself foiled and baffled; and though, after uniting their forces, they succeeded in defeating Sertorius at Saguntum, yet, a short time after, he was as powerful and active an opponent as ever. Mithridates, of Pontus, now formed a league with Sertorius, by which he engaged to supply him with 3000 talents and forty galleys, and to cede to him Bithynia and Cappadocia. Their plan was to attack the empire simultaneously on the east and west. This treaty inspired the Romans with fresh alarm, and the most vigorous efforts were made to crush the enemy in Spain. Private treachery, however, was more successful than their arms; and the assassination of Sertorius by the hand of Perpenna, one of his own officers, delivered Rome from one of her most formidable foes. Sertorius merits the greatest praises for his disinterestedness and love of justice, and in military talents deserves to be ranked above all his contemporaries. Vell. Paterc. ii. 29. *seq.* — Flor. iii. 21. — Val. Max. i. 2.—Plut. *Vit. Sert.*, &c.

SERVILIUS, Caius. *Vid.* Ahala.

SERVILIUS, Publius, surnamed *Isauricus*, from his conquest of Isauria, held the consulship B. C. 79. He was one of the advocates of the Manilian law. *Or. pro L. Manil.* xxiii.—*In Verr.* i. 21.—*Agr.* ii. 19.

SEXTIUS, Publius, was quæstor to the consul Antonius in Macedonia. Sextius also filled the office of tribune, and, while acting in this capacity, was very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recall from banishment. An accusation was afterwards brought against him, which was in fact a consequence of his interposition in favour of the illustrious exile; for, when about to propose his recall to the people, he was violently attacked by the Clodian faction, and left for dead in the street. His enemies,

however, though obviously the aggressors, accused him of violence and of exciting a tumult. Against this charge he was defended by Cicero in one of the longest and most elaborate of his harangues; which has moreover come down to our times. *Orat. I. in Cat.* viii. — *Ep. ad Fam.* i. 9. — *Or. pro Sext.*

SILANUS, Decimus Junius, held the office of consul with Licinius Murena, B. C. 64. They succeeded Cicero and Antonius. Being consuls elect, when the case of Catiline and his associates came before the senate, Silanus was asked his opinion first, respecting the punishment of those who had been arrested, and was in favour of their being put to death. Subsequently, however, he embraced the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guards and adjourning the debate to another day. Sallust, *B. C.* 50.

SILVANUS, the author of the Plautian law. *Vid.* Legal Index.

STATILIUS, Lucius, one of the accomplices of Catiline. *Orat. III. in Cat.* iii.

SYLLA, Lucius Cornelius, a Roman nobleman, who served at first under Marius. His activity and address contributed greatly to bring the Jugurthine war to a successful termination. Marius became, at last, jealous of Sylla's merit, and hence originated that quarrel between them which was productive of the most enormous cruelties, and contributed to the final extinction of Roman liberty. Being sent to Asia, to restrain the power of Mithridates, though under a different pretext, he proved himself both a brave soldier and an able general. On his return, he displayed his military talents to great advantage in the Social war. So strongly were his soldiers attached to him, that when two tribunes were sent to take command of his army, and give it to Marius, they stoned them to death. Marius, in revenge, put Sylla's friends in the city to the sword, upon which the latter marched to Rome, and compelled Marius to flee. The horrid proscription now began. A price was set upon the head of Marius, but he effected his escape. Sylla then set out against Mithridates, defeated his armies under different generals, and concluded a peace with him on very advantageous terms. Marius and Cinna having butchered many of Sylla's friends at Rome, he returned to Italy to avenge their deaths. On his arrival, his conduct was marked by clemency and moderation; but no sooner were his enemies wholly within his power, than he committed the most enormous and barbarous acts of cruelty. To aggrandise himself, to exalt the patricians, and to glut his desire of revenge upon his enemies, were the inducements of Sylla to assume the reins of absolute government. He corrected the abuses introduced by popular and unprincipled demagogues, restored the ancient laws, and enacted many that were salutary and beneficial. Still, tyranny marked his whole conduct, and rendered his administration a scene of terror, by his personal enmities and insufferable despotism. Desire of revenge was a stronger passion in the mind of Sylla than love of power. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, and governing with despotic authority for three years, he resigned the reins of power, and lived undisturbed as a private citizen. He died in great torment of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the 60th year of his age, about 78 B. C. The perpetual intoxication to which he had recourse, to avoid the horrors of a guilty conscience, contributed to hasten his death. Plut. *Vit.* *Syll.*

SYLLA, Cornelius Faustus, son of the preceding, followed the party

discovery of the plot, and most probably punished with death. Sallust, *B. C.* xl.

VARGUNTEIUS, Lucius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, who undertook, along with C. Cornelius, to murder Cicero at his own house. The consul was apprised of his danger by Curius, through Fulvia, and they were refused admittance. Sallust calls Vargunteius a senator, whereas Cicero says they were both knights. Vargunteius, probably, though a senator, was of equestrian origin. Sallust, *B. C.* xxviii. — *Orat. I. in Cat.* iv.

VULTURCIUS, T., a native of Crotona, and one of the accomplices of Catiline. He was intrusted with a letter for Catiline. On being seized, and brought before the senate, he first pleaded entire ignorance of the conspiracy, but, on being assured of his safety, he made a full discovery of all that he knew. His testimony was confirmed by the deputies of the Allobroges. *Orat. III. in Cat.* ch. ii.

ZENO, the famous founder of the Stoic sect, was born at Citium, in Cyprus. He came to Athens when about thirty years of age, and first attended the lectures of Crates the Cynic. He afterwards passed to the schools of Xenocratës and Diodorus Chronus, and finally to that of Polemo. Having made himself master of the tenets of others, Zeno determined to become the founder of a new sect. The place which he made choice of for his school, was called the *Pœcile* (Ποικιλὴ), or "Painted Porch," a public portico so called from the pictures of Polygnotus and other eminent painters with which it was adorned. This portico, which was the most famous in Athens, was called, by way of excellence, Στοὰ, or "the Porch," and hence the followers of Zeno were called *Stoics*, i. e. "men of the Porch." Zeno lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight, and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his life. As he was walking out of his school, he fell down, and broke one of his fingers; upon which he was so much affected with a consciousness of infirmity, that, striking the earth, he said, "Why am I thus importuned? I obey thy summons;" and immediately went home and strangled himself. He died B. C. 264.—The Stoic philosophy was as it were of heterogeneous origin, its founder having attended upon many eminent preceptors, and having compiled his system out of their various tenets. Cicero says, that Zeno was not so much an inventor of new opinions, as of new terms. Enfield, *Hist. Philos.* vol. i. p. 315. *seqq.*

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Achaia, I. A country of the Peloponnesus, lying along the Sinus Corinthiacus, to the north of Elis and Arcadia. It gave name to the famous Achæan league, of later Grecian history. — II. A Roman province, embracing, besides Achaia proper, all the rest of the Peloponnesus, together with all the country north of the isthmus of Corinth, excepting Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia. This province was formed after the fall of Corinth and the destruction of the Achæan league.

Ægæum Mare, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Greece and Asia Minor (now the *Archipelago*). The modern name appears to be formed from *Egio Pelago*, which is itself a corruption of Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.

Ætolia, a country of Greece, to the east of Acarnania. Ætolia first began to acquire a degree of importance among the other states of Greece, after having repelled the formidable Gallic irruption, when these barbarians had penetrated into its territories. It is rarely, however, that history has to record achievements, or acts of policy, honourable to the Ætolians. Unjust, rapacious, and without faith or religion, they attached themselves to whatever side the hope of gain and plunder allured them. The Ætolians are memorable in Grecian history for having afforded the Romans, by their alliance, the first opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece. They perceived their error when it was too late, and fell with the rest of their countrymen under the yoke of Rome.

Allobroges, a people of Gaul, between the Isara, or *Isere*, and the Rhodanus, or *Rhone*, in the country answering to *Dauphiny*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. Their chief city was Vienna, now *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhodanus, thirteen miles below Lugdunum, or *Lyons*. They were reduced beneath the Roman sway by Fabius Maximus, who was hence honoured with the surname of *Allobrogicus*. Their name is said to mean "Highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 168. *seqq.*—Adelung, *Mithridates*, vol. ii. p. 50.)

Amisus, a city of Pontus, on the coast of the Euxine, northwest from the mouth of the river Iris. It was founded by a colony of Milesians, was the largest city in Pontus next to Sinope, and was made by Pharnaces the metropolis of his kingdom. It is now called *Samsoun*.

Antiochia, a celebrated city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, in memory of his father Antiochus, and deriving its name from him. It was situate on the river Orontes, about twenty miles from its mouth, and was equidistant from Constantinople and Alexandria, being about 700 miles

from each. It is now *Antakia*, and has suffered severely in modern times from earthquakes.

APENNINI, a large chain of mountains, branching off from the maritime Alps, in the neighbourhood of Genoa, running diagonally from the Ligurian gulf (*Gulf of Genoa*) to the Adriatic, in the vicinity of Ancona, thence continuing nearly parallel with the latter gulf, as far as the promontory of Garganus, and again inclining to the Mare Inferum, till it finally terminates in the promontory of Leucopetra at Rhegium. The Apennines may be equal in length to 670 miles.

APPII FORUM. *Vid.* Forum Appii.

APPIA VIA, the most celebrated of the Roman roads, both on account of its length, and the difficulties which it was necessary to overcome in its construction. It was hence called the "Queen of the Roman Ways," *Regina Viarum* (Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 2.). According to Livy (ix. 29), it was made by the censor Appius Cæcus, and at first was only laid down as far as Capua, a distance of about a hundred and twenty-five miles. From Capua it was subsequently carried on to Beneventum, and finally to Brundisium, when this port became the great place of resort for those who were desirous of crossing over into Greece and Asia Minor. This latter part of the Appian Way is supposed to have been constructed by the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, grandson of Cæcus, A. U. C. 504, and to have been completed by another consul, of the same family, thirty-six years after. According to Eustace, such parts of the Appian Way, as have escaped destruction, show few traces of wear and decay after a duration of two thousand years and upwards. The same writer states the average breadth of the road in question at from 18 to 22 feet. (Eustace, *Class. Tour*, vol. iii. p. 177.)

ARMENIA, a large country of Asia, answering nearly to the modern *Turcomania*; lying southeast of mount Caucasus, and comprehending the Turkish pachalics of *Erze Roum, Kars*, and *Van*, and also the Persian province of *Iran* or *Erivan*. It was a rough, mountainous country, having Caucasus in part for its northern boundary, and being traversed by branches of mount Taurus. The climate was cold, the soil only moderately fertile, and better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. — Armenia Minor was on the other side of the Euphrates, and formed originally part of Cappadocia.

ASIA, one of the divisions of the ancient world. The name was applied by Homer and Herodotus to a district of Lydia watered by the Cayster. As their geographical knowledge of the continent increased, the Greeks extended the appellation to the whole of Asia Minor, and eventually to the other extensive countries of the east. When the Roman writers refer to Asia, specially, they mean the Roman province in Asia Minor, containing Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia.

AURELIA VIA, a Roman road, which followed the whole length of the Etrurian and Ligurian coasts, and led into Gaul by the Alpes Maritimæ. It was made by the consul Aurelius, about 605 A. U. C., and from him was called *Via Aurelia*. It seems to have been laid down in the first instance from Rome to Pisa, from which point it was subsequently continued, under the name of the *Via Æmilia*, by the consul Æmilius Scaurus, as far as Vada Sabata: here it left the coast, and led as far as Dertona, now *Tortona*. At a later period, however, it was carried along the coast to the Maritime Alps, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as Arelate, now *Arles*; whence the name of Via Aurelia, as we find from

the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, was commonly used to designate the route between that city and Rome. Cramer, *Anc. Italy*, vol. i. p. 35. *seqq.* — Compare Gell, *Rome and its Vicinity*, vol. ii. p. 68.

BITHYNIA, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Phrygia, on the east by Paphlagonia and part of Galatia, and on the west by the Propontis and Mysia. It was a well-watered and fruitful country. The earlier name was Bebrycia; the Bithyni, from Thrace, gave it the appellation of Bithynia.

BOSPORUS, a name given in ancient geography to two straits, known as the Thracian Bosporus, and Cimmerian Bosporus. The former of these is now the *Straits of Constantinople*; and the latter the *Straits of Jenicale.* The name is thought to indicate the passage of agricultural knowledge from east to west, (βοὸς πόρος, i. e. "the passage of the ox").

BRUNDISIUM, a celebrated city on the coast of Apulia, in the territory of the Calabri. By the Greeks it was called Βρεντέσιον, a word which in the Messapian language signified a stag's head, from the resemblance which its different harbours and creeks bore to the antlers of that animal. The advantageous situation of its harbour, for communicating with the opposite coast of Greece, naturally rendered Brundisium a place of great resort, and it soon became a formidable rival to Tarentum. In Roman times it was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and Asia. Here the Appian Way ended. The modern name of the place is *Brindisi.*

CAIETA, a town and harbour of Latium, southeast of the promontory of Circeii. The Roman poets fabled that Caieta, nurse of Æneas, was buried here, whence the name of the place. According to Strabo, however, it comes from a Laconian term, καϊάττα, denoting a hollow or cavity, in allusion perhaps to a receding of the shore in this quarter. It is now *Gaeta.* The harbour of Caieta was considered one of the finest and most commodious in Italy.

CAMPUS MARTIUS, a large plain without the city of Rome, where martial sports and exercises were performed, and assemblies of the people often held. Modern Rome is chiefly built upon it, as, according to modern authorities, it lay at the foot of the Pincian, Quirinal, and Capitoline hills. Burgess, *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i. p. 59.

CAPPADOCIA, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Galatia and Pontus, east by the Euphrates, south by Cilicia, and west by Phrygia. Its eastern part was called Armenia Minor. The Cappadocians were regarded as of a dull and submissive disposition, and their moral character did not rank very highly.

CARTHAGO, a celebrated commercial city of Africa, and the rival, for a long period, of the Roman power. It was founded by a colony from Tyre, according to the common account, B. C. 878. The Greeks called it Καρχηδὼν, and the inhabitants Καρχηδόνιοι. The name of the city in Punic was *Carthada*, or *Cartha Hadath*, i. e. "the new city," in cointradistinction perhaps to the old or parent city of Tyre. Carthage was situate on a peninsula, in the recess of a spacious bay, formed by the promontory Hermæum, now Cape *Bon*, on the east, and that of Apollo, Cape *Zibeeb*, on the west. The river Bagradas flows into the bay, between the remains of Utica and the peninsula. The modern name of this river is the *Majerdah*. Being an inundating stream, like the Nile, it has caused many changes in the bay. The circuit of Carthage was 23 miles;

and when it was set on fire by the Romans, at the close of the third Punic war, it burnt for seventeen days. Julius Cæsar planted a small colony on the ruins of Carthage. Augustus sent three thousand men thither, and built a city at a small distance from the spot on which the ancient place had stood, thus avoiding the ill effects of the imprecations which had been pronounced by the Romans, according to custom, at the time of its destruction, against those who should rebuild it. This later Carthage was taken by Genseric, A. D. 439, and it was for more than a century the seat of the Vandal power in Africa. It was at last destroyed by the Saracens, during the caliphate of Abdel Melek, towards the end of the seventh century, and but very few traces of it now remain.

CHII, the natives of the island of Chios, now *Scio,* situate in the Ægean sea, between Lesbos and Samos, off the coast of Asia Minor, and probably once connected with the main land, from which it is separated by a strait only three leagues wide. The wine of this island was held in high esteem by the ancients; its marble also was in much repute. Modern *Scio,* until the late dreadful ravages of the Turks, contained 115,000 inhabitants, nearly all Greeks, and was the best cultivated and most flourishing island in the Archipelago.

CILICIA, a country of Asia Minor, on the sea-coast, south of Cappadocia and Lycaonia. It is surrounded inland by steep and rugged mountains, so that a few men might defend it against a whole army, there being but three narrow passes leading into it. The country was divided into rugged and level Cilicia (*Trachea* and *Campestris*). The former was subsequently considered as a termination of Isauria. The latter was one of the most fruitful provinces of Asia, excepting the western part, which, however, though barren, was famed for its horses. Cilicia was the main seat of the formidable piratical power which was finally crushed by Pompey, after having afforded so much trouble to the Romans, and having been the occasion of so much disgrace to them.

CIMBRI, a German nation, supposed to have been descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and occupying what was called Chersonesus Cimbrica, now *Jutland.* About 113 B. C., the Cimbri, leaving their territories, which were both narrow and barren, and being joined by the Teutones, or rather by several German nations, under this general name, moved through the intervening countries, entered and overran Gaul, and defeated four Roman armies in succession. Marius at last, in his second consulship, was chosen to carry on the war. He met the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ, in Gaul, and, after a bloody engagement, left 20,000 of the enemy dead on the field of battle, and took 90,000 prisoners. The Cimbri, who had formed another army, had already penetrated into Italy, where they were met at the river Athesis, by Marius and his colleague Catulus, a year after. An engagement ensued, and, if we believe ancient accounts, 140,000 were slain. Those who escaped the sword of Marius settled in that part of the Alps called *Sette Commune,* where their descendants still retain the Teutonic language, and a traditional account of their origin. They keep themselves quite separate from the surrounding states, by which means they have preserved the language of their ancestors in a great degree uncorrupted. The late king of Denmark visited these Alpine Cimbrians, and readily conversed with them, when, both parties, speaking their native language, understood each other.

COLCHIS, a country of Asia, along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. It is now in part *Mingrelia.* According to Strabo, it was a

productive country. Its linen manufacture was in high repute. Colchis was famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, and for having been the native country of Medea.

COLOPHONII, the inhabitants of Colophon, a city of Ionia, near the sea, northwest of Ephesus. The Colophonians were famed for their cavalry; and so excellent in fact were they, that they generally turned the scale on the side on which they fought; and hence the proverb, Κολοφῶνα ἐπιτιθέναι, "to add a Colophonian," i. e. to put the finishing hand to an affair. This was one of the places that claimed to have given birth to Homer.

COMANA, a town of Pontus, on the Iris, south-east of Amasia, now Turkhal. There was another place of the same name in Cappadocia, on the Sarus, now *El Bostan.* Both were famous for temples of Bellona, but especially the latter. Strabo makes the goddess worshipped at these places to have been Venus; and Procopius, the Tauric Diana. The temple of the Cappadocian Comana, which was famed for its riches, was plundered by Mark Antony. Each place is said to have had 6000 ministers, of both sexes, and the high priest was next in authority to the monarch of the land, and was generally a member of the royal family.

CORINTHUS, a celebrated city of Greece, situate on the isthmus of the same name. Commanding by its position the Ionian and Ægean seas, and holding as it were the keys of the Peloponnesus, Corinth, from the pre-eminent advantages of its situation, was already the seat of opulence and the arts, while the rest of Greece was sunk in comparative obscurity and barbarism. The arts of painting and sculpture attained to the highest perfection here, and rendered this city the ornament of Greece, until it was stripped by the rapacity of its Roman conquerors. After its overthrow by Mummius, Corinth remained for many years in ruins, until Julius Cæsar, not long before his death, sent a numerous colony thither, by which it was once more raised from its fallen state. It became subsequently once more a large and flourishing city. — Corinth was famed for its harbours, of which it had three, Lechæum on the Corinthian gulf, and Cenchreæ and Schœnus on the Saronic. — This city was celebrated for what was termed the "Corinthian brass," a metallic mixture nearly resembling *aurichalcum.* The common account is, that when Corinth was destroyed by the Romans, all the metals that were in the city melted and mixed together daring the conflagration, and formed the composition in question. Klaproth and others very properly reject the whole account as fabulous.

CORDUBA, now *Cordova,* a city of Hispania Bætica, on the river Bætis. It was the native place of both the Senecas and of Lucan.

CRETA, now *Candia,* one of the largest islands of the Mediterranean, lying to the south of all the Cyclades. Crete was famous for its code of laws, the gift of Minos, from which the institutions of Lycurgus were closely copied. The private character of the Cretans, however, was any thing but fair, and they were chargeable with the grossest immorality and the most hateful vices.

CYZICUS, a city of Mysia, situate on an island, or according to others the neck of a peninsula. It was a very flourishing commercial place, and is called by Florus the Rome of Asia. The coinage of this city was very famous, and the κυζικηνοὶ στατῆρες were so beautifully executed that they were deemed a miracle of art. Cyzicus is famous for its siege by

Mithridates, which Lucullus compelled him to raise. It continued a place of importance until a late period; now, however, it is only a heap of uninhabited ruins.

Delos, a celebrated island in the Ægean sea, nearly in the centre of the Cyclades, and the natal place of Apollo and Diana. It was fabled to have been originally a floating island, moving to and fro beneath the surface of the sea, until Neptune ordered it to appear above the waves, and remain firmly fixed, in order to receive the offspring of Latona, who was about to become a mother. Hence the name Delos, from δῆλος, "manifest." The fable evidently points to a volcanic origin for the island. After the Persian war, the Athenians established at Delos the treasury of the Greeks, and ordered that all meetings relative to the confederacy should be held there;—an order, however, that was not long acted upon. In the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, not being satisfied with the purifications which the island had previously undergone, in obedience to an oracle, in the earlier part of the contest, the same power removed the entire population to Adramythium, where they obtained a settlement from the Persian satrap Pharnaces. They were restored to their homes, however, after the battle of Amphipolis, as the Athenians ascribed their ill success in the war to the anger of the god, on account of their treatment of the Delians. This island became a place of great commercial importance after the destruction of Corinth, as the merchants who had frequented that city then withdrew to this island, which afforded great facilities for carrying on trade, on account of the convenience of its port, its advantageous situation with respect to the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, as well as from the great concourse of people who resorted thither during the period of the stated festivals. It fell in importance and prosperity, however, during the Mithridatic war; for, on the occupation of Athens by the generals of Mithridates, they sent troops to Delos, and committed the greatest devastations, in consequence of the inhabitants having gone over to the Romans. After this calamity it remained in an impoverished and deserted state. The town of Delos was situate in a plain, watered by the little river Inopus. The island is now called *Delo* or *Sdille*, and is so covered with ruins as to admit of little or no culture.

Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media, now *Hamadan*. The editions of Cicero had (*pro Leg. Manil.* iv.) *Ecbatanis*, until Matthiæ, Orellius, and others substituted *ac literas*. Consult chap. iv. note 5. of the oration cited.

Etruria, a large country of Italy, lying north and west of the Tiber. The origin of the Etrurian nation is unknown, although many erroneously suppose the basis of the population to have been Celtic. Their civilisation came in with the Tyrrheni, who appear to have been a branch of the Pelasgic race, and to have migrated from the shores of Lydia, whence, according to Müller, they were driven out by the great Ionic migration. The Etrurians appear to have been quite distinct from the Greeks both in language and religion. They excelled in the knowledge of augury and sacrificial rites and ceremonies; and the Romans, in these respects, did little more than borrow from them. Etruria was divided into twelve states, each independent of the other, though united in a common confederacy; but as this union was far from being a strong one,

the want of a closer bond contributed very materially to their final subjugation by the Romans.

EURIPUS, a narrow strait dividing Eubœa from the main land of Greece, and remarkable for the fluctuation of its waters. Several of the ancient writers have reported that the tide in this strait ebbed and flowed seven times in the day, and such too was the popular belief. From this rapid movement of the current, the Euripus derived its ancient name (εὖ, *bene*, and ῥίπτω, *jacio*). Livy's account, however, is the more rational. "A more dangerous station for a fleet," observes this writer, "can hardly be found; besides that the winds rush down suddenly and with great fury from the high mountains on either side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day, at stated hours; but the current, changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain, so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet." (Liv. xxviii. 6.) This straight is now called, by a corruption of the ancient name, the straits of *Negroponte*, through the modern Greek mode of pronunciation, (*Evripo*, *Egripo*, *Negroponte*,) at least such is the common opinion. The last change from *Egripo* to *Negroponte* appears to owe its origin to a nautical source, just as mariners sometimes call the Archipelago the "Arches," and Corunna in Spain, "the Groin."—Hobhouse, who visited the Euripus, compares it to a mill-race.

FESULÆ or FÆSULÆ, now *Fiesole*, a town of Italy, in Etruria, south-east of Pistoria. Here Catiline raised the standard of rebellion. The Goths, when they entered Italy, under the consulate of Stilico and Aurelian, were destroyed in the vicinity of this place. In modern times it is rather a village than a town.

FORUM APPII, a town of Latium, on the Appian Way, about 23 miles from Aricia, and 16 from Tres Tabernæ. It is mentioned by St. Paul in the account of his journey to Rome (*Acts* xxviii. 15.), and is also well known as Horace's second resting place in his journey to Brundisium. D'Anville places the site at the modern *Borgo Lungo*, near *Treponti*.

FORUM AURELII, or AURELIUM, a town of Etruria, above Tarquinii, on the Aurelian Way, now *Montalto*.

GALLIA, an extensive country of Europe, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean. It was more extensive, therefore, to the north and east, than modern France. The name Galli, given to the inhabitants by the Roman writers, is the Celtic term *Gael*, Latinized. The Greeks called them Κέλται, and their country Κελτικὴ and Γαλατία.

GALLIA CITERIOR, called also Gallia Cisalpina, a name given by the Romans to that part of Italy which lay between the Alps and the rivers Rubicon and Macra. It was occupied by various Gallic tribes which had poured over the Alps into this extensive tract of country. Livy assigns to these migrations the date of 600 B. C.; but in all probability they were much earlier.

GALLIA TRANSALPINA, Gaul beyond the Alps, or Gaul Proper.

GALLICUS AGER, a name applied by Cicero to Cisalpine Gaul, especially that part of it from which the Galli Senones had been driven.

HERACLEA, a city of Lucania, in Lower Italy, situate between the

Aciris and Siris. It was founded by a colony of Tarentines, after the destruction of the ancient city of Siris, which stood at the mouth of the latter river (B. C. 428). This city is rendered remarkable in history, as having been the seat of the general council of the Greek states. Antiquaries seem to agree in fixing its site at *Policoro*.

HISPANIA, an extensive country, forming a kind of peninsula, in the south-western part of Europe. It was divided into *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*. Hispania Citerior was also called *Tarraconensis*, from Tarraco (now *Tarragona*), its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Durius (now *Douro*), on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south, as far as a line drawn below Carthago Nova (now *Cartagena*) and continued in an oblique direction to the river Durius, passing by Salamantica (now *Salamanca*). Hispania Ulterior was divided into two provinces. Bætica, in the south of Spain, between the Anas (now the *Guadiana*), and the sea-coast; and above it Lusitania, corresponding in a great measure to modern *Portugal*. Bætica answers to modern *Andalusia*.

ILLYRICUM MARE, that part of the Adriatic which washes the shores of Illyricum.

ISAURIA, a country of Asia Minor, north of and adjacent to Pisidia. The inhabitants were a rude mountaineer race, remarkable for the violence and rapine which they exercised against their neighbours. P. Servilius derived, from his reduction of this people, the surname of Isauricus. A conformity in the aspect of the country, which was rough and mountainous, caused Cilicia Trachea, in a subsequent age, to have the name of Isauria extended to it, and it is thus denominated in the notices of the eastern empire.

LANUVIUM, a town of Latium, about 16 miles from Rome, situate, according to Strabo, to the right of the Appian Way, and on a hill commanding an extensive prospect towards Antium and the sea. Lanuvium seems to have been treated with more moderation than the other Latin towns, when it fell into the hands of the Romans; for, instead of being punished, the inhabitants were made Roman citizens, and their privileges and sacred rights were preserved, on condition that the temple and worship of Juno Sospita, which were held in great veneration in their city, should be common to the Romans also. Lanuvium then became a *municipium*, and it remained ever faithful to the Romans, particularly in the second Punic war. Murena was a native of this place, and so also was Milo, the antagonist of Clodius. The famous comedian Roscius was also born, or, according to others, educated, near it. The ruins of Lanuvium still bear the name of *Civita Lavinia*, or *Città della Vigna*.

LOCRI, a city of Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy, near the Zephyrian promontory, at the lower extremity of Bruttium, and founded by a colony of Locrians from Greece. This city was mainly indebted for its prosperity and fame to the institutions of its great legislator Zaleucus. His laws, which, according to the assertion of Demosthenes, continued in full force for the space of 200 years, are said to have been a judicious selection from the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Areopagitic codes, to which, however, were added several original enactments. From its greater proximity to Sicily, Locri appears to have been involved in the politics

of that country at a more early period than the other Italian cities, and at one time fell under the tyrannical sway of the younger Dionysius, who gave loose here to all the vicious propensities of his nature. It suffered severely also from Pyrrhus, whose cause it had deserted for that of the Romans; but the heaviest blow it received was in the time of the second Punic war. Having followed the example of the other Greek colonies in siding with Hannibal, it again fell into the hands of the Romans, who left in it a garrison under the command of Q. Pleminius. The conduct of this officer and his troops towards the inhabitants of Locri seems to have far surpassed in licentiousness and wanton cruelty all that the rage of an enemy could have inflicted on a conquered city. He was at length recalled, and ended his days in prison.

MASSILIA, a celebrated colony of the Phoceans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, now *Marseilles.* It became at an early period a powerful and flourishing city, and was famed for its extensive commerce. The most prosperous period in its history would seem to have been the interval from the fall of Carthage, with which city it had frequent collisions, to the commencement of the contest between Cæsar and Pompey. This city was always the firm ally of Rome. It suffered severely in the civil wars from its attachment to the party of Pompey, being compelled to sustain a severe siege, in which its fleet was destroyed; and, after surrendering, to pay a heavy exaction. Massilia became afterwards, in the days of Augustus, famous as a seat of science, and the rival of Athens. In modern times Marseilles has been the chief centre of the trade to the Levant; and, though its prosperity suffered a total eclipse under the rule of Napoleon, it has since regained much of its former splendour. The harbour is spacious and secure, but is somewhat narrow at the entrance, and shallow. "The trade of Marseilles," says Mr. M'Culloch, "is not only increasing rapidly, but is already very extensive. She is the grand emporium of the commerce between France and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. To the Levant she exports colonial products, light woollens, silks, &c. To Italy the exports consist of all kinds of colonial produce, woollens, linens, liqueurs, oil, hardware, and lead. The exports to England consist of silks, brandy, madder, wines, verdigris, brimstone, soap, oil, preserved fruits, gloves, ribands, shawls, capers, anchovies, syrups, essences, perfumery, &c. The principal imports are wheat from the Black Sea and the coast of Africa, sugar and coffee, cotton, indigo, fish, pepper, iron, lead, dye-woods, hides, &c. The number of ships which arrived at Marseilles, in 1831, was 5731, and their united tonnage 472,236 tons. The present population of Marseilles is about 125,000." *Dictionary of Commerce.*

MISENUM, a town and harbour of Campania, on the promontory of the same name. In the reign of Augustus it became one of the first naval stations of the Roman empire, being intended to guard the coasts of the Tuscan sea. Pliny the elder was stationed here, as commander of the fleet at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius, in which he perished.

MONS SACER, a low range of sandstone hills, extending along the right bank of the Anio, and about three miles distant from Rome. It is celebrated in history for the secession that was made to it by the Roman people, A. U. C. 260.

MULVIUS PONS, now *Ponte Molle,* one of the bridges over the Tiber

It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Æmilius) the appellation Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia,* which led from Rome to Ariminum. Situated at a little distance from the city, surrounded by villas, and places of public resort, it became the rendezvous of nightly revellers and debauchees in the licentious age of Nero. The battle between Constantine and Maxentius, which decided the fate of Rome and the empire, was also fought in this quarter.—The *Ponte Molle* is reared upon four arches of Travertine stone, and is about 350 feet in length. It was so entirely rebuilt (A. D. 1450) by Pope Nicholas V., that it cannot be said any thing ancient now remains to be seen; indeed, the old bridge was probably a few paces farther up the river, and some vestiges of the foundations may be discovered when the waters are very low. Burgess, *Topography and Antiquities of Rome,* vol. ii. p. 227.

Neapolis, a celebrated city of Campania, on the Sinus Crater, now *Naples,* or, in Italian, *Napoli.* Its earlier name is said to have been Parthenope, from a siren who was cast upon the shore in this quarter; and the appellation of Neapolis appears to have been given to it when a colony of Cumæans settled here, and so changed the aspect of the city as to give rise to the name Neapolis, *i. e.* New City. Many, however, think that the Cumæans founded it in the first instance. Neapolis was famed for the beauty of its situation, and its inhabitants were marked by all the indolence and luxury of Grecian manners. The modern city of Naples is the largest in Italy, and from the advantages of its situation one of the most beautiful of the European capitals. The extent and imposing appearance of its quays; its castles, *Dell' Uovo* and *St. Elmo,* the latter crowning the summit of a steep, and the former advancing into the sea; the black and threatening aspect of Mount Vesuvius, whose sides, however, covered with the richest verdure, are studded with the bright walls of numerous country seats; the blue hills terminating in the promontory of *Massa,* and at their feet *Castel a Mare,* built on the ruins of *Stabiæ,* near which the elder Pliny met his death; *Baiæ,* and *Capreæ,* and *Pompeii,* replete with historical recollections of the most varied character; torrents at the one extremity of the bay, begirt with volcanic rocks of striking aspect, and honoured as the birthplace of Tasso; at the other extreme, Pozzuoli, with the lake of Avernus and the Elysian fields; all combine to form a view which mocks description. The streets are wide, ever thronged with a population more intent on pleasure than business; the buildings are lofty and solid; but the prevailing architectural character of the city errs against taste, being showy and overlaid with ornament.

The kingdom of Naples, or, as it is termed, of the Two Sicilies, occupies the southern extremity of Italy, with the island of Sicily, and from its extent and population would be the most considerable in that peninsula, were it not for the feeble character of its government. It has long been under the rule of the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family, who were dispossessed by the French in 1805, but reinstated after the downfal of Napoleon in 1815. The government is absolute, the supreme legislative and executive power being vested in the king and his ministers. Of all the Italian states, however, Naples is the most completely organised, after the manner of modern monarchies, on the principles of civil equality and uniformity of laws, and is the only one in which the judicial pro-

ceedings are public. Still, the exorbitant privileges retained by the nobles form a serious grievance, and nullify many of those advantages. The continental part of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies is divided into fifteen provinces, and takes the name of *Dominj al di qua del Faro*, or domains on this side the Straits of Messina. Each province is administered by an intendant, who is its civil and political head; there is also a commandant, or chief military officer, in each. The Apennines form the grand features of its surface, filling its interior, shooting out branches into its two peninsulas of *Otranto* and *Calabria*, but leaving along the coast wide plains and extended and fertile valleys. Blessed with a soil almost unequalled in richness, and with the most genial clime, its culture, notwithstanding various administrative defects, is so diligent as to support a very numerous and very dense population.

NUMANTIA, a town of Spain, near the sources of the river Durius, celebrated for the brave resistance which it made against the Romans for the space of 14 years. It was built upon an eminence of no great height, between two branches of the Durius, and surrounded by a very thick wood on three sides. One path alone led down into the plain, and this was defended by ditches and palisades. The great length of time it withstood the Romans, may be easily accounted for, by its difficult situation, and the circumstance of its circuit being so large, that within it there were pastures for cattle. This place was at last reduced by Scipio Africanus Minor, the conqueror of Carthage. The remains of Numantia may be still seen near *Puente de Garay*.

NUMIDIA, a country of Africa, east of Mauretania, and corresponding, in a great measure, to the modern *Algiers*.

OSTIA, a celebrated town and harbour at the mouth of the Tiber. It was the port of Rome, and its name even now remains unchanged, though few vestiges are left of its former importance. All historians agree in ascribing its foundation to Ancus Martius. When the Romans began to have ships of war, Ostia became a place of great importance, and a fleet was constantly stationed there, to guard the mouth of the Tiber. The place, however, was taken by the pirates during their ascendancy in the Mediterranean, and Cicero alludes to the circumstance with great indignation in his oration for the Manilian law. Ostia was thirteen miles from Rome. Great changes, however, have taken place since ancient times, and the port of Ostia is now two miles, or nearly so, from the sea. The cause of this, in a great measure, seems to be, that the extreme flatness of the land does not allow the Tiber to carry off the great quantities of earth and mud brought down by its turbid waters; and the more that is deposited, the more sluggishly it flows, and thus the shore rises, the sea recedes, and the marshes extend.

PALATINUS MONS, a celebrated hill, the largest of the seven on which Rome was built. It was upon this that Romulus laid the first foundation of the capital of Italy, in a quadrangular form; and here also, in a later age, dwelt Augustus and the succeeding emperors. On this same hill too stood the famous Palatine library. The Palatium was secured, on account of its importance, by a nightly guard, during the alarm attendant upon the first rumours of Catiline's conspiracy.

PAMPHYLIA, a province of Asia Minor, lying along the sea from Lycia to Cilicia, and having Pisidia to the north. The inhabitants are

said to have been an intermixture of the mountaineer races of the interior with Phœnicians and Greeks; and the latter are reported to have settled here after the overthrow of Troy, under the guidance of Amphilochus and Calchas. Under the Syrian dynasty, this country made part of the kingdom of Syria; it then became a part of the kingdom of Pergamus; and was finally absorbed in the Roman empire. The pirates had several castles along the coast, which were all destroyed by Pompey.

PICENUS AGER, another name for Picenum, a district of Italy, east and southeast of Umbria. The inhabitants were of Sabine origin. Their country was considered one of the most fertile parts of Italy, and the produce of its fruit-trees was particularly esteemed.

PONS MULVIUS. *Vid.* Mulvius Pons.

PONTUS, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Cappadocia, on the west by Galatia and Paphlagonia, and on the east by Armenia. This country was originally a part of Cappadocia, and a satrapy of the Persian empire. A son of Darius Hystaspis, Artabazes, held this satrapy as a vassal, with the right to transmit it as an inheritance to posterity. Its rulers, however, eventually made themselves independent of any foreign control; and under Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, Pontus attained to a high degree of glory, and extended its arms far and wide over lower Asia and Greece, until reduced by the Roman arms.

PRÆNESTE, now *Palestrina,* an ancient city of Latium, southeast of Rome. Strabo makes the intervening distance twenty-five miles (200 stadia); but the Itineraries give more correctly twenty-three miles. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position; and Catiline therefore attempted to seize upon it, but was frustrated by Cicero. Præneste was famed for its temple of Fortune.

REATE, an old Sabine town, on the river Velinus, a branch of the Nar. Its modern name is *Rieti.* Reate was only a præfecture in Cicero's time. In the days of Suetonius, however, it held the rank of a *municipium.* It was famous for its breed of mules. The valley of the Velinus, in which this place was situated, was so delightful as to merit the appellation of Tempe, in imitation of the beautiful vale of the same name in Thessaly.

RHEGIUM, one of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Græcia, at the extremity of the peninsula, and in the territory of the Bruttii. It is supposed to have been founded nearly 700 B. C. by a party of Zancleans from Sicily, together with some Chalcidians from Eubœa, and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. Its name is supposed to allude to the great catastrophe by which Sicily was *broken off,* in early days, from Italy. (Ῥήγιον, *a* ῥήγνυμι, *frango.*) Some, however, consider the name of the place as of Oscan origin. The modern appellation is *Reggio.*

RHŒTEUM, a promontory of Troas, on the shore of the Hellespont, in a northeast direction nearly from Sigæum. On the sloping side of it the body of Ajax was said to have been buried, and the tumulus that stands there was thought to mark the spot. Between this promontory and that of Sigæum was the position of the Grecian camp. According to Leake, *Palæo Castro,* near the Turkish village of *It-gelmes,* marks the probable site of Rhœteum.

Rudiæ, a city of Italy, in the territory of the Calabri, and below Brundisium. It was rendered famous by being the birthplace of Ennius. The remains of this place are still known by the name of *Ruge.*

Salaminii, the inhabitants of the island of Salamis, who are mentioned by Cicero as among the number of those that claimed to have had Homer born among them. Salamis lay in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite Eleusis in Attica, and the intervening strait was famous for the naval conflict between the Greeks and the Persians. It is now called *Koulouri*, which is also the name of its principal town.

Samos, an island in the Ægean sea, off the lower part of the coast of Ionia, and nearly opposite the Trogilian promontory. The intervening strait was about seven stadia. Samos was the most important and powerful island of the Ionians. It was the birthplace of Pythagoras, and claimed also to be the natal place of Homer.

Sicilia, a well-known island in the Mediterranean, separated from Italy by the Fretum Siculum, or *Straits of Messina.* Its triangular shape gave it the name of Trinacria and Triquetra (τρεῖς-ἄκραι and τρεῖς-ἕδραι). The promontory nearest Italy was called Pelorum, now Cape *Faro.* The one to the south of this was Pachynum, now *Passaro;* and the remaining one, Lilybæum, now *Bœo.* This last, however, is, in truth, not a mountain-promontory, but a low, flat point of land, rendered dangerous to vessels by its sand-banks and concealed rocks. Sicilia derived its name from the ancient Siculi, who came into this island from Latium. This, the finest and most beautiful island in Europe, forms a valuable appanage to the kingdom of Naples. From the south-eastern extremity of Italy, this island extends eastward in an irregular triangle, about 180 miles long, and 150 broad. Immediately beyond the narrow strait which separates it from the continent, the surface begins to rise into the lofty heights of Etna, a mountain higher than any of the Appenines, and which strikes admiration and terror by the streams of volcanic fire which issue from it. Its branches overspread nearly the whole island, but on the northern and southern coasts they descend into gentle and cultivated hills. From these elevated regions descend numerous and rapid streams, which profusely water every part of the territory. Sicily possesses thus all the beauties and benefits of a warm climate, without even the partial aridity to which it is exposed. Its soil yields abundantly all the products of the finest temperate and even tropical climates. Its most uncultivated spots are covered with groves of fruit-trees, and decked with beautiful flowers, such as are elsewhere carefully reared in gardens. *In its historical character*, Sicily possessed anciently the highest distinction; and perhaps no country in the world has suffered a greater reverse. Greece early established here the most flourishing of her colonies; Syracuse and Agrigentum vied in power, learning, and wealth with the mother country. Even when no longer able to maintain her own independence, she became the brightest prize for which Carthaginian and Roman contended. Reduced finally under the Roman empire, Sicily became one of its most valuable provinces, and the granary of the capital. In the early part of the middle ages, the Saracens founded here a flourishing state. After the establishment, however, of the Norman adventurers in the south of Italy, Roger, brother to Robert Guiscard, by a series of gallant exploits, drove out

that powerful people. Sicily was then united with Naples, to which it has generally continued attached, though held occasionally by Spain and Savoy. It was also separated for a considerable time, when the French became masters of Naples, while the old family were maintained in Sicily by British protection; but on the fall of Murat, in 1815, the two Sicilies became again one kingdom. *Sicily at present*, notwithstanding its fertility and varied natural advantages, has sunk into a state of extreme poverty and degradation. The supineness and tyranny of the government, and the exorbitant privileges of the grandees, have reduced the body of the people to a state of the utmost penury. The varied and often rugged surface of the country, intersected by numerous torrents, would require considerable efforts to form communication by roads; but this has been entirely neglected, and a line of 20 miles into the interior from Palermo is the only route practicable for carriages. In Agrigentum, once the mart of all the commodities of the Mediterranean, M. Kephalides could not procure a pair of gloves; and in Modica, a town of 11,000 people, a bit of soap was not to be obtained. Sicily, however, produces some wines that are esteemed; her raw silk is also fine; and, with olive oil, fruits, and salt, affords some materials for exportation. In return, she receives manufactured goods in great variety, though small quantity, their consumption being much limited by the poverty which pervades the great body of the people. Sicily is divided into intendencies, termed *Dominj al di la di Faro*, or Territory beyond the Straits of Messina. — See *Neapolis*.

Sigæum, a celebrated promontory of Troas, near the mouth of the Scamander. The modern name is Cape *Jenischehr*, or, as it is more commonly pronounced, Cape *Janissary*. The promontories of Sigæum and Rhœteum formed the limits, on either side, of the station of the Grecian fleet. Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus were buried on Sigæum, and three large tumuli, or mounds of earth, are supposed to mark their tombs; though, from a passage of Homer (*Od.* Ω. 75. *seqq.*), it would seem that one mound or tomb covered the ashes of all three.

Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, on the eastern coast, and a little below its northern extremity. It was the most important city, in a commercial point of view, on the shores of the Euxine, and was founded by a Milesian colony at a very early period, even prior it is said to the rise of the Persian empire. The situation of Sinope was extremely well chosen. It was built on the neck of a peninsula; and as this peninsula was secured from any hostile landing along its outer shores by high cliffs, the city only needed defending on the narrow isthmus connecting it with the main land, while at the same time it had two convenient harbours on either side. Sinope soon increased in wealth and power, and became possessed of a dependant territory, which reached as far as the Halys. Its flourishing condition of course excited envy, and it was frequently besieged by the neighbouring satraps of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. It was at last reduced by Pharnaces, and became the residence of the monarchs of Pontus, until Lucullus took it from the last Mithridates. It suffered severely on this occasion, and the Roman commander stripped it of many fine statues and valuable works of art. Sinope was the birthplace of the Cynic Diogenes. Its modern name is *Sinoub*, and it is still one of the most important cities along this coast.

LEGAL INDEX.

Lex Æbutia, proposed by the Tribune Æbutius, but at what time is uncertain. It prohibited the proposer of a law, concerning any charge or power, from conferring that charge or power on himself, his colleagues, or relations. *Agr.* ii. 8.

Leges Agrariæ. *Vid. Lex* Sempronia.

Leges Annales, laws fixing the ages for enjoying different offices. A law was passed for this purpose, A. U. C. 573, which had been proposed by L. Villius, a tribune of the commons, whence he obtained the surname of *Annalis*, which descended to his family. (Liv. xl. 44. — Manut. *de Leg.* c. vi.) There seems, indeed, to have been some regulation on the subject, even before the Villian law (Liv. xxv. 2.), but the particular ages for particular offices were not designated, as in this law; it was only settled how old a person must be before he could begin to be an applicant for office generally. (Duker, ad Liv. *l. c.*) The years fixed by the Villian law were as follows: for the quæstorship, 31; for the ædileship, 37; for the prætorship, 40; and for the consulship, 43. This estimate is founded upon Cicero's movements, who obtained these offices at the periods just mentioned, and, as he himself informs us, each in its proper year (*suo anno*), i. e. as soon as it could be obtained by law. — Another *Lex Annalis* was introduced by M. Pinarius Rusca, a tribune of the commons (Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 65.), but nothing is known of its provisions. — These laws are also called *Leges Annariæ* by Festus and Lampridius. *Vit. Comm.* c. ii.

Lex Aurelia (*judiciaria*), by L. Aurelius Cotta, prætor, A. U. C. 683. It ordained that *judices*, or what we would call jurymen, should be chosen from the *senators*, *equites*, and *tribuni ærarii*. — These last were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expenses of the army. — The history of this law is as follows:—The *Judices* at first were chosen from the senators, until, on account of the corruption of that order, Caius Gracchus brought in a law (*Vid. Lex* Sempronia) by which the right of acting as *judices* was taken from the senators and given to the *equites*. The latter, however, indulged in great harshness and actual unfairness towards the members of the senate who happened to be accused before them, especially if they had opposed, either in the senate, or during some provincial magistracy, any of the unreasonable demands of the *publicani* of the day. (Cic. *in Verr.* i. 13.) In every other respect, however, they judged with great impartiality. The Livian and Plautian laws were therefore enacted, by which it was ordained that *judices* should be chosen in common from among both senators and *equites*. But these statutes were found ineffectual to remedy the evil; and Sylla, therefore, by one of the *Leges Corneliæ*, took away the right of judging from the equestrian order, and restored it to the senate. Not even after this, however, was there com-

plete fairness in judging. The lower orders complained of the existing state of things, and therefore, through fear lest some seditious tribune might make this matter a handle for exciting sedition, Cotta proposed the Aurelian law. Compare Cic. *Phil.* i. 8.—*Agr.* i. 2.

Lex CALPURNIA, by C. Calpurnius Piso, A. U. C. 686, when he and M'. Acilius Glabrio were consuls. It was aimed against bribery in suing for office, which had become very marked and open. Some idea of its provisions may be obtained from the language of Cicero, in the oration for Murena (c. xxxii.): "*Si mercede corrupti obviam candidatis issent,*" &c. The reference, to be sure, is to a *senatus-consultum,* but Cicero adds a little farther on, "*Si factum sit* (sc. hujusmodi quid), *quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest.*"—This law is sometimes called *Lex Acilia-Calpurnia,* from the names of both consuls, but Cicero merely styles it *Lex Calpurnia.* It was subsequently abrogated by a *senatus-consultum.* (*Pro Corn. Fragm.* i.—Ascon. *ad loc.*) It is alluded to by Sallust, *B. C.* xviii. Compare Dio Cass. xxxvi. and see *Lex* TULLIA.

Lex CARBONIS *et* SILVANI. *Vid. Lex* PLAUTIA.

Lex CORNELIA (*judiciaria*), by L. Cornelius Sylla. It took away from the *equites* the right of being *judices,* and restored it to the senate. Consult remarks under *Lex* AURELIA.

Lex CORNELIA (*de veneficiis*), by the same. It was aimed in the first instance at those guilty of secret assassination, and then at those who took away the life of another by poison, false accusation, &c. The law ordained that these should be regarded as "*quæstiones capitales,*" and the punishment was to be banishment and confiscation of property. Consult Cic. *pro Cluent.* lvi., and Sigonius, *de Judiciis,* ii. 31.

Lex CORNELIA (*testamentaria*), by the same, against those who forged or altered wills. As it, however, contained other provisions against various kinds of false and dishonest conduct, it is sometimes called *Lex Cornelia de falso.* For example, it was aimed also at those who debased or counterfeited the public coin. J. Paulli, *Recept. Sententiarum L. V. Tit.* 25.

Lex CORNELIA (*de libertinorum suffragiis*), by Cornelius, a tribune of the commons. This law was the same with the Manilian. (*Vid. Lex* MANILIA *de suffragiorum confusione.*) In other words, the accuser of Cornelius alleged, that the Manilian law had been passed by the joint operation and efforts of him and Manilius.

Lex FABIA (*de numero sectatorum*), limiting the number of *sectatores* that attended candidates, when canvassing for any office. A large attendance was forbidden by this law, as coming under the head of "*ambitus.*" It was never a popular statute, for the people could be deterred by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate. — The *sectatores,* who always attended candidates, were distinguished from the *salutatores,* who only waited on them at their houses in the morning, and then went away; and from the *deductores,* who also went down with them to the *forum* and *Campus Martius.*

Lex GABINIA, by Aulus Gabinius, about conferring on Pompey the management of the war against the pirates. For an account of its provisions, consult *Orat. pro Leg. Manil.* chap. xii. note 20.

Lex JULIA (*de maritandis ordinibus*). This was the famous law of Augustus, for the encouragement of matrimony, offering rewards to those who should enter the married state, and imposing a penalty on those who should remain in a life of celibacy. It met with great opposition, according to Suetonius (*Oct.* xxxiv.); and Augustus was compelled to soften down its most obnoxious features, and then allow an exemption from its provisions for three years. At the expiration of this period, a still farther exemption of two years was granted; and at length the law went into full operation, A. U. C. 757. It was remodelled, however, into the *Lex* PAPIA-POPPÆA, A. U. C. 762. Sueton. *Oct.* lxxxix.—Liv. *Epit.* lix.—Horat. *Carm. Sæc.* xvii. *seqq.*—Propert. ii. 6. 1. — Dio Cass. lvi. 10. Consult Remarks under *Lex* PAPIA-POPPÆA.

Lex LÆTORIA (*contra circumscriptores adolescentum*), against the defrauding of minors, passed A. U. C. 490. It ordained that no one under 25 years of age could make a legal bargain, fixing therefore the limit of minority at that period of life. Hence it was also called *Lex* QUINAVICENNARIA. (Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 3. 68.) It was proposed by M. Lætorius Plancianus, tribune of the commons. Cic. *de Off.* iii. 15. — Id. *N. D.* iii. 39.—Sueton. *Lib. Præt.* ap. Prisc. *Lib.* xviii.—Heinecc. *Ant. Rom.* i. 23. 6. p. 198. ed. Haubold.

Lex LICINIA, by L. Licinius Crassus, the orator, similar in its provisions to the Æbutian law. *Agr.* ii. 8.—*Pro Dom.* xx.

Lex LICINIA (*de ambitu et de sodalitiis*), passed in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus, A. U. C. 698. It was enacted against bribery and the assembling of societies or companies for the purpose of canvassing for office. In a trial for this crime, the accuser was allowed to name the jurymen from the people in general. *Orat. pro Planc.* xv. — Id. *ibid.* xvii. — Sigonius, *de Judiciis*, ii. 30. p. 650. *et* 658.

Lex MANILIA (*de libertinorum suffragiis*), proposed by C. Manilius the tribune, who also introduced the law giving Pompey charge of the war against Mithridates. An account of the provisions of this statute respecting the votes of freedmen will be found in *Orat. pro Murena*, chap. xxiii. note 15.

Lex MANILIA, by the same Manilius, giving the charge of the Mithridatic war to Pompey. (*Or. pro L. Man.* xxix.) The Manilian law, according to Plutarch, gave Pompey all the provinces and forces under Lucullus, and added likewise Bithynia, which was at that time governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting, at once, the whole Roman empire to one man. For the provinces, which the Gabinian law did not give him, *viz.* Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this; together with all the forces which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* xxx.)

Lex PAPIA-POPPÆA (*de maritandis ordinibus*), proposed by the consuls Papius and Poppæus, at the desire of Augustus, A. U. C. 762. Its object was to enforce and enlarge the Julian law, and to promote popu-

lation, and repair the desolation occasioned by the civil wars. This statute, like the Julian ordinance, proposed certain rewards for marriage, and penalties against celibacy. Whoever in the city had three children, in the other parts of Italy four, and in the provinces five, was entitled to certain privileges and immunities. Hence the famous *jus trium liberorum*, so often mentioned by Pliny, Martial, and other ancient writers. The privileges of having three children were, an exemption from the trouble of guardianship, a priority in bearing offices, and a treble proportion of corn. Those who lived in celibacy could not succeed to an inheritance, except of their nearest relations, unless they married within 100 days after the death of the testator; nor receive an entire legacy. And what they were thus deprived of fell as an escheat to the exchequer or prince's private purse. (Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 25. 7. *seqq.*)

Lex Papia, by C. Papius, tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 688. It ordained that all foreigners should be expelled from Rome, and that the allies of the Latin name should return to their respective cities. (Cic. *pro Arch.* ch. v.—*Pro Balb.* xxiii.—*Ep. ad Att.* iv. 14.—*De Off.* iii. 11.)

Lex Papiria, the same with the *Lex* Plautia.

Lex Plautia, or Plotia (*judiciaria*), proposed by M. Plautius Silvanus, and C. Papirius Carbo, both tribunes of the commons at the time. The provisions of this law are given in the oration for Archias (c. iv.). It was passed A. U. C. 664.

Lex Porcia, by M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 556, that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that the alternative of exile be allowed him. Manutius errs in assigning this law to M. Porcius Cato, the censor.

Quæstiones. The *prætor urbanus* and *prætor peregrinus* dispensed justice only in private or less important causes. But in public cases and those of any magnitude, the people either judged themselves, or appointed persons, one or more, to preside at the trial, who were called *quæsitores*, or *quæstores*, and whose authority lasted only till the trial was over. But, A. U. C. 604, it was determined that the *prætor urbanus* and *prætor preregrinus* should continue to exercise their usual jurisdictions; and that the four other prætors should, during their magistracy, also remain in the city, and preside at public trials; one at trials concerning extortion, another concerning bribery, a third concerning crimes committed against the state, and a fourth about defrauding the public treasury. These were called *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*, because they were annually assigned to particular prætors, who always conducted them for the whole year, according to a certain form prescribed by law; so that there was no need, as formerly, of making a new law, or of appointing extraordinary inquisitors to preside at them, who should resign their authority when the trial was ended. But still, when any thing unusual or atrocious happened, the people or senate judged about the matter themselves or appointed inquisitors to preside at the trial; and then they were said *extra ordinem quærere:* as in the case of Clodius, for violating the sacred rites of the *Bona Dea;* and of Milo, for the murder of Clodius.—Sylla increased the number of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, by adding those *de falso*, concerning forgers of wills, &c., and coiners of base money; *de sicariis et veneficis*, about such as killed with a weapon or poison; and *de parricidis;* on which account he created two additional prætors.

Lex Roscia (*theatralis*), by L. Roscius Otho, determining the fortune of the *equites*, and appointing them certain seats in the theatre. By this law, fourteen rows of seats, immediately behind the senators, were appropriated to the knights. This ordinance excited a great tumult in the theatre on the first appearance of its proposer after the law had been passed. Consult *Historical Index*, s. v. *Otho*.

Lex Sempronia (*Agraria*), by Tiberius Gracchus, A. U C. 620, that no one should possess more than 500 acres (*jugera*) of land; and that three commissioners should be appointed to divide among the poorer people what any one had above that extent. This is the famous Agrarian law which cost its proposer his life. It was in fact little more than a revival of the Licinian law of Stolo. This ordinance was passed, but never carried into effect. (Plut. *Vit. Gracch.*—Vell. Paterc. ii. 2.—Liv. *Epit.* lviii.)

Lex Sempronia (*judiciaria*), by Caius Gracchus, that the *judices* should be chosen from among the *equites*, and not from the senators, as formerly. Consult remarks under *Lex* Aurelia.

Lex Sempronia (*de libertate civium*), by the same, that sentence should not be passed on the life of a Roman citizen, without the order of the people. This was merely declaratory of one of the laws of the twelve tables. (*Pro Rab.* c. iv. — *In Verr.* v. 63. — *Orat. I. in Cat.* ch. xi.)

Lex Titia (*de quæstoribus*), by C. Titius, tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 448, about doubling the number of quæstors, and that they should determine their provinces by lot. (*Or. pro Muren.* viii.)

Lex Tullia (*de ambitu*), by M. Tullius Cicero, A. U. C. 690, adding to the former punishments against bribery. Previously to the passing of this law, if persons were convicted on trial of having employed bribery in suing for office, they were deprived of that office, in case they had obtained it, and their competitors who accused them were nominated in their place. They were also, besides being fined, declared incapable of bearing any office for the time to come, or of appearing in the senate, by the Calpurnian and other laws; and now by the Tullian law banishment for ten years was added. It was also ordained by this same statute, that no one should exhibit shows of gladiators for two years before he stood candidate for any office, unless that task was imposed upon him by the testament of a friend. (Dio Cass. xxxvii. 29. — Cic. *in Vat.* xv. — *Pro Muren.* xxxii. *seqq.*)

Lex Villia. See *Leges* Annales.

THE END.

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